

India and Turbulent Gaza

The situation in the Gaza Strip has assumed serious proportions in the wake of exchange of armed hostilities between the Hamas and Israeli forces. More than one thousand people, including both Palestinians and Israelis, have been killed since the fighting began in early July this year. The Gaza Strip is a small piece of land comprising about 142 square miles and it is located in the northwest corner of Israel and also borders Egypt on its west end. With about 1.7 million residents, Gaza is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. The ongoing conflict has rendered about 44% of Gaza as a 'no-go area' for Palestinians and over 118,000 people now who are sheltering in UN schools are running out of food and water. The demilitarization of Gaza is suggested by some experts as the key to ending the current battle between Hamas and Israel — and preventing more fighting in the future. Though the suggestion of demilitarization is seemingly uncomplicated; nevertheless, it gives rise to questions about its practicality and feasibility. There is also the question of implementing the disarmament and ensuring its permanence.

Another vexing question is that as to who would take the initiative and guarantee that removal of rockets from Gaza would benefit Palestinians and Israelis alike and advance the cause of peace; and that Israeli troops would not indulge in unprovoked retaliatory action. Broadly speaking, demilitarization has precedents in this part of the globe, beginning with the 1982 evacuation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from Beirut. While Israeli troops besieged the city, the U.N. Security Council enacted Resolutions 508 and 509, which created an international force to facilitate the PLO's exit. Similarly, under the prevailing circumstances, the Security Council can authorize international action to oversee Gaza's disarmament.

Keeping in view India's vital economic and strategic energy interests in West Asia and the Gulf region and its unstinted support for the Palestinians until the past, the ambiguous stand of the present dispensation in New Delhi on the situation in Gaza is not only uncalled for but also contrary to the declared objectives of India's foreign policy. However, the NDA government has seemingly decided that 'silence is the best policy.' West Asia along with Gulf region is of vital importance for India where nearly eight lakh expatriate Indian workers are making their living. It is from their remittances, constituting more than half of country's total foreign exchange earnings, that India gets the wherewithal to procure arms from many countries, including Israel. The safety of Indian workers in the region is crucially dependent on the Arab goodwill that India has patiently built with Arab countries over the years. The region is the second or third most important destination for Indian exports and it is from there that we source 70 per cent of our oil imports.

India can ill-afford to maintain its cordial relations with Israel at the expense of Arab and Palestinian interests. India's support for the Palestinians dates back to pre-Independence days. Gandhi set the tone with his celebrated remark in 1938, "Palestine belongs to the Palestinians as England belongs to the English and France to the French." In keeping with that, but recognising that Palestine was also home to a large and growing number of Jews, Prime Minister Nehru invited both Palestinian and Zionist representatives to the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947. Inevitably, the two clashed, and it was left to Nehru to bring them together. The audience burst into thunderous applause when the heads of the two delegations shook hands.

The broad objectives of India's foreign policy as well as India's national interest require clear, transparent and unambiguous stand on international issues that have direct bearing on the nation's vital stakes and interests. Concomitantly, the machinations and internal power-plays between different groups inside and outside the government jockeying for influence should not be allowed to eclipse the main issues having bearing on national interest. Viewed in broad perspective, a major international crisis is always a fit topic for a "short discussion" in Parliament; and the people have a right to know the stand of their elected leaders and their government on something like the Gaza crisis. The NDA government has set an unhealthy trend by scuttling the debate in the House on flimsy grounds.

— BK

Thriving Indo-Lithuanian Relations

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[The Republic of Lithuania (Lietuva) is a Baltic nation nestled in Central and Eastern Europe along the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. Lithuania is one of the largest (land and people) Baltic Republic encompasses 25,174 square miles (65,200 sq. km) land area. The geographical factor has been a major source of problems for development in Lithuania.]

India and Lithuania signed their first joint statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations on 27 April 1992. Subsequently, the two countries have been exchanging their high-level political, cultural and commercial visits in different fields to boost mutual cooperation. Recently the Prime Minister of Lithuania Algirdas Butkevicius has sent a congratulatory letter to Prime Minister Narendra Modi on 26 May this year.

“On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, I wish to extend our sincere congratulations on your overwhelming victory in general elections and your appointment as the Prime Minister of India,” reads the letter. Also Lithuania’s newly re-elected President Dalia Grybauskaitė too wished the new Government of India great success in fulfilling the goals set and in enhancing the security and well-being of the people of India. The president also invited the new Prime Minister of India to visit Lithuania¹.

The country had established its first democratic independent statehood in 1919 after the collapse of Russian and German Empires. But in 1926, the Republic of Lithuania lost its democratic status because of the emergence of authoritarian rule by *Smetona*. Lithuania was incorporated into the Soviet Union during the Second World War on the basis of secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which was signed on 23 August 1939 between Soviet Union and German Third Reich, Lithuania resisted Soviet occupation without success.

During the Second World War, Lithuania experienced three invasions and occupations, by

Soviets, Germans, and then Soviets again. Lithuanians remained under Soviet rule until the collapse of Soviet Union. In 1991 Lithuania with other two Baltic Republics; Latvia and Estonia re-established its democratic independent statehood.

The legacy of Soviet regime still strongly exists in the social and political life of Lithuanians. Following the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991, Lithuania has experienced dynamics of political change, the political system of Lithuania transformed from an authoritarian Soviet regime to Western-oriented liberal democratic form of government. After re-establishing the democratic independent statehood, Lithuania’s foreign policy has demonstrated noteworthy regional and international facets within a short span of twenty years.

Accession to the European Union and NATO in 2004 and membership in the Council of Europe has deeply influenced Lithuania’s government to seek to establish a modern Lithuanian nation in Central and Eastern Europe. Now Lithuania has become the significant member of European Union. Since July 2013 Lithuania is occupying the Presidency of *the Council of the European Union* and it has entrusted great responsibilities to the country.

