

ISSN 0970-7247

THIRD CONCEPT

English Monthly

Annual Subscription Rs. 200

Vol. 29

No. 345

NOVEMBER 2015

Rs. 20.00

- ❖ **India & UN Security Council**
- ❖ **Creation of Haryana**
- ❖ **Women Who Made History**
- ❖ **Women's Status**
- ❖ **Gender Issues in Higher Education**
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An International Journal of Ideas

Vol. 29 No. 345 NOVEMBER 2015 Rs. 20. 00

Third Concept aims at providing a platform where a meaningful exchange of ideas can take place among the people of the Third World. The attempt will be to communicate, debate and disseminate information, ideas and alternatives for the resolution of the common problems facing humankind. We welcome contributions from academics, journalists and even from those who may never have published anything before. The only requirement is a concern for and desire to understand and take the issue of our time. Contributions may be descriptive, analytical or theoretical. They may be in the form of original articles, reactions to previous contributions, or even a comment on a prevailing situation. All contributions, neatly typed in double space, may be addressed to:

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Published, Printed and Owned by
Babuddin Khan
Third Concept
LB - 39, Prakash Deep Building,
7, Tolstoy Marg, New Delhi-110 001.
Phones : 23711092, 23712249
Fax No: 23711092.
E-mail : third.concept@rediffmail.com
Website: www.thirdconceptjournal.co.in

Designed by: Pt. Tejpal

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From Bad to Worse

Global geopolitics is seemingly undergoing massive transformation and the emerging scenario is more chaotic in the wake of vast array of problems that have come to engulf the forces of peace, stability and prosperity, especially the growing financial crisis, problem of refugees and the unabated adverse impact of ongoing process of climate change. Another financial crisis is seemingly in the offing as can be discerned from the recent report of International Monetary Fund (IMF), which has warned of \$3.3 trillion worth of “over borrowing” in emerging markets. In 2004, the level of emerging market corporate debt, outside the banking sector, was \$4 trillion. The IMF says that by 2014 it had ballooned to \$18 trillion. Global financial crisis has been playing out in plain sight in the wake of reports that growth in emerging markets is ‘projected to decline. In view of China’s economic slowdown, international firms and emerging market governments, which have been dependent on a robust China, are already finding it harder and harder to make the payments on their loans. This puts them under pressure to devalue their currency and cut the prices they charge for their export commodities in hopes of raising sufficient cash to stay afloat.

In June 2014, Standard and Poor’s had reported that China’s corporate borrowing had hit \$14.2 trillion in 2013, outpacing the issuing of \$13.1 trillion of debt by U.S. corporations. S&P observed that China was financing as much as third of this huge corporate debt load through its ‘shadow banking sector.’ The rating agency took note of what it saw as a growing risk posed to global markets by a Chinese economy that was increasing corporate borrowing even as corporate balance sheets were actually deteriorating. Reports indicate that China finds itself at a tipping point it just can’t ‘grow out of.’ Some experts apprehend even the US economy is likely to be pulled into recession by ‘external forces.’ Emerging markets, which currently account for more than 50 percent of the global GDP, are also in danger of having a severe recession because they depend heavily on foreign credit. According to some experts, these markets will find themselves in a squeeze play as wary investors pull out, the price of their exports fails to rebound and they struggle to stay current with their creditors.

Undoubtedly, the continued existence of ‘high public and private debt in advanced economies and remaining gaps in the Euro architecture’ has remained unaddressed; nevertheless, there’s little bandwidth for a helping hand for emerging markets and these markets will have to find the ‘market-based solution’ by ratcheting up austerity on the people to squeeze out the money to keep the bond holders whole as has been done in Puerto Rico and Greece. The burgeoning international refugee crisis is further telling upon the fragile economies of developing countries especially. Broad estimates show that currently about 60 million people are displaced around the world right now, a figure higher than the estimated 50 million people left displaced at the conclusion of Second World War. World leaders have reportedly abdicated their responsibility for this unlucky population, around half of whom are children.

Global politics is seemingly mired in a set of myopic, stingy and cruel policies. The few global institutions dedicated to supporting the refugee population are starved of resources as governments either haven’t funded them or have reneged on their pledges of funds. Wealthy and powerful nations aren’t doing their part either by extending liberal economic aid to countries hosting refugees or taking refugees in reasonable number in their own territories to help tackle this problem. Consensus prevails among experts that we can’t afford *not* to address climate change. The ongoing process of climate change is bound to have devastating effects on the global economy, reducing average global incomes by nearly one-fourth relative to a world without climate change and widening the gap between rich and poor countries. A recent study suggests owing to climate change the average global incomes will be 23% lower by the year 2100 and some 77% of countries will be poorer in per capital income and some - 5% of all countries and 43% of less-developed countries—will be absolutely poorer at the turn of the next century. Thus the global situation is going from bad to worse.

— BK

India's bid for Permanent Membership at UNSC

Dr. Bishal Das*

[Since the end of the Second World War in 1945, geopolitical realities have changed drastically. It was in the same year that the composition of the Security Council was decided with five permanent members namely USA, UK, Russia, France and China. Interestingly, the winners of Second World War shaped the Charter of the United Nations in their national interests, dividing the permanent seats, and associated veto-power, amongst themselves. It was also perceived that the international order inaugurated in 1945 could be better sustained by a variety of international organizations.]

In the sphere of global peace and security, this objective could be more effectively served by the creation of a universal organization through the institutional framework of which cooperation among war time allies would continue uninterrupted. Hence, the United Nations (UN) was set up with the Security Council as its dominant organ and beneath it the General Assembly and an array of other bodies dealing with specific issues such as the ECOSOC, the Secretariat and the ICJ.

In the prevailing global scenario UNSC reforms are necessary due to the following reasons:

- UNSC still reflects the geopolitical architecture of the Second World War.
- Expanded only once in 1963 to add 4 non-permanent members.
- Since then the membership of the United Nations has increased from 113 to 193 without any change in the composition of the UNSC.
- No permanent member from Africa, despite 75% of work of the UNSC focused on Africa.
- Unable to respond effectively to situations of international conflict.

Therefore, a fundamentally different world from the time the UN came into existence, the much needed reforms of the UNSC within a fixed time frame have, therefore, become an urgent and important task. India believes that the UN, especially the UN Security Council must reflect contemporary global

* Campaign Officer, DAVP, New Delhi.

realities. For this purpose, the reform of the UN including the expansion of the UNSC in both permanent and non-permanent categories is essential.

Boosting India's bid for a permanent seat in the revamped world body, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a negotiating text by consensus for the long-pending Security Council reforms. The text on reforms was adopted ahead of the 70th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Termed as "historic" and "path-breaking" the adoption of the document, India said the decision puts the Inter- Governmental Process formally on an "irreversible text-based negotiations path" and changes the "dynamics" of the negotiations on achieving UNSC reforms.

UN General Assembly President Sam Kutesa had convened a plenary meeting to take action on the draft decision on the "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters". During the meeting, he also circulated letters containing the positions of key countries, including Russia, the US and China which refused to contribute to the negotiating text.

There was no voting on the decision to continue text-based UNSC reforms in the 70th session of the General Assembly and it was adopted by consensus. Kutesa had appointed Jamaica's Permanent Representative Courtenay Rattray to chair on his behalf the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform.

The draft decision contains a negotiating text which has positions of UN member states on Security Council reforms and how the powerful 15-nation body should be expanded in its permanent and non-permanent categories.

The adoption is a significant step towards beginning talks on the long-stalled reforms process in the 70th session of the Assembly on the basis of a negotiating text, a first in the last seven years of Inter-Governmental Negotiations that have been conducted so far without the basis of any text.

India commands distinct characteristics which make its case for a permanent seat compelling. India, which joined the UN in 1945, is the second-largest and one of the largest constant contributors of troops to United Nations peacekeeping missions. *Foreign Policy* magazine states that, "India's international identity has long been shaped by its role in U.N. peacekeeping, with more than 100,000 Indian troops having served in U.N. missions during the past 50 years. Today, India has over 8,500 peacekeepers in the field, more than twice as many as the U.N.'s five big powers combined".¹

In supporting India's bid for a permanent seat on an enlarged Security Council last November, US President Barack Obama cited "India's long history as a leading contributor to United Nations peacekeeping mission". India has served as a non-permanent member of the UNSC for seven terms, viz. in 1950-1951, 1967-1968, 1972-1973, 1977-1978, 1984-1985, 1991-1992, and 2011-2012.

India has again put forth its candidature for the 2021-22 term. India's performance as a non-permanent member of the Security Council during 2011-2012, when it received 188 of the 190 total votes, has also significantly strengthened its claim to permanent membership.

India has currently the world's second largest population and is the world's largest liberal democracy. It is also the world's seventh largest economy by nominal GDP and third largest by purchasing power parity. Currently, India maintains the world's third largest active armed forces after United States and China and is a nuclear

weapon state. The Indian Space Research Organisation is capable of placing satellites in orbit, using indigenous launch vehicles and also succeeded in sending mission to Moon and to Mars.

India's bid for permanent member of UNSC is backed by permanent members namely France, Russia, the United Kingdom [and United States, although the United States initially opposed India's candidacy on grounds of nuclear proliferation, as India has acquired nuclear weapons and not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. On 15 April 2011, China officially expressed its support for an increased Indian role at the United Nations, without explicitly endorsing India's Security Council ambitions. However, recently China has expressed its support for India's candidacy as a permanent member of the Security Council if India revoked its support for Japan's candidacy.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi has vigorously championed for the reform of the UN Security Council in order to give a new shape to India's foreign policy. Modi's decision to host the summit of the Group of Four nations was one of the key moments of his diplomacy in New York. While backing one another's bid for permanent seats in the UNSC, India, Germany, Japan and Brazil have collectively called for urgent reforms of the Security Council within a time-frame.

India has to continue the campaign to reform the Security Council. Nothing much has come out of India's push over the years to restructure the global body. The challenge is to build a democratically evolved consensus among world powers, particularly among the Security Council members, on the need to reform the UNSC.

Expectations were high when India joined the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) for its seventh two-year term as a non-permanent member in January 2011. Expediting expansion of the permanent membership of the UNSC to include India was among New Delhi's top priorities for its term. India's strategy, however, was rapidly blindsided by crises in Africa and the West Asia, which also exposed deep divisions between the five permanent members.

India is undoubtedly a “rising” power with an economy that has grown fastest over the last two decades than that of most of the other major powers. Therefore, a permanent seat in UNSC would elevate India to the status of USA, UK, France, China and Russia in the diplomatic sphere and warrant India a critical say in all global matters that matter globally.

As a permanent member of the Security Council, India will be able to play a crucial role in resolving international disputes. With India ready to assume global responsibilities where issues like terrorism and climate change are deciding the course of international relations, a legitimate and effective Security Council is needed more than ever to address the global conflicts and crises, which had spiraled in recent years.

In addition to this, a reformed UNSC would contribute more to the maintenance of international peace and security. A comprehensive reform of the UN including the Security Council should reflect the interests of all member states, in accordance with the principle of sovereign equality. Not a Council, which is an expanded club of the powerful and privileged. The membership of a developing country like India in decision-making bodies of multilateral institutions, including the United Nations will render them more consistent with the current geopolitical reality.

The UN has a crucial role to play to confront the various and complex social, economic, environmental and political crisis that constitute the major challenges facing the world today. Reforming

the Security Council that lies at the heart of the world body is a crucial step toward a more effective UN system that is equipped to take on the challenges that lie ahead. Opportunities and obstacles seem plentiful in the reform process. At the end, a successful outcome of the negotiations always depends on the political will of reaching an agreement, no matter the circumstances.

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PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN

Edited by
Babuddin Khan

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Woman who Made History

Pushpa Rani*

[While presenting a vivid description of plight of women in medieval and modern India, the author laments at the downgraded position of women and concurrently she highlights the achievements of some representative women leaders who not only achieved enviable positions but also worked for the uplift of other women. Ed.]

Women have often been looked down upon in many ways for centuries in the Indian culture. They had been deemed unworthy of education; their role restricted to being child-bearers and housekeepers. In general, the male children have received preferential treatment in all areas of life. Women have been subjected to economic, social, cultural and judicial oppression from birth to death. They were regarded as a source of sin and obstruction to a man's salvation and were declared devoid of intelligence.

The Indian women are completely devoted to their families from an unknown period in the history to the modern times. The condition of women is still the same with a little change. In the patriarchal system that prevailed in India, women were not only denied education but also were not permitted to step out of the house. They were asked to eat after their husbands had eaten and in fact were given to eat the leftovers of their husband's meal.² Women in India are given the status of second class citizens by family and by society.

Medieval Period

The Indian women's position in the society further deteriorated during the medieval period when sati system became prevalent among some communities. Besides, child marriages and a ban on widow remarriages became part of social life among some communities in India as well. The Muslim conquest of the Indian subcontinent brought the purdah practice in the Indian society. Among the Rajputs of Rajasthan, the jauhar was practised.

* Asst Prof., Guru Nanak Khalsa College for Women Sham Chaurasi. (Hoshiarpur).

In some parts of India, the devadasis or the temple women were sexually exploited. Polygamy was widely practiced, especially among Hindu Kshatriya rulers.³ In many Muslim families, women were restricted to zenana areas. In spite of these conditions, some women excelled in the fields of politics, literature, education and art and culture.

Razia al-Din (1205-1240), usually referred to in history as Razia Sultana, was the sultan of Delhi in India from 1236 to May 1240. She was of Seljuk slave ancestry and like some other Muslim princesses of the time, she was trained to lead armies and administer kingdoms, if necessary. Razia Sultana, the fifth mamluk sultanate, was the only woman ruler of both the Muslim and the Mughal periods.

She had little contact with the women of the harem so she had not learnt the customary behavior of women in the Muslim society that she was born into. Even before she became Sultan, she was reportedly preoccupied with the affairs of state during her father's reign.

As Sultan, Razia preferred a man's tunic and headdress; and contrary to custom, she would later show her face when she rode an elephant into battle at the head of her army. Razia refused to be addressed as Sultana because it meant "wife or mistress of a sultan". She would answer only to the title "Sultan".⁴

Rani Durgavati (1524-1564) was born in the family of famous Rajput Chandel Emperor Keerat Rai. The Gond queen ruled for fifteen years, before she lost her life in a battle with Mughal emperor Akbar's general Asaf Khan in 1564. Her death is celebrated in India as a "martyrdom day" on 24 June. In 1983,

the Government of Madhya Pradesh designated the University of Jabalpur as Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya in her memory. Government of India paid its tribute to her by issuing a postal-stamp commemorating her death, on 24 June 1988.

Chand Bibi defended her territory against the mighty Mughal forces of Akbar in 1590s. Begum Nur Jahan (1577–1645), also known as Mehr-un-Nisaa, was an empress of the Mughal Dynasty that ruled much of the Indian subcontinent. She remains historically significant for the sheer amount of imperial authority she wielded - the true “power behind the throne,” as Jehangir was battling serious addictions to alcohol and opium throughout his reign - and is known as one of the most powerful women who ruled India with an iron fist.⁵

Jijabai was known to be an influential and determined woman who was an embodiment of self-respect and virtue. Famed for her fore-sight, Jijabai was herself an able warrior and administrator. She passed down her traits to the growing Shivaji, and instilled within him a sense of duty, courage and fortitude to overcome any hardship arising.

Under her guidance and care, Shivaji developed within him a human touch that saw him harbor a great respect for all women, religious tolerance, and justice, along with the love for his country, his religion and his quest for freedom of Maharashtra. Shivaji owes his greatness to the inspiration of his mother who dedicated her life to bringing up her son to become one of the greatest rulers of the Maratha Empire.⁶

Bhakti Movement

The Bhakti Movement tried to restore women’s status and questioned some of the forms of oppression. Mirabai, female saint–poet was one of the most important Bhakti movement’s figures. Some other female saint-poets from this period include Akka Mahadevi, Rami Janabai and Lalded. Bhakti sects within Hinduism such as the Mahanubhav, Varkari and many others were principle movements within the Hindu fold to openly advocate social justice and equality between men and women. Sikh women broke the shackles of

subjugation and became the temporal and spiritual supporters of men, and in some cases, even their leaders. Let us visit some of the well-known examples.

Guru Nanak’s view of the equality of women was shaped by his own mother, Mata Tripta, and his sister, Bebe Nanaki. Legend has it that he argued with the Brahmin at his Janaue Ceremony that if his sister was not good enough for the Janeau, the Janeu was not enough for him. It was a very public declaration on the equality of women.

Mata Khivi, the wife of Guru Angad Dev, took charge of the langar and created a new social consciousness for women. Bibi Amro, the daughter of Guru Angad, brought Guru Amar Das to the fold of Sikhism. Bibi Bhani, Bibi Dani, Bibi Pal and others were in charge of the different Pirhis (the Parishes) established by Guru Amar Das Ji.