Today Lithuania has emerged as a young and active democratic nation in Europe and the country has established its diplomatic relations with more than 150 countries. At present this tiny beautiful country occupies significant position in international politics after taking over the Presidency of European Union Council.

In 2012, the Republic of India and the Republic of Lithuania celebrated their twentieth anniversary of

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bilateral relations. Both the Republics have developed close and cordial relations in the fields of trade and commerce as well as cooperation in technology and cultural interactions since Lithuania's independence from Soviet Union in 1991.

Diplomatic Ties

After India's recognition to Lithuania's independence in 1991, the bilateral ties between the two republics have been developed by mutual interaction in the field of trade, commerce and culture. The diplomatic relations between India and Lithuania became deeper when Lithuania opened its Embassy in New Delhi in July 2008. Recently, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania Linas Linkevičius paid a successful political visit to India when he came to attend the Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) in New Delhi.

During the visit, Minister had important meeting with the then Indian External Affairs Minister, Salman Khurshid; both the leaders discussed issues pertaining to bilateral cooperation and important international affairs. The Lithuanian Foreign Minister thanked India for its support to Lithuania's bid for a non-permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council and called for closer cooperation to ensure world peace and stability.

Both the leaders signed a visa waiver agreement for holders of diplomatic passports. The head of the Lithuanian diplomacy also emphasized on issues related to Lithuania's Presidency of the EU Council and called on India to complete its current free trade talks with the EU as soon as possible².

The visiting Lithuanian Foreign Minister officially launched the Days of Lithuania in India. He inaugurated Lithuanian – Indian business seminar at the PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Also the Minister presented a talk on the EU Presidency currently held by Lithuania at the conference in Jawaharlal Nehru University; School of International Studies devoted to Indian – Lithuanian relations, past interactions and future possibilities, and inaugurated the exhibition of photographs and documents on the famous Lithuanian traveller Antanas Poška.

And also for the first time Lithuania took part in the India International Trade Fair at Pragati Maidan, New Delhi with the national pavilion. Participation at the India International Trade Fair was one of the highlights of the Days of Lithuania in India program spanning over six weeks in various places of India by the Embassy of Lithuania in India³. The bilateral cooperation has seen remarkable and progressive expansion in recent years.

Now both the countries have achieved widespread economic and cultural contacts. The cordial relations between India and Lithuania are outlined by a number of significant factors: diplomatic, culture, education, trade and economics. India and Lithuania have finalised three important agreements: firstly, on the avoidance of double taxation; secondly, bilateral investment protection and thirdly, a cultural exchange programme since the establishment of their bilateral relations⁴.

Now India and Lithuania have established a strong legal foundation in their relations. The first Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement signed between the two countries on 2 July 1993 came into force on 22 June 1995. Subsequently, on 20 February 2001, three other significant agreements were signed between Lithuania and India: the first agreement relating to Air Services; second agreement is on Economic and Technical Cooperation and the third agreement is on Cooperation in the Spheres of Culture, Science and Education.

The Air Services agreement came into force on 3 May 2002; the agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation came into force on 16 June 2003 and the third agreement on cooperation in the spheres of culture, science and education came into force on 8 April 2005⁵.

Since the establishment of bilateral relation in 1992, there have taken place many high level visits between India and Lithuania culminating in the conclusion of several bilateral agreements. N. Suri, Indian Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs paid first political visit to Lithuania in 1993. On August 1995, Salman Khurshid, the then Minister of State for External Affairs of India, visited Lithuania.

Subsequently, India's Minister of State for External Affairs Rao Inderjit Singh and Anand Sharma made their visits to Lithuania in October 2005 and March 2007 respectively. Smt Preneet Kaur, Minister of State for External Affairs visited Vilnius in March 2011. During her visit, Smt Kaur and Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Audronius Ažubalis signed Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement between the two countries on 1st April 2011 in Vilnius.

Smt. Kaur also discussed with the President of Lithuania about Indian move to open Embassy in Lithuania very soon and said that it would strengthen the bilateral relations between the two countries. And again in June 2011, Preneet Kaur visited Lithuania to attend Community of Democracies Ministerial meeting⁶.

From Lithuanian side in 1995, Prime Minister A. Šleževičius paid a first political visit to India. Lithuania's President paid a State visit to India in 2001. These visits have proved instrumental in establishing an India-Lithuania Strategic and global cooperation.

Cultural and Educational Relations

Both the countries share the bond of Indo-European language. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India acknowledged in his prominent book *Glimpses of World History* (1942) that "the Lithuanians are Aryans (like many others in Europe) and their language bears quite a close resemblance of Sanskrit"⁷. According to O'Connor, Kevin (2006), Lithuanians and Latvians, however, speak related Baltic languages of Indo-European origin.⁸

Since the 19th century both Lithuanians and the Indians have developed close connection in their traditions, language, and heritage. The two countries' cultures have been enriched by the mutual interaction throughout their history and also there are growing economic cooperation and political crossroads between the two countries.

Since 1992, both India and Lithuania are having their cultural exchange programmes. Lithuanians have been showing their immense interests towards India's culture, Hindi language, education, music,

yoga, dance and films and these interests bind the two countries very closely.

Sanskrit language has established the pillar of closeness between the two countries. The idea of close similarity between Lithuanian language and Sanskrit language first time came into light during the early 19th century and it was claimed that Lithuanian being the Indo-European language. There are examples of some Lithuanian words which have same pronunciation and meaning in Sanskrit language⁹:

English	Sanskrit	Lithuanian
Son	<i>sunus</i>	<i>sunus</i>
Sheep	<i>avis</i>	<i>avis</i>
Sole	<i>padas</i>	<i>padas</i>
Man	<i>viras</i>	<i>vyras</i>
Smoke	<i>dhumas</i>	<i>dumas</i>

Since last five thousand years these Lithuanian words have not changed their forms. Vydunas (real name Vilhelmas Storost, 1868-1953), one of the eminent Lithuanian philosophers and ideologists of the national movement, was extremely interested in Indian philosophy and his philosophical system was closely based on the Vedanta. He has significant contribution for the development of facts and knowledge on Lithuanian being the Indo-European language.

Vydunas argued that, before the introduction of Christianity, Lithuanian spiritual culture had a lot of similarities with Hinduism, including the concept of Trinity. Lithuanians called Vydunas as the Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, and Sri Aurobindo of Lithuania¹⁰.

Rabindranath Tagore's poetry is very popular in Lithuania. "Gandhi, Vivekananda and Tagore were translated into Lithuanian so as to be accessible to the broad masses of the population of Lithuania. In the 20th century, intellectuals involved in the Lithuanian national movement relied on the Gandhian way of gaining independence.

Baltic States have great respect for and genuine interest in Indian thought and ideas. In their independence movement known as “The Singing Revolution” and “The Baltic Way”, the main ideology adopted was that of non-violence. The Baltic States have partly borrowed this idea from the political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, the main ideologue, strategist and visionary of India’s independence movement.

In the last years of the existence of the Soviet Union, as the Baltic States were planning their own struggle for independence, Baltic intellectuals studied and discussed the ideology and strategy of India’s freedom struggle led by Gandhi”¹¹.

In the field of education both the countries have developed effervescent relations and India has been providing great support to the study of Indology in the Universities of Vilnius and Kaunas. In 1996, 2000, 2004, the Embassy of India provided Vilnius University with teaching materials on Indology. In 2006, India sponsored the international conference of Indology scholars in Vilnius.

According to Dr. K. B. Usha, the head of the Baltic Studies in School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), “JNU, one of the premier centres of academic excellence in social sciences in India, is the most important institution that currently promotes comprehensive studies on the Baltic States in India. An area of research and teaching devoted to the Baltic States has been developed under the auspices of the Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies of the School of International Studies, JNU.”

In particular, the course “Politics and Society in the Baltic States” has been offered by Dr. K.B. Usha to students of M. Phil and PhD programme. Since 2009, JNU students have submitted several dissertations on various subjects pertaining to Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania realities. Topics explored include political change, EU integration, political parties, labour market, globalisation, economic transition, democracy, civil society, energy security, Russia’s relations with the Baltic States, and so on.

“Research on the Baltic States is still in its earliest stages, and publications on the subject are forthcoming. JNU has developed closer academic collaboration with prominent educational institutions in the Baltic States, such as the University of Latvia and Vilnius University, Lithuania”¹².

Every year, many Lithuanian students come to India to attend various courses in India in the fields of diplomacy, banking, mass communications, finance management, urban management development, foreign trade auditing. The Government of India encourages them and provides scholarship for the Lithuanian students to study Hindi in India. From 1994 to 2005, 20 scholarships were proposed by the Government of India for Lithuanian students to study Hindi in Agra at the Central Institute of Hindi.

In 2007, India’s Government apportioned 7,700 USD for the publication of the first Hindi language textbook and vocabulary in the Baltic States. Also in the same year India sponsored the opening of the Hindi Language Room in Vilnius University. In October 2006, at the initiative of India’s Embassy in Warsaw, “India’s Days” with seminars on tourism, Indian classical dances and Indian food were organized in Vilnius¹³.

To expand and reinforce bilateral relations between the two countries, Lithuania – India Forum was established on 14 September 2010. This Forum is the public organization and its main purpose is to bind various institutions, NGOs, public figures and individuals who take interest in India, and strengthen relations between Lithuania and India in the fields of culture, education, science and business¹⁴. The cultural relation between India and Lithuania became reflective when India’s cultural and information centre was founded in Vilnius in 2004.

During the signing of the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement between India and Lithuania on 30 March 2011 in Vilnius, Lithuanian Minister A. Ažubalis assumed that Lithuania was the only Baltic State that had the Embassy in India, and Lithuanian universities were

the only ones in the Baltic countries that had an extensive India studies programme.

The Minister mentioned the similarity between the Lithuanian language and Sanskrit, and encouraged India to initiate the Lithuanian language teaching programme at the country's universities, and also invited Indian students to study the Lithuanian language in Lithuania¹⁵.

Economic and Trade Relations

Since the establishment of bilateral relations, Lithuanians and Indians have largely expanded their trade and economic interests. Lithuania's major items of import from India include pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, textiles and consumer goods. Main items of export to India include machinery and mechanical appliances, high tech optical instruments, base metals and articles of base metal, chemicals, sulphur, lime and cement. According to Lithuanian statistics, bilateral trade between India and Lithuania amounted to USD 45 million, USD 42.03 million and USD 355.06 million respectively in the years 2006, 2007 and 2008, while it reached USD 117.09 million during 2009. During the period January – November 2010, bilateral trade with Lithuania reached USD 160 million¹⁶.

In December 2009, the Lithuanian Business Mission to India was organized along with the official visit to India of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Economy of Lithuania. To promote and develop cooperation between Lithuania and India, especially in the field of commerce, Indian – Baltic Chamber of Commerce (IBCC) was formed in 2009 and Business Missions from Lithuania to India and from India to Lithuania are organized.

Lithuanian's main items of export to India are fertilizers; machines and machinery (used printing machines, packing machinery); electrical machinery, equipment and parts; optical measuring, checking, precision instruments and parts. The main items of import from India are textiles and textile articles

(cotton), base metals and articles, machinery and mechanical appliances. According to the data of the Department of Statistics, during 2010, Lithuanian exports to India amounted to 376.3 mln. LTL and Lithuanian imports from India amounted to 75.3 mln. LTL.