He assigned 52 women missionaries out of 146 to go to various parts of the country and unfold the glory of Naam. Sikh women also took prominent roles in the military as exemplified by Mai Bhago and the battalion of 200 women who rode from Punjab to Nanded to rescue the Takhat Sri Hazur Sahib. Then there was the sacrifice of countless Sikh women who held their butchered children in their arms, who were tortured to death, and starved or flayed alive, but who never gave up their faith. Besides the service, leadership, and bravery of Sikh women, it is appropriate to mention the reverence Sikh men gave to all women who sacrificed.

Mata Gujri, after Guru Tegh Bahadur’s martyrdom, along with her brother, Kirpal Chand, had the responsibility of managing the affairs of the Panth. She also organized the langar (community kitchen) and played an important role as the administrator of the army. She had an important role inspiring the Khalsa armies during the battles Guru Gobind Singh had to fight. Her role in the battle of Bhangani is especially remembered.

Sikh women have played a glorious part in history, and examples of their moral dignity, service and sense of duty, self-sacrifice, and persistence will remain a source of inspiration forever.⁷ We can count

on certain names from the British India where women put the example of extraordinary bravery which even men might not be able to show by fought for the uplift of women. Though women of India are not at par with their counterparts in Western world but they are struggling hard to make their mark in a male-dominated world

Kitturu Rani Chennamma (1778-1829) was the queen of the princely state of Kittur in Karnataka. In 1824, 33 years before the 1857 War of Independence, she led an armed rebellion against the British in response to the doctrine of lapse. The resistance ended in her martyrdom and she is remembered today as one of the earliest Indian rulers to have fought for independence. On 11 September 2007 a statue of Rani Chennamma was unveiled at the Indian Parliament Complex by Mrs. Pratibha Patil, the first woman President of India.⁸

Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi was another one such great woman. She was the one who put even British rulers to shame with her extraordinary feats in battle. She fought for her kingdom, which Lord Dalhousie, then the British Governor-General, had unlawfully annexed. She was in a true sense the leader of uprising of 1857.

Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) was a social reformer and activist. She was born as Hindu, started Arya Mahila Samaj and later converted to Christianity to serve widows and helpless women of India. Ramabai was a poet, a scholar, and a champion of improvement of the plight of Indian women. As a social reformer, she championed the cause of emancipation of Indian women. A widely traveled lady, she visited most parts of India, and even went to England (1883) and the United States (1886-88).

She wrote many books including her widely popular work titled *The High Caste Hindu Woman*, which showed the darkest part of subject matter relating to the life of Hindu women, including child-brides, child-widows and the treatment they received by the government and society. She had a strong view of what should be accomplished so that women would be able to have more freedom, including

protection of widowed women and child brides, as many of them were made destitute by their in-laws.⁹

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (2 February 1889 – 2 October 1964) was the health minister in the Union Cabinet of independent India for ten years. She was an eminent Gandhian freedom fighter, and a social activist. Rajkumari championed the cause of universal suffrage, and testified before the *Lothian Committee* on Indian franchise and constitutional reforms, and before the *Joint Select Committee of British Parliament* on Indian constitutional reforms.

Savitribai Jyotiba Phule (1831-1897) was a social reformer who, along with her husband, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule played an important role in improving women's rights in India during the British rule. Savitribai and Jyotiba were moved by the plight of widows and castigated the barbers. They organized a strike of barbers and persuaded them not to shave the heads of widows. This was the first strike of its kind. Savitribai was not only involved in educational activities of Jyotiba but also in every social struggle that he launched. They also fought against all forms of social prejudices. They were moved to see the untouchables who were refused drinking water meant for the upper caste.

Both Jyotiba and Savitribai opened up their reservoir of water to the untouchables in the precincts of their house. They were also opposed to idolatry and championed the cause of peasants and workers. They faced social isolation and vicious attacks from people whom they questioned. After her husband's demise, Savitribai took over the responsibility of Satya Shodhak Samaj founded by Jyotiba. She presided over meetings and guided workers. In 1868 she welcomed untouchables to take water from her well.¹⁰

Kamala Suraiyya (31 March 1934 – 31 May 2009) was a major India English poet and litterateur and at the same time a leading Malayalam author from Kerala in South India. Her open and honest treatment of female sexuality, free from any sense of guilt, infused her writing with power, but also marked her as an iconoclast in her generation. Kamala Das wrote on a diverse range of topics,

often disparate- from the story of a poor old servant, about the sexual disposition of upper middle class women living near a metropolitan city or in the middle of the ghetto.

Some of her better-known stories include *Pakshiyude Manam*, *Neypayasam*, *Thanuppu*, and *Chandana Marangal*. She wrote a few novels, out of which *Neermathalam Pootha Kalam*, which was received favourably by the reading public as well as the critics, stands out.

Annie Besant (October 1847 – 20 September 1933) was a prominent British theosophist and women's rights' activist, writer, orator and supporter of Irish and Indian self-rule. She became involved with Union organisers including the bloody Sunday demonstration. She was elected to the London school board for tower hamlets topping the poll even though few women were qualified to vote at that time. She also became involved in politics in India, joining the Indian National Congress.

When First World War broke out in 1914 she helped launch the Home Rule League to campaign for democracy in India and dominion status within the Empire. This led to her election as president of the India National Congress in late 1917. After the War, she continued to campaign for Indian independence and for the causes of Theosophy until her death in 1933.^{11,12}

Kasturba Gandhi (1869 – 1944) was the wife of Mohandas Gandhi. She joined her husband in political protests. She traveled to South Africa in 1897 to be with her husband. From 1904 to 1914, she was active in the Phoenix Settlement near Durban. During the 1913 protest against working conditions for Indians in South Africa, Kasturba was arrested and sentenced to three months in hard labor prison. Later, in India, she sometimes took her husband's place when he was under arrest. In 1915, when Gandhi returned to India to support indigo planters, Kasturba accompanied him. She taught hygiene, discipline, reading and writing to the people.¹³

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi (1886-1968) was an eminent medical practitioner, social reformer and

Padma Bhushan awardee in India. She was the first woman legislator in India. She was appointed to the Chennai Legislative Council in 1927. For her, this nomination marked the beginning of her lifelong effort to "correct the balance" for women by removing social abuses and working for equality in moral standards. She was one of the women pioneers who stood for the cause of liberating India from the British.

She was an activist and a social reformer too. Muthulakshmi had many firsts to her recognition. She was the first girl student to be admitted into a Men's College, the first woman House Surgeon in the Government Maternity and Ophthalmic Hospital, the first woman legislator in British India, the first Chairperson of the State Social Welfare Advisory Board and the first woman Deputy President of the Legislative Council and the first Alderwoman of the Madras Corporation.¹⁴

Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949) was the first Indian woman to become the President of the Indian National Congress and the first woman to become the Governor of Uttar Pradesh. She joined the Indian national movement in the wake of partition of Bengal in 1905. She came into contact with Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant, C.P. Rama Swami Iyer, Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. She awakened the women of India. She brought them out of the kitchen.

She traveled from state to state, city after city and asked for the rights of the women. She re-established self-esteem within the women of India.¹⁵ Naidu said, "When there is oppression, the only self-respecting thing is to rise and say this shall cease today, because my right is justice." She adds, "If you are stronger, you have to help the weaker boy or girl both in play and in the work." She is known for her famous poem, "Bazaars of Hyderabad"

Aruna Asaf Ali (July 16, 1909 – July 29, 1996), born as Aruna Ganguli, was an activist of the national freedom movement. She is widely remembered for hoisting the Indian National Congress flag at the Gowalia Tank Maidan in Bombay during the 1942 Quit India Movement. She became an active

member of Congress party after marriage and participated in public processions during the Salt Satyagraha. She was arrested on the charge that she was a vagrant and hence not released in 1931 under the Gandhi –Irwin pact which stipulated release of all political prisoners.

Other women co-prisoners refused to leave the premises unless she was also released and gave in only after Gandhi intervened. A public agitation secured her release. In 1932, she was held prisoner at the Tihar Jail where she protested against the indifferent treatment of political prisoners by launching a hunger strike. Her efforts resulted in an improvement of conditions in the Tihar Jail but she was moved to Ambala and was subjected to solitary confinement.

She was politically not very active after her release. This marked the commencement of the movement. The police fired upon the assembly at the session. Aruna was dubbed the Heroine of the 1942 movement for her bravery in the face of danger and was called *Grand Old Lady of the Independence Movement* in her later years.¹⁶

Sucheta Kriplani (1908-1974) became the first woman to be elected chief minister of any Indian state. Like her contemporaries Aruna Asaf Ali and Usha Mehta, she came to the forefront during the Quit India Movement and she later worked closely with Gandhi during the partition riots. She was one of the few women who were elected to the Constituent Assembly and was part of the subcommittee that drafted the Indian Constitution. She became a part of the subcommittee that was handed over the task of laying down the charter for the Constitution of India. On 15 August 1947, she sang *Vande Mataram* in the Independence Session of the Constitution Assembly.¹⁷

Social Saints

Among the Indian saint of today's times, Mother Teresa is the name which every Indian whether rich or poor is familiar with. She was the person who used to consider the smile of her countrymen as her wealth. She worked for those whom even their own families had deserted. She did not care whether she

was in the company of a person suffering from communicable disease or whether it was day or night. Whenever or wherever one needed her she was present. She opened various homes for these people, most famous of which is 'Nirmal Hriday'. It is open to everyone irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

Women have also been active in the Chipko Movement in India discussing deforestation. In the 1980s the ideas of the Chipko Movement were spread, often by women talking about them at water places, on village paths, and in markets. Women decided they were not powerless; there were actions they could take and a movement which would support them. Songs and slogans were created. In one the contractor says:

“You foolish village women, do you know what these forest bear? Resin, timber, and therefore foreign exchange!” The women answer: “Yes, we know. What do the forests bear? Soil, water, and pure air, soil, water, and pure air.”

As an organized effort, the Chipko Movement had some success. Sometimes it won moratoriums through government bans or court battles; sometimes it managed to replant trees in areas close to village homes. In 1987 Chipko was chosen for a “Right to Livelihood Award,” known as the “alternate Nobel” prize honor. The honor was rightly deserved for this small movement dominated by women which had become a national call to save forests.

Aruna Roy (26 May 1946) is a politician and social activist who founded and heads the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathana (Workers and Peasants Strength Union”). She is best known as a prominent leader of the right to information movement, which led to the enactment of the Right to Information Act in 2005.⁹ She also became a member of the National Advisory Council in 2004. When the Congress party won the national elections and formed the central government, Aruna was inducted into the National Advisory Committee (NAC), an extremely powerful but extra-constitutional quasi-governmental body headed by Sonia Gandhi which effectively supervised the working of the Common Minimum

Program of UPA¹⁰ which was passed by the Parliament in 2005. She served as a member of the National Advisory Council of India until 2006 and was also part of NAC II.¹⁸

Kiran Bedi has been India's first and highest (woman) ranking officer who joined the Indian Police Service in 1972. Her expertise includes more than 35 years of creative and reformatory policing and prison management. She has also been in the vanguard of a nationwide, India Against Corruption, a movement led by Anna Hazare which compelled the Indian Parliament to pass a unanimous resolution accepting three key demands of Janlokal Bill, drafted by Team Anna .

Medha Patkar (1 December 1954) is an Indian social activist. She is known for her role in Narmada Bachao Andolan She has also filed a public interest petition in the Bombay high court against Lavasa along with other members of National Alliance of People Movements (NAPM), including Anna Hazare.

Though she is past employee of Tata Empire, Patkar also played a pivotal role in driving out the Tata Nano plant from Singur in West Bengal ostensibly due to insufficient benefits to locals and use of fertile land for industry. However, the locals later appealed to Tata Motors to set up the plant at Singur accepting that they were misled. At the height of the agitation Ratan Tata had made a caustic remark questioning the source of funds of the agitators.¹¹

After dozens of tribal people threw eggs and tomatoes at social activist Medha Patkar and several of her associates in Maoist violence-hit Dantewada district in Chhattisgarh, she alleged it was a "state government-sponsored protest". "It was all a government-sponsored protest in Dantewada in police presence. Those who threw eggs and tomatoes were brought from a relief camp by the government," Patkar told a press conference.¹⁹

Indian women have mastered anything and everything which a woman can dream of. But they still have to go a long way to achieve equal status in the male-dominated Indian society.

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Changing Status of Women in India

Dr. Ravi S. Dalawai*

[Women can be considered as a vital link between the family, society and the state since women are involved in looking after men, in various stages of their life as a mother, as a wife, and as a daughter. Their role in the overall development of the nation is crucial “Globalization has rendered totally fluid the relationship between the community, the state and corporation” (Vandana Shiva, 1995). In this regard the contribution of women in strengthening the links between the state, the market and the civil society is significant. As women have emerged as top business executives, bureaucrats, academicians, social workers and political leaders they are in a position to accept the challenges of a dynamic world.]

Women’s role in the various walks of life has contributed to the evolution of values which have counted for what may be described as all round progress; her status is the measuring rod in assessing the standard of culture of any age (Sengapata, 1969). However many scholars underscored the importance of women’s role in the overall development of a country, but women have never attained any equal status with men in any period of history or any kind of society, they have always received a secondary status.

The Human Development Report of UNDP (1995: 29) rightly pointed out that, in no society today do women enjoy the same opportunities as men; women still constitute 70 per cent of world’s poor and two thirds of the world illiterates, they occupy only 14 per cent of managerial and administrative jobs, 10 percent of parliamentary seats and 6 per cent of cabinet positions. In many legal systems; they are still unequal, they often work longer hours and un-appreciated and threat of violence stalks their lives from cradle to grave.

Objectives

1. It aims at understanding changing status of women in modern India.
2. It tries to explore the role of social legislations in women empowerment.

* Asst Prof. of Sociology, Dept. of P. G. Studies in Sociology, Rani Channamma University, Karnataka.

Methodology

The present article has been prepared on the basis of reliable secondary data. The researcher used various books, journals, documents and other available written materials.

Analysis

However, as a paradox “Even in the light of heightened international awareness of gender issues, it is a disturbing reality that no country has yet managed to eliminate gender gap (Report of world Economic Forum, 2005). Despite frenetic pace of techno-economic growth and rapid time space compression and narrowing of cultural spaces, unshared by globalization, gender issues still remain at the forefront of human development until women who constitute nearly half of human population attain equal status with their male counter parts, a developed world will be a fantasy.

A nation’s progress primarily hinges upon the development of its social capital. In the process of a nation’s development the contributions of women is pivotal. In view of this Das (1997; 378) stated that real development cannot take root, if it bypasses women, who not only represents nearly half of the country’s total population, but also represent the cardinal around which societal reorientation takes place.

Hence, socio-economic development of the country primarily relies upon emancipation of women. The

future of humanity can be glorified only if women are allowed to attain a status, which is parallel to men. A woman is important part of the family who keeps the culture alive by transferring it from generation to generation through her children. Women are fully aware of the fact that they can bring grace and dignity to the place where they live. They can build a new nation, their role and effectiveness in a family, society and nations has been fully realized and accepted now” (Anuradhamathu, 2001).

Hence it is pertinent to note that “women are vital human infrastructure and their empowerment-economic, educational, social and political - would encourage the pace of social development. Investing in women’s capabilities, empowering them to achieve their ‘choices’ and ‘opportunities’ is the surest way to contribute to economic growth and over all development (Pattanaik 2000).

India, which attained independence in 1947 after long struggle for freedom, has to devise new strategies for initiating the process of socio-economic reform. Western model of development was not sustainable to achieve the objectives of a new nation. Hence Indian Constitution was designed in such a manner so as to adjust to the complicated socio- cultural and political set up of the country. Since the Indian society was characterized by patriarchy and hegemony of dominant caste, the goal of the Constitution was not only to specify the relationship between rulers and the ruled, but it had to adjust the over- reaching demands of nascent nations.

Gender disparities constituted one such critical problem. “After Independence, the Government of India has taken numerous measures and made endeavors to enhance the status of women and establish gender equality. The constitutional obligation as well as different plans, programmes and policies have laid emphasis on women empowerment in order to bring them to the mainstream of development” (Pattanaik, 2000).

The Indian Constitution has made certain special provisions which guarantee certain rights and privileges for women in Part- III of Indian

Constitution beginning with Article 14 which ensures equality as a natural right and this guarantees equality of all before law. Article 15 prohibits a differentiation to any citizen on the grounds on religion, caste, place of birth and sex.

Article 15(B) makes special provision enabling the state to make affirmative discrimination in favour of women, similarly Article 16 states that the government will not discriminate on the grounds of sex in the matters of employment.