As of 30 September 2010, the foreign direct investment from India made up 1.6 million LTL. In September 2010, the Indian Business Mission to Lithuania took place. In November 2010, the Lithuanian Business Mission was organized along with the official visit to India of the Deputy Speaker of the Seimas (Parliament) and members of the group for Inter-parliamentary Relations with the Republic of India.

In January 2011, the Indian Business Mission to Lithuania was organized¹⁷. "On 13 December 2012 the agreement between the Indian Baltic Chamber of Commerce (IBCC) and the company "India Buying Consultants" was signed. The agreement was signed to found the IBCC Mission in India. Under the agreement, India Buying Consultants is an authorized representative of the IBCC and will take care of searching for new IBCC clients. The India Buying Consultants company works with major importers in India, who have so far mainly been affected by imports from the U.S., but became interested in Lithuanian products, to meet the potential demand in the Indian market with imports"¹⁸.

The Republic of Lithuania and India have established excellent cooperation in the sectors of info-tech and pharmaceuticals. Mickeviciene, Minister Counsellor of the Republic of Lithuania, while addressing an interactive session on economic relations between Lithuania and India which was organised by the MCC Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that now Lithuania was developing Free Economic Zones especially to attract investments in sectors like IT, financial and business consulting and pharmaceuticals sectors.

She called upon India to increase its share of trade with Lithuania. The bilateral trade between India

and Lithuania stood at nearly \$209 million in 2010-11, as against \$139 million in 2009-10. She also emphasized on improving bilateral research opportunities in science and technology including solar energy and biotechnology¹⁹. Now the economic and cultural ties between the two countries have been largely extended and the diplomatic, trade, economic and technical relations are progressing well.

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Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Concept of Swaraj

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[The Indian National Movement was one of the biggest mass movements of the modern society that galvanized millions of people of all classes and ideologies into political action and brought to its knees a mighty, colonial empire. This movement was also one of the best examples of the creation of an extremely wide movement with common aims in which diverse political and ideological currents could co-exist and work. This diversity instead of weakening the cohesion and striking power of the movement, became a major source of its strength the movement popularized domestic ideas and institutions in India. It also played a pivotal role in the historical process through which the Indian people got formed into a nation.]

As India was not yet a fully structured nation but a nation in the making therefore, one of the major objects and functions of the movement was to promote the growing unity of the Indian people through a common struggle against colonialism. The movement did not lack exceptional individuals among leaders and followers. Bal Gangadhar Tilak falls in this category of exceptional leaders who organized mass movements and individual people in different struggles against the British and is considered as a father of the Indian National Movement.¹

He began his struggle against the British Imperialism along with Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurbindo Ghosh and many others and later on was so influenced by Mahatma Gandhi as he breathed his last saying, "the country's future is safe in the hands of Gandhi. Country's salvation can be achieved by following his path. I follow him and appeal to the countrymen to work under his leadership". During the freedom struggle his slogan "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it" inspired millions of Indians.

An English writer, Schiller writes "the old falls, time changes and new life blossoms out of the ruins". The year 1856, the year in which Tilak was born, is an important one in India's history when the old order, which began in 1818 with the eclipse of the

Maratha Empire and ended in 1857 with the great Indian revolt known as the Indian Mutiny.

It was a period of great change in which some states like Tanjavar, Satara, Indore, Gwalior, Baroda among others were the scene of revolutions; some others disappeared altogether; and others again lost their independence, and many more became little more than landed estates.

During that period, there were important changes in Maharashtra. Armed people lost their arms, business community declined, the artisans could not work unemployment grew among the white collar classes, the priestly class almost died out and the learned lost the princes' patronage. In a word, all classes and masses, rich and poor, prince and peasants, were equally affected by the changing order.

Beside, in July 1856, Lord Canning issued an order that Indian recruit should be accepted for the army in future who would undertake to march wherever he might be ordered. This, some thought, was an attempt to make the Hindus convert to Christianity. Widow Remarriage Act was another setback for Hindu religion.

At the same time propaganda against the British was being actively put forth by agents of the King of Persia and discontented heir of the Peshwas, Nana Saheb. Such was the explosive atmosphere in India, when Bal Gangadhar Tilak was born on

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23 July 1856 in a Chitpavan Brahmin family at Ratnagiri in Bombay Presidency.²

His contribution to Indian Freedom struggle movement was immense. He wielded tremendous influence over the contemporary religious, social, political, educational and cultural movements through his book entitled *Gita Rashya*, by reviving the organization of festival of Ganpati and Shivaji festival. He started newspapers – Kesri and Maratha – which became very popular during that time.

Concept of Swaraj

In the history of India's fight for freedom many political leaders and freedom fighter have thrown light on the theoretical and applied part of the concept of Swaraj.³ Swaraj is a multi-dimensional concept. It relates not only to political freedom but also means autonomy and harmony in all spheres of life-political, economic, social, culture, spiritual and moral. The concept of Swaraj or self-rule that lay at the centre of Indian political thought refers to the notion of securing self-determination in a polity comprising several distinct sectors.

In Swarajya, which means a particular mode of securing self-determination in a polity in modern India, the term Swaraj was exclusively identified by Naroji and Tilak with the goal of national Independence, and the emphasis was wholly shifted from the positive to the negative connotation of the term and its application entirely transferred from its individual to its collective scope.

The term Swaraj meant different things to different leaders; but there was no doubt that for all of them it meant some degree of independence from the foreign control. Although, it was not the extremists who first spread the message of patriotism and demand for self-government, they could take credit of the fact that they popularized these concepts among a large section of the people in different parts of the country.⁴

The meaning of Swaraj is often obscure for some recent Indian thinkers and part of this ambiguity may be explained by the modern Indian attempt to trace the word to its original Sanskrit base, and then reinterpret its ancient meaning in terms of modern

situation. The Sanskrit word 'sva' means, own, one's own, my own or self'. Sva-Raj as used in every Vedic text signified self-ruling self-ruler, one's own rule. The Rig-Veda and Atharvaveda used it in this sense, of "self-ruler" and "King."

The kingship could be either divine or terrestrial, applying to India, "King" of the Gods or occasionally in a technical sense, to earthly kings of western India. Swaraj in the early Vedas, thus had a political meaning signifying "self-rule", in the sense that a king enjoys sovereignty over his own dominion.

Sva, however, may also mean in Sanskrit "self" in the purely spiritual sense of "Soul". Swaraj in this sense suggests soul rule, or one who is governed by the dictates of his own soul. A passage, which shows this usage, occurs in the Chandogya Upanishada. It argues, the soul (Atman), indeed is below. The soul is above. The soul is to the West. The soul is to the East. The soul is to the South. The soul is to the North.... But they who know otherwise than this are heteronymous or *anyarajan*, they have no freedom.⁵

Tilak's Concept of Swaraj

Tilak was the first Indian leader who infused courage, confidence, fearlessness, strength and determination amongst the people of India. He declared unequivocally that constitutional agitation would not by itself have any effect on the British Government. He therefore, made it a confirmed political programme to organize the masses under the banner of the Indian National Congress and to make it the real and dependable spokesman of the people. Undoubtedly it is he who made the people realize their fundamental right by ensuring their active participation in Indian politics against the Raj.⁶

Tilak talked of Swaraj as early as 1885. He traced the word Swarajyam in shastras. He argues, "It is a simple-Sanskrit word, meaning nothing more or less than the power to rule our homes and hence it is called in short "Home Rule."⁷ Swaraj according to Tilak does not have only a negative connotation, that is, to be free from foreign rule. He argues that Swaraj means that the administration should be

conducted in conformity, with the wishes of the people.⁸

Tilak had fought against injustice and argued against the placating policies of the moderates. He put forward a positive political programme which centred on the concept of Swaraj-self-rule, for India. As early as in 1895, he had started preaching the need of Swaraj. He realized that self-rule must precede meaningful social reform and that the only sustaining basis for national honour and national self-respect must be national self-rule.⁹

Tilak's belief in Swaraj was derived from Advaita which had taught him that moral autonomy is the very life of the individual soul which, to quote him, Vedanta declares to be not separate from God but identical with him.¹⁰ According to him, this ideal of Swaraj applies both to the nation as well as to the individual.

For the individual, the Swaraj meant the attainment of self-control which is essential for performing "one's duty" (swadharama). It formed the very basis of the ancient Indian scheme of the triple concepts, autonomy, relations and functions in terms of which social life ought to be organized.

For a nation "it (Swaraj) means a government which rules according to the wishes of the people or their representatives". According to Tilak, "Swaraj means a state in which we maintain our separate existence without the presence of the English there can be no Swaraj without our feeling and being the equals of Englishman".¹¹ To Tilak 'desire for freedom' was a national human instinct and to strive for 'freedom was an inherent right of every people'.

Accordingly, there is no need for the subject people to prove that they deserve freedom; for it is only in the conditions of freedom that a people can develop the necessary virtues and qualities for freedom. In a way, he was echoing the maxim, "it is liberty alone that makes people fit for liberty".¹²

Swaraj in his opinion meant the operation and management of domestic affairs of India by Indians. According to Tilak, "Swaraj is the possession the rights which the native princes had in the Indian State

with this difference that instead of hereditary chiefs, under Swaraj there would be elected president.¹³

Explaining the literal meaning of Swaraj-rule by the natives of the country, Tilak had tended to add that an inquisitive mind would not be satisfied with this explanation. To identify true Swaraj, it is necessary to properly understand the meaning of 'swa' (Self). To Tilak the prefix 'swa' (self) in Swaraj could only mean Praja the people, they ruled. And hence, according to him, Swaraj meant (the people and ruled), people's rule.

To him Swaraj was, thus, equivalent to 'The right of the people to conduct the administration of the country according to what they consider to be their good; Swaraj, thus, essentially means a democratic, i.e. constitutional, self-government.¹⁴

Tilak proceeded to analyze the concept of Swaraj in order to further elaborate this, in its different forms, namely:

1. Swaraj: when improperly run by the rules belonging to the some country, Here, government is run by the natives. Though desirable in itself, this rule by the native people was the least important aspect of Swaraj. Tilak was aware that even a native government might at times be mismanaged and be tyrannical. This can lay claim to the nomenclature Swaraj only in the negative sense, that it was not governed by foreigners.
2. Second, it refers to a well-governed state or a system or rule of law.
3. Third, it means a government promoting the well-being of the people.
4. The fourth connotation, a democratic constitutional government that runs, according to the wishes of the people, through their representatives. Tilak supported the right of the people to participate in the government of their country.¹⁵

Tilak argued that Swaraj was the pre-condition for the very existence of the nation. He believed that all progress, all hope for national advancement, rested in Swaraj. No issue had precedence over it, power

was wanted first. He wanted first the people to stand unitedly for the national cause.

The Britishers denied political freedom to India on the contention that the Indians were not fit for the same. Tilak argued that Indians were capable and fit for running public affairs. They could run the administration of their country properly. He was of the view that Indians were never in the state of anarchy and British had no right to govern Indian people. He said “no civilized nation should be governed by any other nation without its consent”.¹⁶

Tilak held before the people the vision of the great ideal-Swaraj. He carried the message of Swaraj to the smallest and the most distant part of Maharashtra. He opened the eyes of the people to their terrible conditions, stark poverty and utter bondage. He called upon them to work hard and sacrifice their very best for the attainment of Swaraj.