In the directive principles of state policy, article 39(a) mentions that the state shall direct its policy towards securing for both men and women equally the right to means of livelihood article. Article 39(c) ensures equal pay for equal work. 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution made provision of 33 per cent reservation for women in urban and local self- government. Indian government has promulgated several laws from time to time in order to preserve and protect the dignity and integrity of women and to prevent any exploitation against them.

Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 is based on equality of men and women. Provisions are made to get divorced. The Hindu Succession Act, 1956, Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, Medical Termination and Pregnancy Act, 1971, Equal Remuneration Act, 1976, Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1976, Immoral Trafficking (Prevention) Act, 1986, Pre- natal diagnostic technique (regulation and prevention of measures), 1994, Domestic Violence Act, 2006, etc, are such acts that ensure equality between men and women.

The National Commission for Women Act 1990 was passed to set-up the National Commission for Women (NCW). “In spite of all these constitutional measures and legislations, women still remain socially, economically and politically marginalized. They have been looked upon as passive recipients of the benefits of development but not as active participants in the process of development; for diverse socio-economic and politico - cultural reasons, women have been a missing dimension in development planning and political governance. They continue to live in an unequal world” (Azim, 2002).

In order to plug this lacuna the Government of India has attempted to initiate concrete measures and sixth Five-year plan was a landmark step in this direction. It contained separate Chapter on Women's Development. The plan document reviewed the socio-economic and political status of women and came to the conclusion that in spite of the entire constitutional and legal measures, status of women did not witness a phenomenal transformation. It also gave the three-pronged approach for the development of women that included education, employment and health.

In Seventh Plan (1985-90), the developmental programmes for women continued with the major objective of raising their economic and social status to bring them into the mainstream of national development. A significant step in this direction was to promote the beneficiary -oriented programmes for women in different development sectors, which extended direct benefits to women (Das, 1997: 379).

Conclusion

Thus an evaluation of various measures undertaken by the government points towards the sincerity of the motive that the government has exhibited with regards to empowerment of women. However, historical evidence and the contemporary developments do not indicate to the practical realization of these motives of the government. The policies and the programmes launched by the government have remained only on paper. So it is very critical to understand the reasons for non-implementation of these programmes. It is also pertinent to understand the existing gaps between policy makers and the target groups, in order to comprehend the prevailing bottlenecks that have jeopardized the process of women empowerment.

One of the most important ways in which answers can be found to these key questions is by understanding the major determinants of women empowerment. In the wake of massive pace of urbanization, it will be significant to understand the linkage between the process of women empowerment and urbanization as urbanization leads to the emergence of liberal society and a change in

the value system, so it will definitely have a decisive impact on the status and role of women in the society.

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Gender Issues in Higher Education

Dr Jyoti Gautam*

[This article presents a cogent backdrop to the notion of gender equity in conceptual parameters as well as it also deals with the problems facing women in the higher education sector with specific reference to the Indian context. While substantiating her arguments with adequate statistics, the author pleads for the necessity of enhancing female participation of women in higher education so that they can also carve out a niche of their own on par with men. Ed.]

The word 'Gender' refers to the socio-economic definition of man and woman-the way societies distinguish men and women and assign them social roles. The distinction between sex and gender was introduced to deal with the general tendency to attribute women's subordination to their anatomy. For ages it was believed that the different characteristics, roles and status accorded to women and men in society are determined by sex that are natural and therefore not changeable.

Gender is seen closely related to the roles and behavior assigned to women and men based on their sexual differences. As soon as a child is born, families and society begin the process of gendering. The birth of the son is being celebrated while the birth of a daughter is felt with pain. Sons are

showered with love, respect, better food and proper healthcare. Boys are encouraged to be tough and outgoing but girls are encouraged to be homebound and shy.

All these differences are gender differences and they are created by society. Gender inequality is, therefore, a form of inequality which is distinct from other forms of socio-economic inequalities. Inequality between men and women is one of the most crucial disparities in many societies, and this is particularly so in India. On one level, gender disparity can be narrowly defined as the purely descriptive observation yielding different outcomes between males and females.

The right to education bridges the division of human rights into civil and political on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural, on the other hand.

* Lecturer in Sociology, Govt. Meera Girls PG College, Udaipur.

The right to education is a civil and political right since it is central to the full and effective realization of all human rights and freedoms. In this respect, the right to education epitomizes the indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights.

Nevertheless, millions of children around the world still fail to gain access to schooling, and even larger numbers among those who do enroll, leave prematurely, dropping out before the skills of literacy and numeracy have been properly gained. Educational inequality is a major infringement of the rights of women and girls and an important barrier to social and economic development. The right to education is protected comprehensively under articles 13 and 14 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) which also enshrines a prohibition on discrimination based on sex, both in law and in fact.

To promote gender equality and parity in education, states must target their efforts not only toward education itself, but also toward society's cultural and institutional framework. States should reduce the financial burdens of sending female children to school, and should reform the education system so that it no longer creates or permits the existence of separate standards and opportunities for females and males.

In this paper I want to discuss about gender issues in higher education. The main problems which are related to gender and what should we do for decreasing the gender gap in higher education.

Education

“Let us think of education as the means of developing our greatest abilities, because in each of us there is a private hope and dream which, fulfilled, can be translated into benefit for everyone and greater strength for our nation”. John F. Kennedy (1917-1963).

The importance of learning and grasping a quality education enables the individual to put his or her potentials to optimal use are clear. Without education, the human mind is incomplete. No individual in the working world has been able to succeed without some proper source of some kind

of education; the mind was made to be trained and without education, a person is incomplete in that sense.

Education makes a person right thinker and a correct decision-maker. It achieves this by bringing him knowledge from the outside world, teaching him to reason, and acquainting him with past history, so that he may be a better judge of today. Without education, a man just sees a room. With education, he finds himself in a room with all its windows open to the outside world. In other words, people who are not educated have less chance to do what they want to do. A person that gets a good education will become a more dependable worker, a better citizen, and a stronger consumer.

The past three decades have witnessed a steadily increasing awareness the world over of empowering women-through measures that enhance social, political and economic equity, provide broader access to human rights, education, healthcare and nutrition. In recent years, there has been an engendering of documents and reports-at the global level, as in the case of World Development Report, Human Development Report- or at the national level, as in the National Planning Documents- all of which have emphasized on gender indices to evaluate, assess and monitor the action taken by the governments and institutions with regard to issues of women's participation in all aspects of development.

Higher Education in India is provided by both, the public and private sector. The University Grants Commission is the apex regulatory body of higher education in India. India has the largest number of higher education institutions. According to the data published by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, the number of Universities/University-level institutions has increased 18 times from 27 in 1950 to 504 in 2009. The sector boasts of 42 Central universities, 243 State universities, 53 State Private universities, 130 Deemed universities, 33 Institutions of National Importance (established under Acts of Parliament) and five Institutions (established under various State legislations). The number of colleges has also

registered a manifold increase with just 578 in 1950 growing to be more than 30,000 in 2011.

Higher Education in India- With Special Reference to Gender Bias

Higher Education is generally defined as education beyond secondary school, i.e. education provided by colleges, universities and professional institutes. It is well-known that higher education is a key to achieving economic and socio-cultural progress and human development in any country. It is also necessary that access to higher education should be available to every citizen of the country, regardless, of gender or caste.

The six pillars of human development: equity, sustainability, productivity, empowerment, cooperation and security cannot be achieved in a system where only a part of the population has access to quality higher education. Hence, equal access and opportunity to all is the basic requirement for building sustainable societies.

The United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 declares, in Article 13, that “higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education”. The Indian Constitution mentions ‘Education’ as a fundamental right and the higher education sector in India is currently the third largest in the world.

The problem of women in higher education came to the forefront on the global eco-political scene in 1998. The World Conference on Higher Education gave special attention to the issue of women in Higher Education. The year also saw the publication of the document ‘Higher Education and Women: Issues and Perspectives’ (UNESCO, 1998). In India, the Kothari Commission had made recommendations in 1964-66 on equality in educational opportunities for men and women. In recent years, higher education in India has seen a vast increase, in establishment of institutes and universities, student enrolment, and particularly enrolment of women students. The Government has launched a variety of schemes to promote education among women. However, gender inequalities in

education still prevail. These are mainly socio-economic and socio-cultural in nature.

In recent years, analysts have focused attention on trying to understand institutions and organization from a gender perspective. The capacity of institutions to incorporate a gender equality perspective is fundamental cornerstone of a mainstreaming strategy. The emphasis on mainstreaming gender perspectives in all sectors recognizes that the interests and needs of women (as well as those of men) must be systematically pursued in the formulation and execution of all policies and programmes.

Gender Bias is a process of assessing policies, practices and procedures in an organization from a gender perspective. The primary purpose of such bias is to (a) profile the representation and participation of women in organization. (b) Identify the developmental dimensions that provide opportunities for advancement of women in an organization and (c) identify the structural barriers that impede their growth.

The process of gender bias is anchored within a framework of gender equity and justice. The bias of the outcome of initiatives taken for promotion of women’s development and for according visibility and significance to gender concerns can be a pointer to how women resources are being utilized in the organizations.

Gender Bias

According to UN Millennium Declaration, “Men and women have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger and from the fear of violence, oppression of injustice”. Sustainable development must be for all, men and women alike. It requires the full and equal participation of women at all levels. Women’s rights are universal human rights and are protected by international human rights conventions (Hemmati and Gardiner, 2002).

Yet, women and men do not experience today’s challenges in the same way, be they economic development, environmental degradation, threats to bio-diversity or violent conflicts. It is clearly inappropriate to try and address problems, to

identify the appropriate strategies, or to implement the solution if women are not involved in the process. Gender equity is essential building block in sustainable development. Indeed, none of the pillars of sustainable development can be achieved without finding solution to the problem of gender inequity (Earth Summit, 2002).

Sustainable development must extend to all aspects of women's contribution to development of a nation and its security whether environmental, economic, social, cultural or personal. Sustainable development demands that women's priorities and vision of development goals and approaches be clearly addressed, integrated and promoted, especially in policies related to education, employment, science, culture, communication and information. It is a question of equity and ultimately of human rights. This is why UNESCO gives lot of importance to women's needs in all its programmes.

The history of Indian economic development of the last half century witnessed a lot of changes. India's status has changed from a less developed country to that of a developing one. But in the literature, serious criticism exists with regard to the measures taken up by the government of India, particularly in the social sector. The critics argue that since independence, the performance of India in the social sector has been far from satisfactory and more could have been achieved if a proper policy measure was adopted.

As far as policy measures are concerned, the measures taken up in the education sector since

1990, like cost share financing in public universities or encouraging privatization, have important implication for the equity aspects of the higher educational system of the country. It is in this background that the present study attempts to explore the relative picture of the higher education system in the pre and post-reform India, especially, in terms of the participation of women in higher education.

We consider the higher education as university, as well as, college level education and estimate student's participation in terms of the student enrolment based on the secondary data.

Student Enrollment (Both Men and Women)

Around 25.9 million students are enrolled in over 45,000 degree and diploma institutions in India. Two-thirds of these institutes have been set up by the private sector. Undergraduate courses enroll 87% of the total number of students enrolled in degree courses. Around 4.2 million students are enrolled in distance education programmes.

However, the Gross Enrolment Ratio in Higher Education in India is pegged at 18%, which however, is much below the world average of 27%; China (26%) and Brazil (36%). The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) has stated that its Rashtriya Uchchar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA) Scheme will increase the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) from 18% to 30%. The scheme is estimated to cost Rs990 billion. (*The Times of India*, July 5, 2013).

Table - Enrollment for Higher Education in India (in Numbers)

Year s	Arts		Science		Commerce		Engineering/Tech		Medical		Other	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2005-06	2367566	1841682	1056842	752760	975459	636712	1765255	593383	160726	144903	NA	NA
2006-07	2470623	1902249	1095165	779745	1002396	610694	1899092	631270	168869	150942	NA	NA
2007-08	2813584	2449813	1177616	879059	1172779	743392	1079009	411609	241490	207843	131567	78392
2008-09	3084378	2684371	1437332	945661	1025697	863169	1267610	491194	169630	134761	308927	184510
2009-10	3794370	3263293	1498313	1090368	114855	2154722	1428712	576851	185505	168679	275263	302918

Note: Arts includes M.A. & B.A., Science includes M.Sc. & B.Sc., and Commerce includes M.Com. & B.Com; NA: Not Available. Source: *Statistical Year Book of India - 2013*, CSO.

As shown in the above table, the enrollment for higher education in India reveals that there were 18,41,682 females which had taken enrollment for higher education in the year 2005-06 in the Arts section and it had increased up to 32,63,293 females in the year 2009-10. Whereas in Science section female enrollment for higher education was about 7,52,760 females in the year 2005-06 and it increased to 10,90,368 females in the year 2009-10.

In the Commerce section female enrollment was 6,36,712 females in 2005-06 and 21,54,722 female in the year 2009-10. In Engineering education the data shows that it has reduced from 5,93,383 females to 5,76,851 female from the year 2005-06 to 2009-10. As in the above table Medical female students enrollment is increased from 1,44,903 females in the year 2005-06 to 1,68,679 females in the year 2009-10. As a result, it can be seen that by comparison, the male enrollment for higher education is higher than the female enrollment for higher education in India during 2005-10.

Problems Facing the Higher Education

The population of India is 1.27 billion according to the 2011 census with a sex ratio of 940 females to 1000 males. Approximately 58.4% of the population falls in the age group of 15-54 years. India's large young population requires access to quality higher education in order to achieve a better socio-economic progress. As mentioned earlier, India has the largest number of higher education institutions in the world. With 10.5 million students enrolled, it is the third largest globally.

However, the Gross Enrollment Ratio (18%) is low as compared to other countries, including developing countries. Critical gaps exist in the capacity and management systems of the higher education structure. India is a highly dualistic economy. A dualistic economy is one, where two or more socio-economic systems simultaneously

exist together. In India, there exists a wide gap in the level of income and development between various states. There is also a great rural-urban and socio-economic divide within the states.

As a result, while some sections of the population, both men and women, have access to world class educational facility, the greater majority still remains outside the purview of quality higher education. Thus, there exists a demand-supply gap in higher education on the one hand and a low gross enrolment ratio on the other. The same goes for regional disparities in facilities as well, which further widens the gap.

Quality versus Quantity

There is shortage of qualified faculty as norms for higher positions in teaching and academics are quite stringent. There is acute shortage of faculty in Central universities (40%) and State universities (35%). Similarly, incentives for research and academics are also lower than the other career options available to people. So very often it is an economic decision, rather than an academic one. There is also inadequate enrollment in research as students opt for technical courses like Engineering, Finance and Management, as these sectors pay better than Education and Research.

Very often, research is also undertaken only to achieve higher positions in universities and educational institutes and may be of a doubtful nature. According to the accreditation of the National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC), 62% of universities and 90% of colleges were average or below average in 2010.

Women and Higher Education

There has been a great increase in the number of universities and colleges and student enrollment, also of female students. The enrollment of lady students has also increased from 33,06,000 in 2001 to 70,49,000 in 2010-11. However, gender inequalities are still prevalent to a large extent. Gender disparities arise due to traditional role expectations. Even in educated families, there still are traditional role expectations from women, particularly, married women. As a result, there is a

high drop-out rate of to-be-married or just-married women.

A survey published by the *Times News Network* in 2011 states that around 26% of the students interviewed for the survey of drop-outs attributed their stepping back to financial problems at home. Girls, mostly, are in a dilemma as they get into marriage and start a family. This constitutes 9% of the crowd. In the Indian society and culture marriage is traditionally perceived as an event of utmost importance in the life of a woman, and everything else, work, career, education is often considered subservient.

The social system is also completely different in various parts of the country, encouraging women to make successful and independent careers in the developed cities and business centres, and confining them to the family chores in the interiors. Social and family upbringing often leads to lower enrolment of women in higher education, particularly in professional courses like engineering and technology, which are traditionally looked at as the male domain.

Economic inequalities exist to a very large extent in the country along with a high population. Large families which often cannot provide for the education of all the children, still tend to give preference to the male child when it comes to giving educational opportunities. These disparities start at the school level, with more number of girls dropping out than boys, which are socio-economic in nature.

Government Spending On Higher Education

Government spending on higher education has been in the range of 30-35% of the total spending on education, with almost 50% spending on elementary education. Currently public sector or government, investment in education is less than 3% of GDP, including a share of higher education at 0.4 per cent, or around 12% of the aggregate education budget. The Central government spends slightly more than 25% of total public expenditure and the state governments spend the remaining three-quarters.