He accustomed them to look back to the past and draw inspiration from it for the work of the present. He taught them to watch the administration of the day with vigilance and trained them up in organized opposition against the foreign rule and showed by personal example how to suffer for one’s conventions and one’s country.¹⁷

Conclusion

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the most prominent figures in the Indian National liberation movement and the leader of its revolutionary democratic wing, in his newspaper, *Kesari*, scathingly deprecated, in 1908, the colonial domination of India by British imperialism. He roused the people to revolution against the oppression of their foreign rulers, demanded self-rule, Swaraj for the people and propagated the idea that the authorities must be elected by the people.

Notwithstanding the class limitations of Tilak’s view, his propaganda preformed a positive revolutionizing role. In Jawaharlal Nehru’s words, “the real symbol of the new age was Bal Gangadhar Tilak”, and further, that “there was no doubt that the vast

majority of politically-minded people in India favoured Tilak and his group”.¹⁸

He was also the first leader to use the word Swaraj as it is understood today, as also the first leader to launch the Swadeshi movement. As he was the first leader to start popular political movement in India, he had to channel his own path, fashion his own weapons and mould the pattern of a political organization. He did what Shivaji did three hundred years before him. He organized the people and set them on their onward march towards independence.

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California Nirvana

Eddie J. Girdner*

When Ted walked up to his apartment in Santa Barbara, he was standing in the doorway. Just off the plane from London the previous day at Los Angeles International Airport, Lakshmi's uncle, had taken up residence with his family for the holidays. This meant that sex with his wife was out of the question. Meals would have to be prepared, nonstop, morning, noon and night. And to entertain him, was not easy. So, to put it briefly, it was great to be home for the holidays, but he would have to spend a lot of time entertaining Uncleji, his wife's dear uncle.

V.D. Verma, who was a Hindu in his fifties, and long time bank clerk in one of the big banks in downtown London, was making his once in a lifetime pilgrimage to America. For orthodox Hindus to leave the holy land of India and cross the *kala-pani*, or black waters, to the infidel West was deeply polluting.

Uncleji had no fears of that, as he had lived in England most of his life. But his trepidation and suspicion of foreign lands was not yet completely allayed. Not at all. He cast his untrusting eyes upon all things which might be sinful and polluting to his venerable Hindu soul.

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Now he had courageously taken the ultimate plunge and ventured into the truly deeply infidel land of America. He would find out what it was all about. Live dangerously. Of course, anyone who knows only LA and Santa Barbara knows America not at all. But this was beyond his comprehension. There were many things beyond Uncleji's comprehension.

Between the heavy winter rains Ted worked to get his old Volkswagon running. It had been setting in the student housing parking left since he left to teach at his university in Mississippi. His wife, who stayed behind in California, did not drive. The battery was down along with a couple of the tires.

Ted and Lakshmi did their best to please the uncle but there were clearly a lot of things that did not go to his liking, having been immersed in orthodox Indian culture for so long, even though living outside of India. After all, west London was a little India. A ghetto. They didn't call it Little Delhi for nothing. First, his niece had married an outcast, Ted. Having not been born a Hindu, Ted had no caste at all, which rendered him an outcast. That was breach enough of the sacred Laws of Manu.

Then Uncleji was shocked at Lakshmi's shelf of Punjabi books. He asked her why she had so many.

“There are no use for them in this country,” he said. And as a Hindu, she ought to be reading Hindi books in the Devanagri script, according to his narrow communalist thinking. In his prejudiced view, Punjabi, written in Gurmukhi script, was a language of the Sikhs, and one would never see a Sikh studying literature in Hindi. This merely exposed his ignorance of his own country, as Lakshmi pointed out to him. There were many Sikhs studying Hindi literature and even writing in Hindi.

One studied for a Ph.D only to make a better living in his view. When Ted pointed out that in America people went back to the university at all ages, just for the purpose of learning and enriching their lives, he thought it was a totally foolish thing to do. What could be the use of it? If it could not help them get a better job and earn more money, they were wasting their time.

After downing his stack of greasy prantas, or Indian bread cakes, every morning, with some mango or red pepper pickles, his stomach would blow up and stick out like a round balloon and then he would lay down and begin to emit foul smelling odors, sometimes in a quite explosive manner.

The house was always filled with smoke in the mornings like a Punjabi village, as his wife cooked breakfast for Uncleji and made cup after cup of tea to wash down all that spicy food. She had purchased a twenty kilogram sack of flour in preparation for his arrival and its replenishment would soon be necessary.

There was almost two weeks in which the burden fell upon Ted and the family to entertain their guest from the Old World and this was not easy. He was at a complete loss in America, as if his boat had capsized and washed up on some foreign shore with strange incomprehensible people.

After Christmas, Ted rented a car and took them all to Los Angeles, so that dear Uncleji could get a taste of Disneyland and the true infidelity of the urban southland. They had stayed with Lakshmi's Iranian friend, Nusheen, in Glendale for three nights. Even though saved from paying for a motel, the excursion made a considerable dent in Ted's pocketbook. But

he had no choice. He dared not further antagonize the orthodox. Surely he had done enough damage already by polluting a member of the family beyond redemption.

He did his best to make amends. He had toured his guest all around the town, the mission, the Santa Barbara hills, and museums, and shopping centers, to entertain him to the best of his ability. For Uncleji, unfortunately, it meant nothing, nothing at all, all of it apparently incomprehensible, having never developed his interest in anything other than pulling down a paycheck at the end of the month to pay the bills and get on through the four stages of a Hindu's life. There was no such thing as entertaining Uncleji.

He was now reaching that final stage, where one was supposed to give up all earthly possessions and seek Truth and God, but there was no danger of Uncleji wandering off with his begging bowl to become a homeless sanyasi or truth seeker. His proclivity ran rather in the opposite direction, to plastic table cloths and cheesy Texasware.

Such pursuits were close enough to the truth for a modernized plodding upper caste Hindu, a Brahmin like dear Uncleji. His nirvana would emerge not from the infinite Brahma, the infinite soul, but from the plastic found on the shelves of shopping marts. That was the only thing that made his eyes shine, as far as Ted could tell.

“What does it mean by freeway entrance?” Uncleji wanted to know, as they, in fact, entered the freeway. To some, it would have been obvious.

“What does it mean by no littering?” Uncleji wondered.

In the food store, he had to ask: “What does it mean by key buy?” “Can I use my Master Card here?”

Ted spent his holiday explaining such mundane inquiries, resisting the temptation to ask him where he had left his dunce cap.

“My dear Uncleji, what your mastercard will not buy in America does not exist. This country is not called America for nothing. Maybe in India the sky settles everything, as E.M. Forester had it. But in

America, the market settles everything,” Ted wanted to say.

In the end, what turned Uncleji on, utilitarian to a fault, was the cheapest most cheesy household items in K-Mart, Walmart, Shitmart. These were his key buys warming the cockles of his post-Vedic Hindu Soul. They were commodities which could be bought at the same price around the corner from his house in London, no doubt, but then they would not have fallen from the nirvana which emanated from America in the eyes of Indian emigrant.

Buying them in England would strip them of the prestige and aura which attached to them, having come from America. They might be polluting to his soul, but when it came to material goods, he would take a chance and live dangerously. He would lug his plastic fucking treasures all the way from America back to the Old World, which was already chock full of that shit. Most of it came from China anyway. These were considerations which did not impinge upon Uncleji’s consciousness. He lived in his own little world. He was doing it his way.

When he wasn’t entertaining Uncleji, Ted read stories to his young daughter, Melody, now five. The Night Before Christmas, Mother Goose, Peter Rabbit. His older daughter, Angie, fifteen, and now in high school was having trouble in her classes, having discovered many ways to have more fun than studying mathematics. He would have to talk to her teachers before going back.

Ted talked to Uncleji about his life London. Uncleji said that it took more than an hour to get to work on the buses or tube, and most of the time, he had to stand all the way on the crowded transport. It was a grind, doing it for years. He admitted to Ted that he never read, so it was not surprising that he was rather dull mentally, his universe confined to his narrow duties in the bank.

He did have a car, but his ability to drive was so minimal that it was rather suicidal for him get out onto the roads, even for a weekend drive to the countryside. Ted remembered Uncleji’s bumbling attempts to drive in London one summer when he had been there with the family on the way to India.

It was refreshing for Ted having the LA Times, a real newspaper, which was dropped every day in front of his door. The American South was vacuous in that respect. But Uncleji never looked at the newspaper. It was crowded in their small apartment. Uncleji settled down in his daughter’s room, his wife and the kids got the big bed, and Ted got the cold hard floor downstairs. This was even harder and colder in the damp winter air, as the floor was not carpeted. He fought off the creeping bad cold he felt coming on.

There was a party for Indians and Iranians at the housing site just before Christmas. Ted had cooked a big turkey, upside down, as it turned out, keeping with the spirit of his holiday. But perhaps the fate of the turkey was hardly worse than that of Ted. It was readily devoured by the guests despite its seriously erroneous orientation. Just a hundred and eighty out. Roger that. In any event, a turkey is a turkey as was becoming more clear by the hour.

One morning Ted took Uncleji and Melody for a long ride up over San Marcos Pass and over into the Santa Ynez Valley. They stopped at Vista Point and made some pictures of the scenic view and the sea below. It was chilly in the pass, as if the wind was blowing off snow with the green and brown hills behind, and the blue of Cochuma Lake in the distance.

The mountains below were green with the blue sea expanding to the horizon. The sun reflecting from the Pacific Ocean below left a shimmer and beyond one could see the mountains rising from the Channel Islands in the distance. Below, Goleta sprawled in the flat strip of beach land. Uncleji was lost in wonderland. Contemplating Brahma? Not likely. Looking at mountains and the sea was also a waste of time for him.

He was also not impressed with the Mission or the Natural History Museum, which had exhibits about the California Chumash Indians.

After coming back to the apartment, Ted felt tired and feverish. The damp weather was catching up with him and his shoes, his only pair, had become soaked in the frequent rains. He lay down in his old

bed upstairs and listened to Beethoven, which seemed a welcome break from all things Indian. Looking across to the adjacent apartments, he felt a sense of *deja vu*, after being away, and a sense of loss.

It would soon be over for his California residency. He would never really make it in California. He had come to understand that. The place had turned off too yuppieish for him. The cutting edge of America. They only had need of the new generation of youth with ideas quite different from his. His mind drifted back to winter days in Punjab when he was in the Peace Corps, when he would catch a cold and have to rest up.

And then he thought of his childhood on the farm in Missouri. He saw a field of golden ripe corn in the river bottom on the farm in Preston. It was a bright Fall day. His father was there in his overalls holding the reins and driving the old wagon with high side boards and wooden wheels, pulled by two big brown horses.

Now stopped in the field, the wagon was filling up with a heap of long fat ears of ripe yellow corn, as his father shucked the ears off the dry stalks and tossed them into the pile. The pungent smell of ripe ragweed and horseweed filled the clear sunny air. It was a pleasant and homely fragrance. A cool breeze stirred with the bite of frost. An Indian summer day, before the bitter cold and snow of a North Missouri winter.