About 50 per cent of the Central government's technical education budget went to the Indian

Institutes of Technology and Indian Institutes of Management in 2001-02. Real public expenditure per student has declined drastically since 1990-91 from Rs. 7676 to Rs. 5500 in 2002-03, coming down by nearly 28 percentage points. This would be even lower if the 50% expenditure on national institutes of excellence is left out (ICIER, CII, 2006). Experts believe that the government spending on higher education in India is very low as compared to the requirements of the sector and the population.

The Indian Government also has a variety of schemes for the benefit of women in higher education. These include the Scheme for Development of Women's Studies in Indian Universities and Colleges, Scheme for Women's Hostels for Colleges, Scheme for Capacity Building of Women Managers in Higher Education, and so on. However, the reach and spread of these schemes is still not as much as required.

Recommendations on Gender Equality in Education

"Education for all is important for three reasons. First, education is a right. Second, education enhances individual freedom. Third, education yields important development benefits." To summarize the various types of instruments that indicate international commitment to gender equality in education, those can divide in two categories: international treaties for ratification by individual countries which gives them legal weight, and "political promises", developed by international consensus to be a further stimulus to promote "action".

International Treaties

Its commitment to non-discrimination is affirmed. It commits states to economic measures for free primary education and financial support, educational and other forms of support for families, and support for teachers. One of the three instruments to make up the International Bill of Human Rights, this international treaty has limited coverage of gender and education.

Political Promises

The human rights of women and of the girl child are inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights. As an agenda for action, it seeks to promote and protect the full enjoyment of all human rights and the fundamental freedoms of all women throughout their life cycle. Its goal is to narrow the gender gap in primary and secondary education by 2005 and to ensure that by 2015, all children complete primary schooling, with girls and boys having equal access to all levels of education.

This area of action aims to address the need to change behavior, attitudes, norms and values which define and influence gender roles in society through education, the media, arts, culture and science in particular. Eliminating prejudices and stereotypes is paramount for the establishment of gender equality. In order to overcome stereotypes regarding gender roles in family and society, the following measures could be proposed:

Gender mainstreaming is different from previous approaches to equal opportunities, which focused mainly on the implementation of specific measures in favour of women. Although measures to promote women's rights are important, they are not sufficient to overcome structural inequalities in economic, social, political and family life. Gender mainstreaming thus entails a fundamental transformation of the underlying paradigms of the sphere of education. It includes not only the activities of governments, but also those of schools, colleges and education institutions, and, where appropriate, those of NGOs and the private sector as well.

Gender mainstreaming has to be implemented in cooperation of all social actors involved in combating poverty and social exclusion in the fields of employment, social protection, justice, education, health, public finances, economic policy, etc. Updating curricula, new teaching methods, the development of types of institutions, a new educational organization according to market economy principles, etc. all these aspects could be approached, taking into consideration the need for

new definitions of the roles of women and men in societies, of private and public partnerships between men and women, of power structures in societies, etc.

A revolutionary change in the socio-cultural paradigm is of paramount importance, as gender inequality begins at home at a tender age even in educated homes. This starts with minor things like the tasks assigned to boys and girls at home, difference in the toys given to both, rituals of religious and social nature and the general overall upbringing. The psyche of the people, the traditional patriarchal society, and the undue importance attached to the marriage of the girl child as the focal point of her life, all need to be changed; so that women as a majority will be able to get the fruits of the emerging economic development in the country. In this context two very relevant points need to be made:

1. The schools should take up the responsibility of propounding gender equality not just amongst the children, but also sensitizing the parents towards gender issues. This will work in a two-way pattern: the values of gender equality will be inculcated in the children at a very young age, so that they become enlightened and liberated citizens of tomorrow; and at the level of the parents, who will bring out their children in a more egalitarian spirit.
2. Structural, curricular and pedagogical changes should be made in Higher Education, making it more employment-friendly. The Indian education system is often criticized for being theoretically and conceptually very good, but lacking in application and developing employment potential for the individual. Connecting employability with education will create a strong link between higher education and economic independence, and will help increase the gross enrollment ratio and reduce the drop-out rate, both of female as well as male students. Employment opportunities will act as an incentive for enrollment and retention.

Conclusion

Achieving substantive gender equality in education entails tackling gender ideologies that constrain enjoyment of the full array of positive freedoms that are valued in a rights and capabilities approach. This entails firstly putting women back into the picture as rights-bearers and not deliverers of development, and extending our interest in how women's education impacts on others, to assessing how education impacts on women themselves. ICT and e-commerce offer substantial possibilities to improve the lives of women (and their families) in developing countries.

While many examples exist of how women have used the new technologies to improve their businesses, create new businesses or find new employment opportunities, the large majority of women in developing countries are still excluded from the digital economy. Gender equality is having the objective to enhance women's participation in the digital economy and thus increase national capacity.

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MGNREGA-The Road to Women's Empowerment

C. R. Prasad Swain*

[Women suffer from many disadvantages compared to men. They suffer from inadequacy of basic facilities and outcomes compared to their male counterparts what Amartya Sen has described in the "Many Faces of Gender Inequality". Poor women, thus have the double burden of being women and being the poor. A rural woman in India shares many responsibilities like taking care of the family, working as farm labour in the family farm as well as outside, tending domestic animals, and extending a helping hand in rural artisanship and handicraft.]

When there is poverty, people in general suffer but women suffer more than men. This is because they are less empowered. In the resource distribution, they are neglected; they also very often voluntarily sacrifice. When women are empowered, they can take care of their own well-being. Moreover, they can also improve the family well-being through their influence in the resource allocation of the household.

Meaning of Women's Empowerment

The Oxford American dictionary defines "empowerment" as 'to make (someone) stronger and more confident, especially in controlling their life and claiming their rights.' The Cambridge advanced dictionary defines "empowerment" as 'to give someone official authority or the freedom to do something' and "empowering" as something that makes a person more confident and makes one feel that he or she is in control of his or her life. Literally empowerment denotes "to invest with owner".

Power is defined as "the ability to influence behavior of others with or without restraint". The most primitive form of power is physical force. In the modern world power is exercised in indirect ways through various resources like personal, political, positional, knowledge, information etc. The extent to which a person or group holds such power determines their influence in their respective areas of operation. Control over intellectual and physical resources evenly balances exercise of power.

* PhD Scholar, School of Extension and Development Studies, IGNOU, New Delhi.

At this point it is necessary to be explicit about what we mean by the term 'empowerment'. While several researchers have tried to capture the meaning of the word [Malhotra, Schuler, Boender 2002 for a review], the definition most relevant to the approach taken in this paper is one provided by Sen and Batliwala (2000): "Empowerment is the process by which the powerless gain greater control over the circumstances of their lives. It includes both control over resources and over ideology... [includes, in addition to extrinsic control] a growing intrinsic capability – greater self-confidence, and an inner transformation of one's consciousness that enables one to overcome external barriers..."

Inherent in this definition are two important ideas, the first of which is that empowerment is not about power over others (a feature of domination), but power to achieve goals and ends. By conceptualizing empowerment in terms of 'power to', the definition explicitly recognizes that the process of empowerment involves not only changes in access to resources, but also an understanding of one's rights and entitlements and the conscientisation that 'gender roles can be changed and gender equality is possible'.

The second important idea is that the concept of empowerment is more generally applicable to those who are powerless, whether be male or female, individuals or a group, class or caste. Hence, there is nothing about the concept of empowerment *per se* which applies to women alone. Nonetheless, women's empowerment or lack of it, is unique in that it cuts across all types of class and caste

powerlessness and unlike class or caste powerlessness, is played out also within families and households [Malhotra et al 2002].

The topic of women empowerment has been discussed elaborately at various international conferences from 1975 onwards. The first U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. It emphasized the need for ensuring freedom and equality for women in civil, cultural economic, political and social areas of activity. The 1993 Vienna conference on Human Rights, 1994 Cairo Conference on Population and Development and the 1995 Beijing Women's World Conference also highlighted the need for the promotion of women empowerment programmes all over the world.

The World Bank (2001) has suggested that empowerment of women should be a key aspect of all social development programs. Empowerment of women in Third World countries like India is very important because the benefits will be felt not only by women themselves, but by the society and nation as whole.

Efforts made to empower women in India

The importance of women as an important human resource was recognized by the Constitution of India which not only accorded equality to women but also empowered the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in their favour. A number of Articles of the Constitution specially reiterated the commitment of the Constitution towards the socio economic development of women and upholding their political rights and participation in decision-making.

Drawing the strength from the constitutional commitments, the Government of India has been engaged in the continuous endeavor of concretely translating all the rights, commitments and safeguards incorporated in the Indian Constitution for women from *de jure* to *de facto* status. The state also has enacted several women-specific and women-related legislations to protect women against social discrimination, violence, atrocities and also to prevent social evils like child marriages, dowry, rape, practice of sati etc.

Betterment of Women under Five-year Plans

Development of women has been receiving attention of the Government right from the very first Five-year Plan (1951-56); but the same has been treated as a subject of 'welfare' and clubbed together with the welfare of the disadvantaged groups like destitute, disabled, aged, etc. The shift in the approach from 'welfare' to 'development' of women could take place only in the sixth plan (1980-85) and a multi-disciplinary approach with a special thrust on the three core sectors of health, education and employment was adopted.

In the subsequent plans the developmental programmes continued with the major objective of raising women's economic and social status and bringing them into the mainstream of national development. A significant step in this direction was to promote the 'Beneficiary-Oriented Schemes' (BOSs) in various development sectors which extended direct benefits to women. The ninth plan (1997-2002) introduced the empowerment approach and aimed at the creation of an enabling environment where women could freely exercise their rights both within and outside home, as equal partners along with men so as to enable them to realize their full potential.

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) programme can be thought as one such attempt to empower the rural women. It is being implemented with effect from February 2, 2006 in India. This is a unique scheme, as compared to the earlier employment programmes, which guarantees the right to work. The basic objectives of the Act are: to enhance livelihood security with some sort of guarantee, generation of productive assets, protection of environment, empowering rural women, reducing rural-urban migration and fostering social equity.

The mandate of the Act is to provide at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year to every rural household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. As a rural wage employment programme, MGNREGA recognized the relevance of incorporating gender

equity and empowerment in its design. Various provisions under the Act and its Guidelines, aim to ensure that women have equitable and easy access to work, decent working conditions, equal payment of wages and representation on decision-making bodies.

MGNREGS is expected to raise the employment, earning and thereby empowerment status of the

workers in general and the women in particular. Women's contribution to the household income to a large extent determines their importance in the family. Working under NREGS is expected to increase the nutrition level, expenditure on clothing, contribute towards children's education and increase healthcare expenditure etc.

Table: Women's Participation in NREGA Share of Women

S. No.	States	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
1	Andhra Pradesh	53.84	53.98	52.57	52.57
2	Arunachal Pradesh	32.07	32.07	32.07	32.07
3	Assam	32.06	32.06	32.06	32.06
4	Bihar	37.71	37.71	37.71	37.71
5	Chhattisgarh	48	48	48	48
6	Goa	70	70	70	70
7	Gujarat	45.3	45.3	45.3	45.3
8	Haryana	42.62	42.62	42.62	42.62
9	Himachal Pradesh	56.11	56.11	56.11	56.11
10	Jammu and Kashmir	26.15	26.15	26.15	26.15
11	Jharkhand	35.71	35.71	35.71	35.71
12	Karnataka	46.67	46.67	46.67	46.67
13	Kerala	82.94	82.94	82.94	82.94
14	Madhya Pradesh	44.35	44.35	44.35	44.35
15	Maharashtra	44.15	44.15	44.15	44.15
16	Manipur	40.87	40.87	40.87	40.87
17	Meghalaya	49.04	49.04	49.04	49.04
18	Mizoram	46.65	46.65	46.65	46.65
19	Nagaland	38.59	38.59	38.59	38.59
20	Odisha	37.06	37.06	37.06	37.06
21	Punjab	52.48	52.48	52.48	52.48
22	Rajasthan	59.8	59.8	59.8	59.8
23	Sikkim	46.43	46.43	46.43	46.43
24	Tamil Nadu	74.56	74.56	74.56	75.71
25	Telangana	56.23	56.23	56.23	56.23
26	Tripura	47.35	47.35	47.35	47.35
27	Uttar Pradesh	27.47	27.47	27.47	27.47
28	Uttarakhand	50.07	50.07	50.07	50.07
29	West Bengal	38.75	38.75	38.75	38.75

30	Andaman and Nicobar	46.16	46.16	46.16	46.16
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0
32	Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0
33	Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0
34	Puducherry	83.68	83.68	83.68	83.68
	Total	48.17	48.22	47.76	47.55

Source – Computed from the data available at www.nrega.nic.in on (06/10/2015)

Government figures indicate an impressive participation of women in the NREGA (see Table). It is above 33 per cent in 25 states and 2 union territories. Kerala, with 82.94 per cent, shows the highest participation with Tamil Nadu and Goa also showing impressive figures (75.71 and 70 per cent respectively). At an all-India level, women's participation as a percentage of total participation in NREGA works was 47.55 per cent in 2015-16.

Most of the NREGS workers come from not only poor families, but many of them belong to very poor households. So NREGS income would be an important source of cash income for them. In the poor households NREGS women workers' wage income would similarly raise the household income and status of the female workers who have earned these. This way family's economic status will be improved along with the women's empowerment. However, NREGA has empowered women.



Women Empowerment- A Global Comparison

Dr.Kalinga Ketaki*

[Women's empowerment as a process is not something absolutely new. It has been there throughout history in almost all societies. What could be considered as new is its increasingly coming out in public; it's having been shifted and reshaped from women's welfare for their development to now women's empowerment. What is rather recent is the increasing realization and recognition that empowering women is absolutely essential, for familial, societal, national and international development and progress. It has also been realized and accepted that genuine commitment and efforts have to be made by each country at the government, non-government and individual levels to work towards establishing women's empowerment as nationally and internationally.]

Women's empowerment as a concept was introduced at the International Women's Conference in 1985 at Nairobi. This conference defined empowerment as redistribution of social power and control of resource in favour of women.

Empowerment of women, though not a new concept yet is an emerging issue that has gained accelerated momentum in development literature of 21st century. Empowerment has become a fashionable and buzz

word in contemporary world order. it refers to a process that increases women's 'option, choice, control, decentralization of authority and power.' Women empowerment leads to a transformation of the structural factors, social determinants and unequal power relations that underpin widespread and persistent gender inequalities that result in women's unequal access to opportunities and resources across all areas of economics, political, social and cultural life.

It aims at getting participation of deprived sections of people in decision-making process, in other words, giving voice to voiceless and power to

* Asst. Prof. in Pol. Sc., Regional Institute of Education, Bhubaneswar.

powerless. Empowerment can provide equal opportunity and freedom to women to develop their all round personality. The focus of empowerment is equipping women to be of their own face any difficult situation and they should be able to participate in the process of decision-making, planning, implementation and evaluation system along with popularizing the democratic process.

The development of women has always been the central focus in developmental planning since India's independence. The Department of Women and Child since its inception (1985) has been implementing many special programmes for holistic development and empowerment of women with major focus on improving their socio-economic and political status.

The Government has also enacted a number of laws to protect women; such as Immoral Traffic Act (1956), Dowry Prohibition Act (1961), Child Marriage Restraint Act (1976) and Sati Act (1987). The Department of Women and other bodies were set up for the betterment and uplift of women. The Government of India declared the year 2001 as the year for the Empowerment of women, but even after 68 years of the Independence, women in India are still not empowered properly.

The data given below on parliaments across the world reveal that India, the largest democracy, lags much behind other countries including its neighbors such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal when it comes to women's participation in politics as one of the most important factors of women empowerment.

With only 11 percent of representation of women in Lok Sabha and 10.7 percent in Rajya Sabha, India ranks 105th in the world., according to the latest comparative data released by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, an international organization that works for promoting democracy in the world. India, the world's largest democracy, has only 66 women lawmakers in the current 543-member Lok Sabha,

While India shares the 105th position with West African country Cote d'Ivoire, it ranked 85 places below Nepal and 53 places behind Pakistan. Even

China at 60th spot and Bangladesh at 65 are well above India, according to the IPU data that are based on information provided by Parliaments by December 31, 2014. Only Sri Lanka and Myanmar are the neighboring countries which are placed below India at 129 and 134 spots in the list respectively.

This picture of women's participation in politics in the country has led women activists to demand greater political representation and call for the passage of the bill that promises 33 percent reservation to women in Parliament. Emphasizing the importance of Women's Day in the Indian context, CPI (M) leader Brinda Karat has said, "This is an occasion to put pressure on government to pass long-pending legislations that would benefit women, like the Women's Reservation Bill."

All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA) General Secretary Sudha Sundararaman also said if village panchayats can have 50 percent reservation of women, and then why Parliament can't has 33 percent. "The Government should stop paying lip service, and actually put worlds into action," she said. Even in conflict-hit and resource-poor African countries like Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, Tunisia and Tanzania, women seem to have fared well so far as their participation in national politics is concerned.

Among the countries that have higher women participation in national politics is included Andorra, a small landlocked country in southwestern Europe, which is ranked second with over 50 percent women legislators. Then comes Cuba which has 265, or over 45 percent women in its 586-member parliament followed by Sweden with over 47.3% women members in Parliament.

Rich and powerful countries like the USA, Britain, Italy, France and Germany are ranked 78th, 53rd, 57th, 69th and 21st respectively. There are eight countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Palau, Micronesia, Nauru and Solomon Islands – which have zero women participation in their national politics.

Women empowerment is the process by which the disempowered or powerless people can change their creativity in pursuance of quality of life. Gender

development constitutes the important part of development, so it is important in this respect to bring women into the mainstream of development.

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Creation of Haryana

Navpreet Kaur*

[While dwelling on the historical development leading to the emergence of Haryana as a new state which was carved out of Punjab on the linguistic basis, the author also examines the relevant developments pertaining to the reorganization of boundaries of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. It also takes into account the views of the political parties involved in the events and official attitudes while tracing out the origin of the developments that culminated into the emergence of Haryana as a new state on November 1, 1966. Ed]

The demand of creation of the 'Greater Delhi' or 'Vishal Haryana' was actively supported by several leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Moti Lal Nehru, Asaf Ali, Sir Chhotu Ram, a Jat leader and Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.¹ Along with the demand for greater Delhi and Vishal Haryana, the idea for Sikh state sprang up early in 1942.² The Sachar-Giani formula of October 1, 1949 could not satisfy the Hindus and Sikhs. According to Harayanvis, the state could be divided into two linguistic regions Punjabi and Hindi.

The Re-organisation Commission rejected the demand of greater Delhi or Vishal Haryana on the ground that, "Separation of Haryana areas of Punjab which are deficient areas will be no remedy

for any ills, real or imaginary, from which this area at present suffers."

The Akali Dal of Punjab under the guidance of Master Tara Singh started vigorous movement for Punjabi Suba. A new system known as "Regional Formula" was introduced. It was to accept the respective claims of Hindi and Punjabi languages without the division of state. In the formula both the languages were given the status of official language up to the district level.

Consequently, separate regional committees were set up. However, this system did not succeed in the coming five years 1960-65. In those days, the demand of the Punjabi speaking province became more pressing but the government did not accept it.³

* Ph. D Scholar, Dept of Pol. Sc., Punjabi University, Patiala.

During communal strife and agitation, the Government of Punjab gazetted the establishment of the Haryana Vikas Committee on March 2, 1961. Sri Ram Sharma was appointed its Chairman with Chaudhary Chand Ram, Rao Nihal Singh and G.L. Bansal as its members.⁴ It sent its recommendations after nine months.

On September 25, 1965, the Government of India appointed a Parliamentary Committee under the Chairmanship of S. Hukum Singh, Speaker of Lok Sabha to study the question of the division of Punjab. The Committee submitted its report on March 18, 1966. A number of memorandums were presented by the representatives of Haryana Lok Samiti, Haryana All Parties, Action Committee, Haryana Arya Samaj and other organizations.⁵

This Committee recommended the creation of a Punjabi speaking state and proposed the establishment of a Hindi speaking state of Haryana. It also recommended the inclusion of Chandigarh and Kharar tehsils in Haryana.

Creation of Haryana

The recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee on Punjabi Suba elicited a favourable response from leaders on both the sides with, however, a note of doubt by Haryana leaders that the formation of Haryana had not been categorically mentioned in its report.

The Government of India also accepted the recommendations in principle and set up Shah Commission known as “The Punjab Boundary Commission” on 23 April 1966 to make recommendations in the matter of the re-organisation of the state of Punjab in such a manner as to satisfy the people of the state that the demarcation of the boundary on a linguistic basis had been made with utmost care and impartially and after taking into consideration the interests of the country as a whole.

The Resolution of the Government of India appointing the Commission said: “The Government of India have decided to reorganise the present state of Punjab on linguistic basis so as to constitute from its territories two states, namely, Punjab and Haryana states, after transferring of Himachal

Pradesh, such of the hill areas, particularly of the Hindi region of the state as are contiguous to that union territory and have cultural and linguistic affinities with it. For the purpose of determining the actual boundaries of these units, the Government of India considers it necessary that there should be the examination of the matter by a Commission.⁶

Declaring the ‘Term of reference’ of this commission in the Lok Sabha on 18 April 1966, Gulzari Lal Nanda, the then Home Minister, said: “The Commission shall examine the existing boundary of the Hindi and Punjabi regions of the present State of Punjab and recommend what adjustments, if any, are necessary in that boundary to secure the linguistic homogeneity of the proposed Punjab and Haryana States. The commission shall also indicate the boundaries of the hill areas of the present state of Punjab which are contiguous to Himachal Pradesh and have linguistic and cultural contiguity with that territory.

The Commission shall apply the linguistic principle with regard to the census figures of 1961 and other relevant considerations. The commission may also take into account such other factors as administrative convenience and economic well-being, geographical contiguity add facility of’ communication and will ordinarily ensure that the adjustments that they may recommend do not involve breaking up of the existing tehsils.”

The task of the commission, in other words, was to examine the Hindi and Punjabi regions of the present state of Punjab and to recommend any changes, if necessary, in that boundary so as to secure the linguistic homogeneity of the proposed new States. It was also required to identify the hill areas of the then State of Punjab which were contiguous to Himachal Pradesh and had linguistic and cultural homogeneity with that Union territory.⁷

It was asked to make its recommendations to the Government by the end of May 1966. A large number of individuals and organizations appeared before the Committee to present Haryana’s case. After considering all the issues carefully, the Commission recommended that:

1. The following areas should be merged with Himachal Pradesh:

- i. The district Simla, Kulu, Kangra, Lahul-Spiti;
 - ii. Development Block Gagret, Amb and Una (excluding the village Kherabagh, Samipur, Bhabhaur and Kalseh and village Kosri from tehsil Una district Hoshiapur);
 - iii. Tehsil Nalagarh (district Ambala);
 - iv. Enclave Dalhouosie, Balun, Bukloh in Chamba district which are hill areas and have cultural affinity with the people of Himachal Pradesh.
2. District Gurdaspur (excluding Dalhousie, Balun and Bukloh), Amritsar, Kapurthala, Jullundur, Ferozepore, Bhatinda, Patiala, Ludhiana and tehsils Barnala, Malerkotla and Sangrur (district Sangrur). Tehsil Rupa (district Ambala), tehsil Dasuya, Hoshiarpur and Garhshankar, and Development Block Anandpur, Nurpurbedi and village Kherabagh, Samipur, Bhabhaur and Kalash from Una block and village Kosri in Una tehsil will form the Punjabi speaking state; and
 3. District Hissar, Mohindergarh, Gurgaon, Rohtak and Karnal, and tehsil Narwana and Jind (district Sangrur) and tehsil Kharar (including Chandigarh capital project), Naraingarh, Ambala and Jagadhri (of district Ambala) will form the Hindi speaking state.⁸

The Union Government accepted all the unanimous recommendations of the Punjab Boundary Commission. It however, decided to ignore its recommendations with regard to Chandigarh. The Union Government decided to make Chandigarh a Union Territory with both Punjab and Haryana having their capitals in the city.⁹ This action was severely criticized by the leaders and people of Haryana and there was mass violence in various towns of Haryana on 10 June, 1966.

A meeting of the legislators of all the parties and other leaders of Haryana was held at New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Bhagwat Dayal Sharma, the then Punjab Pradesh Congress chief. It expressed “grief and shock” at the decision. It charged the Union Government with having bowed before threats in not fully implementing the recommendations of the Punjab Boundary Commission.

Hardwari Lal, a prominent leader of Haryana in his letter written to Kamraj, the then Congress President, protested against the division of the Kharar tehsil between the two states and sought his permission to resign immediately from the Punjab Vidhan Sabha as a protest against the Union Cabinet’s decision about Chandigarh.¹⁰ He said that it was grossly unfair to the people of Haryana.

Welcoming the Punjab Reorganization Bill, Prof. D.C. Sharma, M.P. said that the Government had tried its best to meet the conflicting claims and the people of Haryana should accept the reorganization provided for in the Bill with goodwill and grace.¹¹

Punjab Reorganization Bill

A Bill to divide Punjab known as the “Punjab Reorganisation Bill” was introduced in the Lok Sabha by the then Home Minister, Gulzari Lal Nanda on 3 September 1966. Some of the important provisions of the Bill were:

1. A common High Court for the two states of Punjab and Haryana and the Union Territory of Chandigarh.
2. Common Universities – the Punjab University and the Punjab Agriculture University, a common Electricity Board and a common Warehousing Corporation.
3. Chandigarh was to be a Union Territory and the joint capital of both the states. The Centre was to record the rent or contribution from both the states for the use of most of the existing buildings in Chandigarh housing the offices and various departments of the two new states.
4. The Legislative Assemblies of Haryana, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh will have 62, 87 and 56 members respectively.
5. 22 seats were allotted to then state of Punjab and 4 seats to Himachal Pradesh in the Lok Sabha. Allocation of seats in the Lok Sabha to be constituted after the next General Elections will be: Haryana 9, Punjab 13, Himachal Pradesh 6 and Chandigarh 1. In the Rajya Sabha, 11 seats were allotted to Punjab and 2 to Himachal Pradesh. It was proposed in the

Bill to allot 5 seats to Haryana, 7 to new Punjab and 3 to Himachal Pradesh.

6. After the reorganisation, Haryana will not have a Legislative Council, whereas Punjab will have one with a reduced strength of 40 only.
7. The present Public Service Commission in Punjab will continue to function in the new state of Punjab. Haryana will have a separate (new) Public Service Commission.
8. The Punjab State Financial Corporation will continue to function, but provision has been made for its reorganization or dissolution when so required by the Central Government or with the previous approval of the Central Government.

Speaking on the Bill in the Lok Sabha on 6 September 1966, Gulzari Lal Nanda said that the Bill incorporated all the unanimous recommendations of the Commission and the Government had to decide to keep Chandigarh as a Union Territory to serve both the States as their capital and to divide the rest of Kharar tehsil between the two states because the Commission itself could not come to any unanimity on this matter. Chandigarh, according to him, was so designed as to serve the common capital of both the state.¹²

Inclusion of Fazilka and Abohar in the Punjabi Suba was severely criticized. D.D. Puri said in the Lok Sabha that depriving Haryana of Chandigarh was the unkindest of all the blows that had been delivered to Haryana by the Government of India. As a part of Kharar tehsil with 73.3 per cent Hindi speaking people Chandigarh belonged to Haryana.

The decision to have a central authority for the Bhakhra Nangal and Beas project was welcomed. The Bill for the reorganization of Punjab into two states of Punjab and Haryana and the creation of Chandigarh as Union Territory was passed by the Parliament on 7 September 1966 and received President's assent on 18 September. The new states were to come into being on 1 November 1966.

The Punjab Reorganization Act was challenged by Mangal Singh of Karnal and Balwant Rai Tayar. On 28 September, a writ petition was filed in the

Circuit Bench of the Punjab High Court challenging the validity of the Act on the following grounds:

1. According to this Act, Haryana Legislative Assembly was to have 54 members. This contradicted Article 170 of the Indian Constitution which provides:
“the Legislative Assembly of each state shall consist of not more than 500 and not less than 60 members chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the state.”
2. The petition challenged the inclusion of members of Legislative Councils in the Assembly.

The High Court, however, rejected the petition and held that the Punjab Reorganization Act was constitutionally valid despite its provision affixing the membership of Haryana Legislative Assembly at 54. The Bench consisting of Justice S.B. Kapoor, Justice A.N. Grover and Justice H.R. Khanna ruled that under the terms of Article 4 of the Constitution, Parliament was competent to make any changes, it thought necessary, in the numerical strength of Legislative bodies in a state coming into existence as a result of reorganization.¹³

The two states of Punjab and Haryana came into being on 1 November 1966. The President Dr. Radha Krishnan, in a broadcast on the eve of inauguration of the states of Punjab and Haryana, emphasised their strategic importance to the country and said, “Punjab has resisted the invaders from the north and we have, therefore, reason to be proud of these new states.”

On November 1, 1966 Haryana as the new state of India came into existence. Gulzari Lal Nanda in his message said: “A cradle of our ancient civilization, Haryana comes into its own on this auspicious occasion; 1 November, marks the end of a long journey. It also marks the beginning of another new journey.”¹⁴

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Emergence of Mall Culture in India

A. Scarlet* & Dr.Maria John**

[Shopping malls have come to play a predominant role in the life style of people living in Tamil Nadu which has massively changed the patterns of shopping activities. Nowadays, people believe that the malls are best place to shop or hang out. It is not only a place to shop but also a place for social and recreational activities. The shopping mall is an agglomeration of various retailers and commercial service providers within a well-planned, designed and managed building or group of buildings (ICSC, 2002; Urban Land Institution, 1999)].

Shopping motivation reveals the general predisposition of consumers toward the act of shopping (Gehrt et al., 1992). This predisposition may be clearly visible in buyer's decision-making process, which includes patterns of information search, alternative, evaluation, and product selection.

Atmospheric stimuli including smell, music, decoration, or layout and temperature are either actively or passively used by retail and mall managers (Michon et al, 2005). These stimuli have a strong impact on consumer's perception of the shopping mall's appearance as well as their behavior.

The impact of the physical environment on consumer behavior has received significant attention from researchers (Gilboa and Rafaeli, 2003; Luomala, 2003; Mattila and Wirtz, 2001; Wake field and Baker, 1998; Warren and Burns, 2002). Physical environment of a mall includes elevation, lighting, air conditioning, washrooms, layout, aisle placement and width, carpeting and architecture. The atmosphere of a retail setup has a major impact in the minds of mall consumers reflecting their behavioural response and the role of experiential value in determining these behavioural responses.

A retail store attracts shoppers who vary in their profiles. While some of them are serious shoppers, many of them are "visitors" to the stores. It is not possible for the store to differentiate its offerings to

* Dept of Commerce, J.A. College, Kanyakumari.

** Principal, Annai Velankanni, Kanyakumari.

these segments. Classifying these shoppers on demographic and their orientation to shopping has been tried in the developed economies.

However, it is felt that in an evolving market like India where shopping orientation is yet to be formed, one of the bases of understanding the shoppers could be their behaviour at the store because behavioural cues are factual data on which a retailer can develop its strategy.

The following are the five types:

The economic shopper: A balanced and more coherent kind of customer who tries to get the best deal so as to utilize his/her money efficiently and effectively.

The personalized shopper: Customer who will only shop at a store with which he/ she has formed a strong attachment.

The ethical shopper: Customer is very conscious and concerned about the local stores and will prefer them over the big retail giants.

The apathetic store: Customer who doesn't like to do shopping but does it because he/she consider as a necessary evil.

The recreational shopper: For this customer, shopping is a means of socializing, spending leisure time and for him/her shopping is fun.

Need of the study

The study of consumer behaviour is very important to the marketers because it enables them to understand and predict buying behaviour of consumers in the marketplace; it is concerned not only with what consumers buy, but also with why they buy it, when and where and how they buy it, and how often they buy it, and also how they consume it and dispose it. The study also helps in understanding management of mall culture in India so as to recognise the potential for the trend of development of change in consumer requirements and new technology. And also to articulate the new thing in terms of consumers' needs so that it will be accepted in the market well.

Scope of the study

The scope of this study mainly focuses to understand emergence of mall culture in India and how changes are coming in the mind of customer regarding

shopping malls and their behaviour towards these shopping malls. It is to assess the overall customer satisfaction, response of customers with regard to the availability and quality of products and services offered at shopping malls and the comfort level of the respondents towards shopping in the shopping malls.

Literature Review

Arpita Khare(2011) studied in her paper titled "Influence of hedonic and utilitarian values in determining attitude towards malls: A case of Indian small consumers", the influence of hedonic and utilitarian shopping values on consumers attitudes towards malls in the smaller cities of India. Emotional and rational shopping motives are supposed to govern the consumer's attitude towards malls. The research was conducted in five mini-metropolitan cities in Northern India (n=325). ANOVA and multiple regression tests were administered to analyze the data.

The results show that the hedonic and utilitarian values of small city consumers influenced their attitude towards malls. Results also showed the influence of age in consumer's attitudes towards mall attributes.

Kavita Kanabar(2012) in her paper entitled "Change in consumer behavior in Surat with introduction of Mall", explains that modern organized retail has forayed into Surat, as is evident in supermarkets and multi-storied malls that offer shopping, entertainment and provision for eating under one roof. The study finds that primarily in the malls for shopping, consumers prefer eating at food-courts, window shopping and entertainment in the form of movies at multiplexes or video game parlors.

They also attend events, promotions, competitions and product launches that are organized in the malls and spend their leisure time with family and friends. Over the period, the mall culture has gained acceptance and consumers are repeating their visits for successive purchases marked by the increase of regular users at malls.

The 2015 GRDI Findings

The relative instability in the developing world is reflected in the 2015 ranking

2015 Global Retail Development Index TM

2015 Rank	Country	Market Attractiveness (25%)	Country Risk(25%)	Market-Saturation (25%)	Time Pressure (25%)	ORDI Score	Change in Rank Compared	Population (Million) (Thousand)	GDP Per Capital PPP
1	China	66.7	55.7	42.3	96.6	65.3	+1	1.364	13
2	Uruguay	93.3	60.4	68.0	38.9	65.1	+1	3	20
3	Chile	98.2	100.0	13.0	37.9	62.3	-2	18	23
4	Qatar	100.0	89.4	34.3	12.8	59.1	N/A	2	144
5	Mongolia	22.4	19.9	93.1	100.0	58.8	N/A	3	10
6	Georgia	36.5	39.1	78.8	79.2	58.8	+1	5	8
7	United Arab Emirates	97.6	84.0	16.5	33.9	58.4	-3	9	65
8	Brazil	98.0	60.4	45.2	28.0	57.9	-3	203	15
9	Malaysia	75.6	68.8	29.3	52.7	56.6	-	30	25
10	Armenia	35.4	37.1	82.1	66.3	55.2	-4	3	7
11	Turkey	83.1	48.1	40.2	44.8	54.1	-	77	20
12	Indonesia	50.6	35.5	55.1	65.9	51.8	+3	251	10
13	Kazakhstan	49.6	34.2	72.5	50.7	51.8	-3	17	24
14	Sri Lanka	15.8	34.4	77.8	78.8	51.7	+4	21	10
15	India	30.5	39.8	75.7	58.5	51.1	+5	1.296	6
16	Peru	48.9	43.9	58.6	51.8	50.8	-3	31	12
17	Saudi Arabia	78.6	64.4	30.4	27.0	50.1	-1	31	54
18	Botswana	49.2	62.5	33.3	54.2	49.8	+8	2	16
19	Panama	62.3	46.8	49.7	37.6	49.1	-5	4	20 ^c
20	Colombia	55.6	49.3	52.0	39.1	49.0	+1	48	13
21	Russia	94.9	28.4	24.5	46.6	48.6	-9	144	25
22	Azerbaijan	33.9	26.9	82.4	46.8	47.5	+8	10	18
23	Nigeria	19.6	8.3	94.0	66.5	47.1	-4	178	6
24	Philippines	39.6	36.0	51.6	60.7	47.0	-1	100	7
25	Jordan	51.1	35.5	64.2	36.8	46.9	-3	8	12
26	Oman	75.0	77.3	24.9	9.8	46.7	-9	4	44
27	Kuwait	81.0	68.1	33.2	0.0	45.6	-19*	4	71
28	Costa Rica	66.9	49.2	38.7	25.1	45.0	-4	5	15
29	Mexico	82.5	56.1	0.2	38.8	44.4	-4	120	18
30	Angola	2.4	9.2	99.4	45.0	44.0	N/A	22	8

Source: www.atkearney.com/consumer-products-retail/global-retail-development-intex

“A shopping mall (or simply mall), shopping center, or shopping arcade is a building or set of buildings

that contain stores, and has interconnecting walkways enabling visitors to easily walk from store to store. The walkways may or may not be enclosed.”

Reasons for growth of Malls in India

- Fast growing middle class with higher discretionary income.
- Emergence of youth as an independent shopper with a lot of disposal income.
- Eagerness of Indian shoppers for a new shopping experience.
- Presence of factors like cost effectiveness, convenience wide variety of products with the fun element entertainment and good time pass plus shopping on weekends.
- Influence of media and marketing communication resulting in changing aspirations, lifestyle orientation and change in consumer perceptions about shopping.

Types of Malls

The malls basically are classified on the basis of their merchandise orientation means types or Goods and Services sold and their size. The trend towards differentiation and segmentation will continue to add new terminology as the industry matures. Following are the different types of malls.

Regional Malls

According to International Council of Shopping Centers, a regional mall is a Shopping Mall which is designed to service a larger area than a conventional Shopping Mall. It is typically larger than 400,000 square feet to 800,000 square feet gross leasable area with at least two anchors and offers a wider selection of stores.

Super regional malls

This is a mall which is almost similar to a regional mall, but it is larger in size than a regional mall. It has more anchor stores, a deeper selection of Merchandise and draws from a larger population base. A super regional mall is, according to International Council of Shopping Centers, a Shopping Mall with over 800,000 square feet (74000) of gross 2 m 302 leasable area and which serves as the dominant Shopping venue for the region in which it is located.

Outlet Malls

An outlet mall or outlet center is a type of shopping mall in which manufacturers sell their products directly to the public through their own stores. The other stores in outlet malls are operated by retailers selling returned goods and discontinued products often at heavily reduced price. In India these outlet stores are not shopping malls, they are called generally as factory outlet shops because they generally call general products directly offered by the company.

Vertical Malls

Vertical Malls are the malls with typically multi-storey building. The vertical mall is common due to the high land price in densely populated and the higher yield on retail property. The concept of the vertical mall departs from the common Western model of the flat shopping mall in which space allocated to retail is configured over a number of storeys accessible by escalators linking the different levels of the mall. The challenge of this mall is to overcome the natural tendency of shoppers to move horizontally and encourage shoppers to move upwards and downwards.

Lifestyle Centers

Lifestyle Center is newly designated that has a loose definition. Generally, it's a center that does not have an anchor tenant in the classic sense that is, department store. Lifestyle centers have a cinema as a major tenant.

Dead Malls

The dead malls are those which have failed to attract new business and often remain unused for many years until restored or demolished. Interesting example of architecture and urban design, these structures often attract people who explore and photograph them. This phenomenon of dead and dying malls is examined in detail by the website Deadmills.com which hosts many such photographs as well as historical accounts.

Strip Mall

Strip mall also called Shopping Plaza or Mini mall. It is an open area shopping center where the stores are arranged in a row with a sidewalk in front. Strip malls are typically developed as a unit and have

large parking lots in front. They face major traffic arterials and tend to be self-contained with few pedestrian connections to surrounding neighborhoods.

Outlet Mall

Outlet Mall is a type of Shopping Mall in which manufacturers sell their products directly to the public through their own branded stores. Clothing, sporting goods, electrical products, cosmetics and toys are among the types of items sold at outlet malls. Outlet malls first appeared in the United States as a development of the traditional factory outlet, a store attached to a factory or warehouse. An outlet mall places several such outlets under one roof in a convenient location, usually an out-of-town site. The out-of-town site minimizes overhead costs.

Luxury Malls

Luxury Mall is mall which only houses luxury brands. The luxury malls have been planned to be built soon in India, most of the tenants are expected to be the best brands in the world such as France’s Louis Vitton, Greece’s Dunhill Fendi Mont Benc, Van Clef and Arpels Rolex and Omega.

Mall Culture in India

Culture could be defined as the set of learned beliefs and values and mall culture is learned shopping experiences. This culture is different from the typical

Indian Shopping Culture (i.e. convenience/Kirana shops or Mom and Pop stores). The mall culture in the society is created due to shopping, roaming, enjoying movies and entertainment and also making routine to visit a mall. In India all this has happened rapidly but there is still a huge potential market that remains untapped.

The malls have developed in India due to many reasons and some of them are listed below:

Population Density: Market is the sum total of existing and potential customers. Prominent cities of India cover a huge part of population. A huge percentage of population lives in these areas. This gives developers a very big market to serve.

High income: These cities are known as industrial hubs. Here the income level of people is higher than the level in rural and some urban areas. People have more money to spend on good shopping experience. They can think more than bread and butter and also are ready to spend for entertainment.

Different buying habits: In metro cities shoppers are broadly conscious. Malls collect international brands of reputed companies which are made available to the customers. Change in culture again develops a situation where both husband and wife are working and they want all the required materials under one roof, this leads to developing of more and more malls.

S.No	Strength	Weakness
1	Skyscrapers with perfect blend of shopping, eating and entertainment, in short —shoppertainment.	Mall developers are enacting as mall managers, retail not accredited as an industry in India; complicated taxation system.
2	Developed in contemporary style, these flashy malls promise just about everything under the sun, from foreign gizmos to the very desi brands.	Lack of adequate infrastructure including supply chain, parking facilities.
3	Attractive destinations for civic and official meetings, hang-out, reducing stress.	Unavailability and skyrocketing prices of prime catchment’s areas.
4	Procure goods directly from factories and farmers in case of lifestyle and food/beverages respectively.	Poor positioning and zoning of malls.
5	Bouquet of value propositions like value for time, value for quality, value for experience, value for money.	Shortage of qualified human personnel in the area of facility management, creative firms, and design houses.

6	High quality shopping environment & quality assortment at variant shopping format.	Lack of differentiated offerings i.e. same mix of shopping, foods and films.
S.No	Opportunities	Threats
1	Tier II and Tier III cities are still untapped.	Non-availability of adequate finance.
2	Growing urbanization and increase in purchasing power of consumers.	Undeveloped supply chain.
3	Outsourcing from other developed retail market.	Vigorous competition from unorganized retailers, keeping up brand loyalty.
4	Progressive growth of apparitional consumer class.	Disturbance in income strata of Consumers greatly influence malls growth.
5	Believing more in spending than savings , as most of the population is youth (with median age 24 and 35 percent of population below 14 years).	Threat from online players, (even though internet penetration is low in India.

Conclusion

The study concludes that the shoppers visit shopping malls for making use of all facilities under one roof. This indicates that shoppers visit the malls for social and entertainment purpose, and they spend additional time at food court and stores in the mall. Malls are fast becoming a place for socializing and recreation and customers have set high expectations from the malls. They see malls as a one-stop-destination for various purposes like dining, watching movies, hanging out, meeting new/old friends and shopping.

Hence, mall managers should understand that malls have become something more than a place to buy products and they should transform the malls that would offer energetic and vibrant stores with attractive product merchandises, scores of entertainment bundled with modern, more sophisticated atmospherics and facilities, necessary to lure the target customers.

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Tackling Insecurity via Entrepreneurial Education

Arun Kumar,* Dr. Sapna Bansal** & Manoj Kumar***

[Education plays important role in human development of any country as it prepares recipients to live effectively and efficiently in the society and to contribute to its advancement, peace and harmony. Through education, youths acquire knowledge, skills and competencies required to be responsible citizens in the country. The acquired knowledge and skills enable the recipients to develop good habit, acting, thinking and behaviours. This explains why Okeke (2003) considers education as the process by which individuals are assisted formally through proper direction and guidance to develop their capacities for their own benefit and that of the society.]

It then follows that, through education the behaviour patterns of youths could be changed in the desired direction. This, therefore, shows that the role of education in helping to equip individuals with requisite knowledge and understanding for peaceful coexistence of society cannot be overemphasized. This assertion prompted successive governments in India to evolve different policies and programmes to promote education for human resource development in the country (Matawal, 2007).

Vocational education, in which entrepreneurial education is embedded, is responsible for developing human resources by equipping students with skills and competencies required for work. The programme builds on learners' critical thinking skills and knowledge for decision-making, planning and actions. Okorie (2001) asserts that vocational education can be conceived as a comprehensive term referring to those aspects of educational process involving the transmitting of practical skills, attitudes, understanding and knowledge relating to entrepreneurship for economic and social life.

Through entrepreneurial education individuals acquire skills, knowledge and competencies for capacity building and self employment. It is expected that the acquired skills and competencies will make school leavers understand and appreciate one another better,

respect the right of individuals and their dignity. This explains why scholars such as Amoor (2008), Ohiwerei (2009) and Adamu (2010) opine that the knowledge of entrepreneurial education plays a crucial role in developing professional and highly skilled personnel for teaching, office work, administration and entrepreneurship.

The growing rate of unemployment and level of poverty in the country has contributed largely to the problem of insecurity in India. This is in line with Olaitan (1996) who reported that unemployment leads to frustration and disillusionment among youths which may result in criminal acts, drug abuse and atrocities in a futile attempt to escape from and forget the pains and humiliation associated with poverty.

Adeyinka (1995) attributed social crimes and social ills, arson, looting and other publicly disgraceful attitudes such as poor respect to elders, insecurity, disorderliness, killings and kidnapping to the faulty education provided by the British colonial government. Afolabi and Olorisade (2008) noted that most of India's social ills and problems are caused by the unemployment and poverty that is biting high on Indians. They maintained that, idle hands are devil workshops. The authors however called for the need to transform India education to meet up with challenges facing the country.

Hence, the introduction of entrepreneurial education into the curriculum of higher institutions in India is a welcome innovation that will go a

* Assistant Prof., NCWEB, University of Delhi.

** Assistant Prof., NCWEB, University of Delhi.

*** Assistant Prof., Satyawati College, D.U. Delhi.

long way to equip students with skills and competencies for self-employment which is expected to promote peaceful co-existence and development of the nation.

The reform in education which leads to introduction of entrepreneurial education is expected to address the shortcoming in the inherited colonial education by preparing the youths for self-employment. This was also the position of Ogundele, Oluwalola and Adegbelemi (2011) who maintained that the introduction of entrepreneurial education will equip students with skills that would aid youth empowerment, job creation and alleviate poverty.

This explains why Rufai (2013) describes the integration of entrepreneurial education as one of the solution to challenges confronting the nation. Considering state of the nation, the researchers investigated the opinion of students on the influence of entrepreneurial education on solving the threats of insecurity in India.

Statement of the Problem

Agencies such as police, state security service, civil defense, immigration, prison service, customs and military among others are responsible for protection of life and properties of the citizens. These agencies are expected to ensure peace and harmony in the country. To achieve these, various tiers of government develop strategies and put in place various mechanisms such as mounting of road blocks and monitoring of any suspicious person. However, due to the rate of unemployment in the country and the poor living conditions of many youths, various forms of criminal acts and atrocities such as kidnapping, stealing, thuggery etc., have seemingly become order of the day.

Elesin (2013) has identified that the rate of unemployment leads to state of insecurity in the country. He emphasized that jobless youths in India see atrocities as more profitable than anything. This explains as to why Abubakar (2005) and Oshio (2009) have observed that India is witnessing high level of insecurity such as inter and intra-communal crises, ethnic clashes

and ethno-religious violence, robbery, assassination, murder and bomb explosion.

A country, in which criminal acts and atrocities are at alarming rate, must be faced with problem of insecurity challenges. Such a situation is prone to lead to loss of lives, destruction of properties and causing tension among the general populace in the nation. Although generally, government is responsible for ensuring security of life and property of citizens, but considering the philosophy of entrepreneurial education which emphasizes on capacity building and self-employment of youths and school-leavers, the researchers have investigated the opinion of students on influence of entrepreneurial education on solving the threats of insecurity in India.

Objectives of the Study

The study aims to:-

1. determine the influence of entrepreneurial education on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in inter and intra-communal ethnic clashes in India
2. determine the influence of entrepreneurial education on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in ethno religious violence in India
3. determine the influence of entrepreneurial education on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in violence in India
4. determine the influence of entrepreneurial education on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to involve in hire-assassin in India
5. determine the influence of entrepreneurial education on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to involve in suicide attack in India

Null Hypotheses

The following null hypotheses were raised and tested at 0.05 level of significance

1. Entrepreneurial education has no significant influence on solving the threats of

unemployment that lure youths to engage in inter and intra-communal ethnic clashes in India.

2. Entrepreneurial education has no significant influence on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in ethno religious violence in India.
3. Entrepreneurial education has no significant influence on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in violence in India.
4. Entrepreneurial education has no significant influence on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to involve in hire assassin in India.
5. Entrepreneurial education has no significant influence on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to involve in suicide attack in India.

Methodology

The study adopts descriptive cross-sectional research design. The researchers took sample of 300 students across the six geo-political zones in the country in Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. The four rating scale structured questionnaires were used to elicit data from the respondents. The reliability of the instrument was established by trial testing. Sixty copies of the instrument were administered to students of Usman Danfodio University Sokoto.

The institution possessed all the criteria earlier used for the selected sample school. The

convergence method of comparing measurements from the institution using Pearson Product Moment Correlation, a convergence coefficient of 0.82 was obtained to show that the instrument is reliable for the study.

The researchers, assisted by class coordinators of each programme, distributed the questionnaire to the respondents. Out of 300 copies of questionnaire distributed, 276 (92%) copies were properly completed, retrieved and subjected to statistical analysis. Data obtained from administered questionnaire were coded into Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). The package was used to run Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMC) in the null hypotheses raised. In the test, if the calculated value is found to be greater than the critical value, the null hypothesis was rejected and when the calculated value was less than the critical value, such null hypothesis was retained. All the hypotheses were determined at significant level of 0.05.

Results of the Study

Test of Null Hypothesis One

HO-1:

Entrepreneurial education (E.E) has no significant influence on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in inter and intra-communal ethnic clashes (IEC) in India

The result of test of null hypothesis four is presented in Table 1

Table 1: Correlation analysis on influence of E.E on IEC in India

Variables	N	Mean	S.D	Corr Index R	Critical R	df	Sig (2 tailed)
E.E	276	2.98	0.87	0.487	0.195	550	0.001
S.A	276	2.66	0.81				

*Correlation Coefficient is significant at the 0.001 level 2-tailed

The outcome of the Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMCC) statistics

above revealed significant relationship between the E.E and IEC. This is because the calculated P value of 0.001 is less than the 0.05 level of significance while the calculated correlation under

value of 0.487 is higher than the 0.195 r-critical. The result shows that, E.E has no significant influence on solving the threats of IECs causes by unemployment in India> The null hypothesis was therefore rejected.

Test of Null Hypothesis Two

HO₂:
Entrepreneurial education has no significant

Variables	N	Mean	S.D	Corr Index R	Critical R	Df	Sig (2 tailed)
E.E	276	2.98	0.87	0.199	0.195	550	0.001
ERV	276	2.51	0.84				

*Correlation Coefficient is significant at the 0.001 level 2-tailed

Result of the Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMC) statistics revealed the significant relationship between E.E and ERV was confirmed by the calculated P value of 0.005 to be less than the 0.05 level of influence, while the calculated correlation value of 0.199 is greater than the 0.195 r-critical (0.199>0.195) at 5% level of significance. Hence, the null hypothesis which states that E.E has no significant

influence on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in ethno religious violence (ERV) in India

The result of test of null hypothesis four is as presented in Table 2

Table 2:
Correlation analysis on influence of E.E on ERV in India

influence on curbing the treat of ERV causes by unemployment was rejected.

Test of Null Hypothesis Three

HO₃:
Entrepreneurial education has no significant influence on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in Violence (V.O) in India

The result of test of null hypothesis three is presented in Table 3

Table 3: Correlation analysis on influence of E.E on V.O in India

Variables	N	Mean	S.D	Corr Index R	Critical R	Df	Sig (2 tailed)
E.E	276	2.98	0.87	0.311	0.195	550	0.000
V.O	276	2.71	0.82				

*Correlation Coefficient is significant at the 0.00 level 2-tailed

The outcome of the Pearson Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMCC) statistics table 3 above revealed that E.E has significant influence on solving the problem of AR in India. This is because the calculated alpha level of 0.000 is less than the 0.05 level of significant. The correlation Coefficient index r level of is higher than the 0.195 r-critical (0.311>0.195) at 5% level of

significance. The resultant P=0.000<0.05. Hence, the null hypothesis which states that E.E. has no significant influence on curbing the treat on V.O caused by unemployment in India was rejected.

Test of Null Hypothesis Four

HO₄: *Entrepreneurial education has no significant influence on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to involve in hire assassin (HA) in India*

The result of test of the null hypothesis four is presented in Table 4

Table 4: Correlation analysis on influence of E.E on HA in India

Variables	N	Mean	S.D	Corr Index R	Critical R	Df	Sig (2 tailed)
E.E	276	2.98	0.87	1.029	0.195	550	0.001
H.A	276	2.87	0.85				

Result of the Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMC) statistics revealed that E.E has significant influence on solving the treat of HA caused by unemployment in the country. The calculated P value of 0.001 was found to be less than the 0.05 level of tolerance, while the calculated correlation value was greater than the r-critical ($1.029 > 0.195$) at 5% level of significance $p < 0.05$. Therefore, the null hypothesis which state that E.E has no

significant influence on curbing the treat of HA caused by unemployment in the country was not retained.

Test of Null Hypothesis Five

HO-5: *Entrepreneurial education has no significant influence on solving the threats of unemployment that lure youths to involve in suicide attack (SA) in India*

Test of influence of E.E on solving the threat of SA causes by unemployment presented in Table-5

Table 5: Correlation analysis on influence of E.E on SA in India

Variables	N	Mean	S.D	Corr Index R	Critical R	df	Sig (2 tailed)
E.E	276	2.98	0.87	0.394	0.195	550	0.002
S.A.	276	2.69	0.78				

*Correlation Coefficient is significant at the 0.002 level 2-tailed

The outcome of the Pearson Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMCC) statistics table 5 revealed the calculated value of 0.394 against 0.195 for the r-critical. The calculated alpha level of 0.002 is less than the 0.05 level of significant. The correlation Coefficient index r level was higher than the r-critical ($0.394 > 0.195$) at 5% level of significance. The analysis therefore revealed that, E.E has significant influence on solving the threat of S.A causes by unemployment in the country. The null hypothesis was, therefore, not retained.

Discussion of the Study

The result of test of null hypothesis reveals that entrepreneurial education has significant influence

on curbing the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in inter and intra-communal ethnic clashes (IEC) in India. The outcome of the study is in line with report of UNDP (2006) which revealed that most youths lack entrepreneurial skills and fritter away their money, so they constantly are engaged in extortion to maintain themselves by destroying the traditional institutions of security, enduring peace and prosperity in the country.

Similarly, Salau (2012) has opined that with entrepreneurial education, there will be reduction in the level of unemployment which will help to reduce frustration, thuggery, indiscipline, armed robbery etc., usually engaged in by youths.

The test of null hypothesis two revealed that entrepreneurial education has significant impact

on reducing the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in ethno-religious violence in India. This finding further confirmed the position of Emaikwu (2011) who held that, the introduction of entrepreneurship skills acquisition in the university curriculum will also have implication on the youth transformation, reducing youth restiveness, robbery, political thuggery, unemployment, etc. He added that the inculcation of entrepreneurship skills in the students of tertiary institution will lead to the creation of awareness and understanding of the socio-economic and environmental situation for sustainable national development and security.

Similarly, Akwara, Akwara, Enwuchola, Adekunle, and Udaw (2013) posit that, a paradigm shift in the educational system through inclusion of vocational and entrepreneurial training and the inclusion of entrepreneurial development programmes into our school curricula, will spur youths to imbibe the philosophy of self-employment that will help to desensitize the unemployed youths of their aggressive tendency and alter their tendency of engaging in one form of atrocity in the name of religion.

The test of null hypothesis three revealed that entrepreneurial education will help to reduce the threats of unemployment that lure youths to engage in violence. The finding concurred with that of Elumelu (2004) who observed that, entrepreneurial activities will contribute towards the enhancement of security and safety in the country through long-term strategy of creating and providing jobs especially for the unemployed youths which will help to fight against violence and crime.

Ekereke and Essien (2013) postulated that willingly engaging youths in entrepreneurship education will help to shun violence that threatens the co-existence of India. They added that to secure peaceful environment free of crime and violence, all energy must channel toward entrepreneurship development and education.

Studies by Thomas & Mueller (2000) and Oluremi & Gbenga (2011) also show that positive relationship exists between entrepreneurial

education and economic growth; employment generation; empowerment of the disadvantaged segment of the population and reducing the threat of insecurity in the nation.

The result of hypotheses four and five indicate that entrepreneurial education enhances the ability of curbing the threat of unemployment that lures youths' involvement in assassination and suicide activities in India. This outcome is similar with the report of Ogundele, Sofoluwe and Kayoed (2012) who maintained that if entrepreneurship education is well introduce into educational sector it will help to reduce high rates of social crimes such as thuggery, killings, kidnapping, armed robbery and prostitution in the society.

Olarewaju, Folashade, & Ademola (2013) posit that orientation for the technical and vocational skills through entrepreneurship education will reduce high rate of social crime, and job creation will encourage high security rate and peace for the nation. Similarly, Afolabi and Olorisade (2008) noted that most of India's social ills and problems are caused by the unemployment and poverty that is biting high on Indians. They observed that educational reform through entrepreneurial education will help to reduce the challenges facing the country.

Conclusion

The essence of introducing entrepreneurial educational programs in India is to equip students with skills and mindsets to become successful entrepreneurs in the country. The study has established that proper integration of entrepreneurial education in schools and colleges will foster entrepreneurial intentions among school-leavers and stimulating them to consider entrepreneurship as the solution to problem of unemployment. Based on the outcome of the study, the researchers conclude that the ability of entrepreneurial education in creating entrepreneurship awareness and encouraging students to include self-employment in their career intentions and aspirations' options as well as inculcating a positive attitude towards entrepreneurship in India will go a long way in

curbing the problem of persistent insecurity in the country.

Recommendations

Based on findings of the study, the following recommendations are made:-

1. That entrepreneurial education should be introduced at all level of educational sector; this will help in developing passion for entrepreneurship among school leavers.
2. That government should organize enlightenment programmes on the role of entrepreneurship on promoting self-reliance and reducing unemployment in the country.
3. That curriculum of entrepreneurial education in tertiary institutions should be reviewed so that students are exposed to practical aspects of curriculum.
4. That government should formulate policies that are helpful to provide enabling environment for entrepreneurship in the country by supporting graduates with capital, tax relief, etc.
5. That there should be a robust combination of government and security forces' interventions to address some of the acute insecurity challenges that affect enabling business environment in the country.
6. That youth should be encouraged to acquire entrepreneurial skills and government should support and empower them by giving loans so as to encourage self-reliance, sustenance and entrepreneurship to intensify efforts for individual and national development.

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Judiciary and Public Interest Litigation

Sandeep Chowhan* & Dr. Bhumaiah**

[In India judicial activism was made possible by PIL (Public Interest Litigation). It has in a way democratized the judicial process. Furthermore, the PIL has contributed to the rise of a form of judicial scrutiny of each and every governmental institution ranging from hospitals, prisons, manufacturing units covering issues of health, environment, safety, security, privacy and welfare, etc.]

In India, the Supreme Court took the lead by allowing volunteer social activists – lay and legal – to represent the interests of the poor in judicial proceedings. By expanding the doctrine of locus standi in filing the petition and creating epistolary jurisdiction that enabled it to treat a letter written on behalf of a disadvantaged person as a petition and examine the merits of the grievances.

Generally speaking, before the Court takes up a matter for adjudication, it must be satisfied that the person who approaches it has sufficient interest in the matter. It was made so in favour of social action and the court accepts its validity and steps in to set things right. Ideologically, such litigation and judicial intervention born of it has transformed the classical liberal rights model enshrined in the Constitution into a paradigm provided ‘rights.’ Undoubtedly, such litigation has provided an ordinary man an access to the apex court of the country.

* Student, Mahatma Gandhi Law College, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

** Academic Consultant, Dept. of Pol. Sc., Palamuru University, Mahabubnagar.

Judicial activism has been a very frequent and common phenomenon during one and a half decade. It is said to have been born in India in 1986. Its credit goes to Justice P.N. Bhagwati who introduced the tradition of hearing on PIL even on a postcard. Justice Bhagwati has clearly stated. “The Supreme Court has adopted a pro-active approach for the last two years, particularly, having regards to the peculiar socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country.”

Thus, judicial activism was born out of a public litigation appeal. Judicial activism is developed in each and every aspect of life, including social, economic, political, religious, educational, etc. Undoubtedly, it has strengthened the faith of masses in the judiciary of the country.

Objective

The important object of Public Interest Litigation is to safeguard the public interest, Human Rights and protect constitutional and legal rights of disadvantaged and weaker section of the society.

Thus, the dominant object is to ensure observance to the provisions of the constitutions and the other laws. It is essentially a co-operative or collaborative effort on the part of petitioner, the state, public authority and the court to secure observance of the constitutional or legal rights, benefits and privileges conferred upon the weaker sections of the society. PIL pertains mainly to Human Rights, Labour, Prisoners and Environmental Protection.

Public Interest Litigation is a device by which public participation in judicial review of administration action is assured, and it also has the effect of making judicial process little more democratic.

The members of the public by filing a PIL are entitled to and seek enforcement of public duty and observance of the constitutional law or legal

provisions. Such a litigation can be initiated only for redressal of a public injury, enforcement of a public duty or vindicating interest of public nature and it is necessary that the petition is not filed for personal gain or private motive or for other extraneous consideration and is filed bona fide in public interest.

Intervention of the courts may be sought by way of PIL in cases where the statutory provisions have arbitrarily and irrationally overlooked the interests of a significantly affected group that would otherwise suffer in silence. Public interest may demand judicial intervention in cases where the existing rules and standards are not complied with due to indifference towards a particular group, unjustly denying them any legal entitlements or resulting in unfair and hostile treatment. Public Interest Litigation provides a platform for projecting social values for those who do not have a formal access or voice in the policy-making processes.

Matter of Public Interest

The term ‘Public Interest’ is not capable of precise definition and has not a rigid meaning and is elastic and takes its colours from the statute in which it occurs, the concept varying with the time and state for society and its needs. Thus, what is ‘Public Interest’ today may not be so considered a decade later.

However, Public Interest can be said to mean those interests, which concern the public at large. A subject, in which the public or a section of the public is interested, becomes one of public interest. Public Interest is concerned with the welfare and rights of the community or a class thereof.

The matter of public interest generally include

1. Bonded labour matters
2. Matters of neglected children

3. Exploitation of casual labourers and non-payment of wages to them (except in individual cases),
4. Matters of harassment or torture of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Economically Backward Classes, either by co-villagers or by police.
5. Matter relating to environmental pollution disturbance of ecological balance, drugs, food adulteration, maintenance of heritage and culture, antiques, forests and wild life,
6. Petitions from riot victims, and
7. Other matters of public importance.

The question of infringements of public interest can also arise in cases relating to:

- Constitutional validity of legislation;
- Excess of power by a public body or a quasi-public undertaking;
- Breach of statutory provisions enacted for the benefit and protection of the public;
- Public nuisance; and
- Prevention of criminal offences, enforcement of mandatory public duties, and such other categories as recognized by law or judicial decisions.

PIL is usually not allowed in criminal matters, because criminal litigation is exclusively between state and respondent and nobody has right to interfere by way of PIL as it would hamper course of justice and cause prejudice to accused denying them a fair trial. Also, PIL are not entertained in service matters.

Method of Filing

A PIL can be filed in any High Court or directly in the Supreme Court. The conventional method of moving a Court is by filing a plaint containing a detailed list of facts that are necessary of deciding the case.

However, now the PIL has jumped over this structural barrier. The Supreme Court has held that a PIL need not be rejected merely on the fact that it is not in the structural form of a plaint. The Court can admit a PIL even if it is not made in the manner of a formal plaint. The Court can initiate a PIL even on receiving a letter addressed to the Court whether with or without an affidavit.

Once a PIL has been filed it cannot be subsequently withdrawn. The Court may also proceed *suo moto*. This is laid down by the Supreme Court to ensure that there is no vested interest of the people who initiate proceedings and that the cause for which the PIL was initiated does not suffer.

Role of the Courts

The role of courts has been fundamentally altered by adoption of the constitutional norms in the governance of the country. Numerous constitutional and statutory provisions have established governmental institutions regulating their conduct along with that of commercial enterprises and citizens, in a wide range of subjects such as, social welfare, industrial relations, consumer protection, improvement of environment and protection of forests, industrial health, protection of monuments and places of national importance, welfare of children and women.

The fundamental choice that faces the courts in dealing with the new laws and institutions concerned with public rights and interests is of the role that judiciary should play in the governance of the country as an important limb of the State. The question is,

should the judiciary's role be limited to preventing illegal encroachments on the rights of private individuals by examining the extent of infringement of individual rights and the regularity of law and administration only to that limited extent, or does its judicial function include a constitutional duty to confine the legislative and executive organs of the State within their powers in the interest of the public?

Lord Denning regarded it as a matter of high constitutional principle that if transgressing the law, or is about to transgress it in a way which offends or causes injuries to thousands of subjects, then anyone of them offended or injured can draw it to the attention of the courts of law and seek to have the law enforced, and the courts in their discretion can grant whatever remedy is appropriate.

The judiciary, on the basis of the doctrine of checks and balances, has a major part to play in curbing excess of power by the legislature and by the executive. The question for consideration by the court would be whether the action challenged is unlawful being outside the ambit of the power conferred on the relevant state authority, or whether the prescribed mandatory procedures have not been followed in the exercise of power, or that an error of law is involved or that the principles of natural justice have not been followed.

On the other hand, there are obvious limits to judicial expertise and to the information upon which judges have to decide cases. The common law adjudicatory process is not always the best way of tackling difficult issue of law and administration, and the costs, delay, and possible injustices to others inherent in expanding the role in the administrative process may more than outweigh any countervailing benefit.

Also, Court-ordered commissions of inquiry have often been adopted as means of finding out the

relevant facts, and the relief granted sometimes takes the form of a series of quasi-legislative directives, ordering governmental agencies to carry out remedial programmes and establishing monitoring procedures whereby the Court may review progress.

Conclusion

By concluding the project, in this manner, our judiciary has used the tool of PIL quite effectively for the cause of environmental protection. But the judiciary has shown wisdom in denying false petitions seeking to advance private interests through PIL as evident from the decision of the Supreme Court. Hence, PIL has proved to be a great weapon in the hands of higher courts for protection of environment and our judiciary has certainly utilized this weapon of PIL in best possible manner.

Public Interest Litigants, all over the country, have not taken very kindly to some of the courts' views talking about preventing unnecessary PIL's by imposition of high costs and compensation. Since it is an extraordinary remedy available at a cheaper cost to all citizens of the country, it ought not to be used by all litigants as a substitute for ordinary ones or as a means to file frivolous complaints.

However, now Public Interest Litigation does not require a complete rethink and restructuring as the overuse and abuse of PIL can only make it stale and ineffective. There is a need for some strong measures to promote and protect the actual purpose for which the PIL came into being, i.e., the enforcement of fundamental and other legal rights of the people who are poor, weak, ignorant of legal redressal system or otherwise in a disadvantageous position, due to their social or economic background.



The Interview

Eddie J. Girdner*

Assistant Professor Stan Sucker woke up with a jolt. The alarm clock was ringing loudly in his ear. The clock said six o'clock. He remembered that this was the day. Shit! The reality hit him like a brick bat in the face. He would have an hour to go over his talk before Professor Dick Butcher would arrive to take him to breakfast. Professor Butcher was the marketing expert at Mall State University. Dick had not been satisfied with the previous three candidates who had been interviewed for the teaching job in the business department.

Now looking over his notes in the early morning light, he began to realize just how far he was from the agenda of the modern business university. It was not just Mall State. Hell, all the schools had now gone in for the business agenda, marketing, neoliberalism, and the harvesting of cheap labor in Asian countries. Globalization, so called Globolony, he thought. As a progressive and intellectual, Sucker realized that he was just exactly one-hundred and eighty degrees out from that agenda. How the hell could he square a progressive agenda for developing countries with the corporate harvesting of surplus labor for profits in the West?

It was simply a circle that could not be squared. Screw capitalism, he thought. It has messed up the world. It has screwed up the environment. It has turned the food into fast food crap. It is now ripping apart the universities, turning them into business enterprises. It has certainly degraded America, now progressively turning it into a Third World country, while China and India produce their new billionaires

and vast inequality. What are American workers supposed to do except to buy cheap shit from China from Wal-Mart and try to piece together a living on part-time and temporary work?

Now this neoliberalism is rolling back all the progress that emerging countries have made since the end of colonialism. It was depressing. But why should he sell out? He was right. The whole sucking edifice would come crumbling down at some point. It was just a matter of time. He would give them the straight dope. He could not pull many punches. May be a few. Tone his approach down a little.

Nevertheless, one could not face the truth head on and get a job in a university in America. That was the simple truth of the situation. It was mission impossible. And now they wanted him to research how to market hazardous waste. They wanted to sell more electronic waste to India and China and other Third World countries that would take it. What kind of research agenda was that?

After an hour and a little tweaking of his points here and there for some moderation, he was ready. No more damage could be done. He had showered, shaved and got into his suit and tie.

When he heard the doorbell ring, he opened the door to see a graying professor in a dark suit.

“Good morning. Dick Butcher. Welcome to Mall State University,” came from his broad beaming face. He too was getting up in years, mid-fifties. A thin wrinkled small-town face, a good deal of whitish hair. Not the look of an intellectual. He would be out to pasture in a few years. He would milk it while it lasted.

* Fethiye, Turkey.

“Stan Sucker,” Sucker replied, shaking hands. “Nice to meet you,” he lied.

“Fine day,” Butcher said. “After breakfast, we’ll go over to the department where you can talk to some members of the staff. I think the Dean and Provost would also like to meet you. Depends on their schedule. After lunch down at the faculty club, we’ll come back for your talk. We have also invited the students if they would like to attend. Most of them are business majors. We strongly emphasize marketing. We are a small department in a small school. A friendly place. Are you ready?”

For Sucker, it all confirmed that he was indeed in a world of shit. Screw it, he thought, eight hours from now I’ll be back on a plane and out of this neck of the marketing woods forever. The events of the day would be a sort of equivalent of a drawing and quartering, a stretching on the torture rack of which now there was no avoiding. His blood would be on the floor. Meanwhile, he would drown his worries in some morning grub. He was hungry. He needed a strong cup of coffee. He needed a beer but forget that. He needed another shot of that Jack Daniels. It would have to wait. He envisioned having a couple of them on the plane on the way back.

“Sure, looking forward to it,” Sucker lied. “I really like the campus. Quiet and beautiful in the spring.” He spun out some phony lies. Just as well shoot the shit as not.

“Oh, we don’t have to worry about radicals among the students here,” Butcher said. “Our students are very focused on their future careers in business. A sort of launching pad for executives, corporate leaders. We prepare them for success. They will know marketing forward and backward by the time they leave here. Nope, we’ve never had a student demonstration on this campus. Hope we never will.”

But I saw your students screwing in the bushes behind my guest house, Sucker wanted to say.

They would know marketing forward and backward. Mostly backward, Sucker suspected.

Sucker went for a heavy breakfast with ham, eggs, hash browns and toast with butter and jam. I’ll need it, he thought, to get through this day. God, give me strength.

Professor Butcher walked with him over to the department. Down in the corner office, her door was standing open. The Chair of the department, Professor Sally Jean Woodley.

She was ready and waiting. “Welcome, I’m Sally Jean Woodley,” she said.

Sucker saw a middle aged heavy set woman with thick hips from too much sitting. She stood up and took a step forward. He could see a roll of fat around her middle. A smile came across her ugly pasty face. She had short, stiff, puffed out hair, brown hair. Thick glasses perched on her nose. Sucker’s impulse was to back away as if he had encountered an ugly beast but he had to meet and talk to her. Well, she will never be my boss, he thought. Thank God for that.

“I am happy that we can interview you, Professor Sucker,” she began. “We have brought three candidates previously but we asked the Dean if we could interview one more person. You have a greater focus on the Third World, so we decided to ask you to come.”

“It’s nice to be here,” Sucker lied. Except for the change of location and travel, he could have done without the bother.

“For this position, we are basically looking for a person that can prepare our students for globalization in business. As you are aware, these new countries like India and those in Southeast Asia and Africa are opening up their markets. This is a tremendous challenge for the future. There are great opportunities for academic research in these areas and now companies are eager to fund this type of research.

You may be aware that we have a strong business-academic relationship with one of the up and coming companies in this area, Cleanwave Corporation. They specialize in waste. Recycling and marketing. They are looking for marketing opportunities in Asia for their products, particularly toxics. They are found in all types of products, especially electronics. That is the growth aspect of it, of course, today. Fertilizer, building materials, road construction, glass, electronics, you name it.

You see where I am leading. I am sure that they are ready with research money for a research focus on how they can market more of what they produce in these countries. We can talk about the courses that you could teach.”

It would be an understatement to say that Sucker was horrified by the vision that she conjured up before his eyes. Not only was the agenda imperialistic, it was flat out toxic imperialism, plain and simple. And his job was going to be to help them in this enterprise. All these young bright eyed students were going to march off to pollute countries around the world with waste, the worst kind of waste, and bring profits to the investors of capital. Thousands were going to be poisoned and die early deaths. This was neoliberalism on steroids.

Sucker was somewhat at a loss for words. His impulse was to suddenly blurt out “Get away from me, you stupid greedy bitch, you ignoramus,” and high tail it out of there. But the school had bought the ticket to bring him there and was paying for the ticket to get his ass back to his university, Sewanee State University. He had to go through with it.

“Well, yes, I do love to teach,” Sucker said. “I am wondering which courses I would teach.” Her research agenda was far beyond the pale for him.

“Let’s see,” Professor Woodley intoned, reaching for a list of departmental courses lying on the side of her desk- “International Business Asia, International Marketing, International Free Trade Organizations, International Business Ethics and

Emerging Markets. Those are a few of our courses the department has designed that you would be welcome to teach. Of course there are other elective courses. We are flexible. Oh here are some others: International Currency Trading, International Banking, International Corporate Agriculture, Innovative Waste Marketing. Depends upon the semester. Some courses are taught in the fall, some in the spring semester.

Sucker felt like groaning. What he had in mind was a much less business oriented approach, such as International Political Economy, International Development, Globalization, Third World Theories of Development and so on; Even Democratization, courses that would include the critical dimension on societies.

“Yes, I think I would like to teach some of those courses,” Sucker lied. He knew that there was not a ghost of a chance in hell that he would ever get the chance, however. He would just fake it.

“I am looking forward to your talk,” Professor Woodley said. Sucker hated to be reminded of that. He knew that it was going to be a lead balloon in this department. His heart sank into his shoes just to think of it.

His meetings with the other members and officers of the university were not more enlightening. The provost, seeming rattled. Engaging in boosterism for the school, he emphasized how quickly the school’s academic rating had risen since the establishment of a business partnership with Cleanwave Corporation.

“The marketing of our electronic waste has grown by leaps and bounds,” he enthused. “Whole new divisions are being set up to deal with this innovation. It’s the best thing that has ever happened to this small university.”

This was the provost, Professor Ben Gopher

It was a relief, when Stan walked out into the spring sunshine to head for the faculty club. He was

accompanied by a young professor who had just landed a lucrative research project from Cleanwave Corp to study the marketing of toxics in ten emerging markets.

Professor Alice Burns kept up a continuous chatter concerning her new quest for knowledge of the economy and politics of these countries for the purpose of marketing waste. She was a thin pale woman who seemed to have never been exposed to the sunlight. She seemed about to collapse as they strolled.

Sucker wanted to tell her to go to hell. Did she realize how many innocent people she was going to help send to the grave with all the cases of cancer this sort of marketing were going to produce? If she did, she did not bat an eye about it. He wondered if she had taken a course in international business ethics. Only later, he discovered that she was the one who taught it for the department.

They settled down to lunch with half a dozen members of the faculty. Except for the salad bar, it was a set menu. Professors greeted each other and discussed their latest golf scores. Anxious to get out on the course, they were winding up their courses for the semester as quickly as possible. They wanted to wrap up the hiring for next year.

The conversation quickly turned to basketball. The playoffs in the local conference of universities were in full swing. Sucker was amused to see Professor Woodley raising her voice about the recent games and getting into a heated argument with Professor Butcher about the talents of the players. Jesus, she is really into basketball, Stan thought. They were all heavily into basketball.

Academics were refreshingly absent, but Sucker began to feel out of his element with all the talk about basketball swirling around his head. He knew little about basketball and cared even less. He was the invisible man.

“How is the Sewanee basketball team doing this year?” Professor Creamer wondered.

Sucker was at a loss for words

“Well, I am afraid that I have not kept up with that,” Sucker said apologetically. Several members looked at him as if he were a pitiful creature. Not keeping up with basketball at one’s university? What kind of professor was he anyway? He felt like a complete failure.

“Well, I know we played you a couple of times,” Professor Butcher said. “Sewanee State lost both games as I recall.”

Good, Sucker thought cynically. Who cared if those bastards lost every fucking ball game? Only an idiot would.

Dessert came. The meal ended, mercifully. Sucker breathed a sigh of relief to be back out in the spring air with the group of professors. But he felt the sword of Damocles hanging over his head. His talk was coming up next. He had the urge to take a dive through one of the hedgerows and disappear, never be seen again. He would be the real invisible candidate. What would be the loss if he disappeared over the hill? Life would go on just the same.

At half past one, the faculty gathered in one of the cement-block classrooms. Some dozen students drifted in sitting back three or four rows. Sucker headed for the head to take a quick swill before getting to the task. He sometimes still thought in navy terms. Approaching the room, Professor Woodley indicated that in five minutes he should begin. He could go ahead and introduce himself and announce the focus of his talk.

It was the moment of truth. Sucker would have been delighted to have given his talk to a receptive audience, to academics who would be sensitive to his thoughts, arguments and concerns. But he felt that it was not going to be the case this day.

“Hello. As you know, I am Stan Sucker and have spent this academic year teaching political science at Sewanee State University. I am very happy to be here today at Mall State and have the opportunity to talk to you about my proposed research agenda.

I would like to outline for you my proposed approach to understanding political and economic development in the Third World. I have prepared some handouts along with the outline of my talk.

Sucker passed out the one-page hand-outs. At the top was written: “Research Agenda of Professor Stan Sucker”

Then he spent twenty-five minutes arguing that while the anti-imperialist thrust of the pattern of Third World development since the end of colonialism had not been completely successful, it had not been a failure either in a number of countries. Import substitution industrialization had laid the basis for future development. Now these emerging nations in Asia and Africa had reached a turning point. It was true that they must engage more fully with the global market. This would increase the quality of the products they produce, Sucker argued.

But on the other hand, they should assert a good deal of autonomy and control over foreign capital. The pattern of development should benefit the local people and not lead to inordinate inequality. They must be sovereign nations. Sucker cited a wide range of literature, a good deal of it written by intellectuals from Third World countries.

“There is nothing wrong with globalization, *per se*,” he stressed. “The devil is in the details,” he said. “If countries do not retain their sovereignty over their political economy, then it is just a new form of global imperialism.”

It was not a direct attack upon globalization but critical of the present thrust of neoliberalism as it was being imposed upon the world.

Sucker then invited those in the audience to ask questions.

Professor Bert Hack, an economist, was leaning far back in his chair, sort of bent over sideways. Sucker saw a scowl on his fat ruddy face. His thick spectacles were balanced on his nose. He was clearly an irritated man. Sucker braced himself for the question.

“Professor Sucker, you have given us an overview of all these theories, some that question globalization,” Hack began. “It seems to me that it is more simple than all that. If we use the principle of Ockam’s Razor it will be clearer. Let’s take Cleanwave Corp, our partner here, for example. It is simply elementary logic that toxic waste should be sold to India. Why?”

We know how much it costs to kill a person in the United States. Roughly two million dollars. How much does it cost to kill a person in India? Two thousand dollars. That is a great amount of savings. It is a thousand times more cost effective. It is watertight economic logic. It cannot be disputed. Everyone is going to be worse off if countries like India refuse to buy our toxic waste. That includes electronic waste which is the fastest growing category. It seems to me that political scientists have no business questioning the economists on such issues. I believe you have to rethink your approach.”

The fucking fascist, Sucker thought. Who corporations are going to kill is simply a matter of how much it costs to kill them.

“I agree that the logic of sending hazardous waste to the poorest countries is watertight from the neoclassical economic perspective,” Sucker said. “You have addressed a critical argument. We cannot argue with the practice from this neoclassical economic point of view. But I would argue that we should also address the question of whether it is ethical to kill Indians, simply because it saves companies money and increases profits.”

Sucker saw Professor Hack’s face turn a brighter shade of red. His answer clearly angered him.

Then a young student spoke up. "It seems to me that the people in India just do not know how to run their country," he said. "They have way too many people anyway. They are overpopulated. If a few die from the toxic waste, which has not yet been established, then it will not be a big loss. On the other hand, they will gain from the free trade. So it can easily be shown to be beneficial. Or what is normally referred to as Pareto Optimal. It seems to me that this is the logical way to look at it?"

"Well, I am afraid that it will be quite a big loss for those who lose their lives," Sucker suggested. "And for their loved ones. I am not sure that they would be willing to make the sacrifice, regardless of the benefits that you argue they will enjoy."

"Oh, but life is cheap in those countries," the student put in. "It will not add up to a great loss."

Professor Woodley then tried to clear things up. "Professor Sucker, your research agenda seems somewhat esoteric for our concerns here from a business perspective. If we are going to prepare students for the business world, surely we need to instill some simple basic principles in them. Surely free trade is one of them. The classical principle of comparative advantage. Research has shown that free trade pacts have benefited all member countries

by hundreds of millions of dollars. It seems to me that we simply cannot question that. When the market works, everybody gains."

"I agree that we cannot question these results using the precepts of neoclassical economics," Sucker said. "But perhaps there are many elements of development which cannot be measured simply by economic variables. For example, free trade has led to thousands of poor Indian farmers committing suicide in recent years because they cannot feed their families."

No one seemed to agree with Sucker's approach. It had gone over just as he had expected. Like a lead balloon. They were not buying it. He had not made the sale. Just as he figured. It had been a wasted day.

He noticed the economist Bert Hack shuffling out with a completely disgusted look on his angry red face. He clearly was not going to want to see Sucker around.

Sucker had completely blown the interview. There was no place in a business department for someone who thought like him. If he wanted a job in America, he would have to go for the bottom line.



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