The last rays of sun disappeared behind the tops of the red tiled apartments and the evening began to fall quickly. He had come a long way from Missouri.

And then there was the dinner at Harban Singh's place in Goleta. He and his young wife were Punjabis from Hoshiarpur. They were treated to a video of their wedding in Punjab. Uncleji quickly grabbed the opportunity to gobble down some bacon, another serious sin. But what the hell. His family back in England would never know. He even wet his lips with a glass of California wine. His gluttony, not surprisingly, brought on another round of gaseous explosions in the small car as the family made its way back to the apartment.

This outing was followed by the New Year's get together of local Indians, where the men absorbed themselves in a mindless Amitabh Buchchan film and the women from West Bengal sang hymns from Rabindranath Tagore. Amitabh crooned Hindi songs while dancing across the tops of cars in a parking lot. The film props included enormous goggles or sunglasses, a staple of popular Indian films. Ted soon had his fill of that, but his karma was to endure the torture. He fled for relief to Rabindranath's odes but that too left something to be desired.

Then there was the visit to the enormous ostentatious Hindu temple in Malibu and blessings from the pundit. Ted could have used them if they had cut any ice.

In Los Angeles, they went to the Krishna Temple. There was a vegetarian meal in the evening after the chanting of Hare Krishna, Hare Rama. The guests sat down on small mats on the floor with just a small platform in front of them and then simple vegetarian food was served, lentils, rice, vegetable, coconut juice, and a sweet dish. A young woman sat in front and gave a talk, admonishing the devotees to be more fervent in their worship of Krishna, to "let Krishna come into your life if you believe that Krishna is God."

"Live your lives in Krishna Consciousness," she admonished them.

Ted thought about what that would entail down in the Mississippi Delta.

"It is very unfortunate that children are being given a materialistic education in the public schools," she asserted in forboding tones. "What the world needs is more religion."

It was a rejection of secularism. Substitute Jesus Christ for Krishna, and one would have a typical Christian sermon. Ted thought. How many times Bible thumping preachers had bent his ears with that torturous and inane clap-trap when he was a kid and then made him think he was going to drop into hell for his grievous sins against God before the end of the night. The Christianization of Vedic religion had almost reached this level. Was it a result of the

Ramakrishna Mission as Agahananda Bharati, that Austrian who became a Hindu Monk, thought?

It grated on Ted's nerves. He knew what was going on in India. There was no shortage of religion. Was it what they needed? Coals to Newcastle. They had religion dripping out their ears and everywhere else. Not only was it often dogmatic and reactionary, but it often produced communal riots. Now it had entered the heart of politics itself. The rabid communalization of politics. All of these devotees seemed to be very naive indeed about Indian society.

Where were people more materialistic than there? Why did Indians rush to America except to get rich. It was a Yankee go home, but take me with you mentality. They found their Nirvana in Silicon Valley. These young white devotees were a group of Indian lovers who knew what the books and the pundits said about India, but did not know India. Did not go to the roots. They had not endured the heat and filth and degradation, the ruined lives, in the hundreds of thousands of rural villages. They knew nothing about it. They had not seen the reality. It was instructive. He pointed this out to them, but they rejected it totally. There was no bursting their big pink Hare Krishna balloon. They were true believers.

That is dangerous, Ted thought. Just as dangerous as any other dogmatic ideology, and rather blind in assertions cut from whole cloth, rather than based upon sociological analysis. The opiate of the people, recycled.

Back home, relations between Uncleji and Lakshmi were becoming more icy. They had already had several fights. He began to ignore her. Sometimes

he talked to Ted, but mostly to his older daughter. He reminded him of Lakshmi's mother, who had died some years before. Exact same face, in essential features.

In his room, he continued to let his roaring farts, periodically. Indeed, what could prevent it after all those buttered up prontos and belly tickling Indian pickles, even though he spent long and frequent periods in the bathroom. Ted sometimes wondered if he had indeed merged with Brahma, the infinite soul, never to emerge again.

Fixing Uncleji up with tea, was a major headache when they stopped at McDonalds. It had to be made with a bag, so un-Indian. First the water would not be hot enough, so Ted would have to truck back and buck the line for another hot water. Then Uncleji would want a spoon to stir the tea and Ted would have to make another trip back up the line for that.

Back and forth, and the dear man so helpless. Why was he so incompetent? Why couldn't he get it for himself for once? And why did he never spring for anything? Stoicly, Ted endured until time to head back. Carrying his Christian cross was not enough. He had to bear up this Hindu one too.

As it turned out, the Pundit's blessings at the Temple were not completely in vain. One morning Uncleji boarded the bus for LA Airport. Ted carried Uncleji's bags out and bid him farewell. Half an hour later Ted got a ride with his wife's friend down to the train station to start the long trip back to the Mississippi Delta. Ted had survived and performed his filial duties but at the expense of his holiday.



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Islam and United Malay National Organization in Malaysia

Dr. Sneha*

[In this article, the author deals with the impact of Islam in Malaysian politics with specific reference to the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) and tries to demonstrate as to how this party is faced with challenges of governance from other rival parties, specifically Parti Islam. The author also offers some suggestions. Ed.]

Islam has been a major influence on political life in Southeast Asia, especially after it gained a foothold in the region around the thirteenth century. The main factor behind this tendency was the pervasive role played by Muslims in the propagation of Islam in Southeast Asia (Ahmad Fauzi 2002). Islam has always been a mainstay in the politics and culture of Malaysia. It plays a role in the identity of Malays in Malaysia (Leigh, 2009).

Under the national constitution, Islam is the national religion and 'Malay' means a person who professes the Muslim religion, habitually speaks the Malay language, and conforms to Malay custom (Fernando, 2006).

According to Esposito and Voll, religious resurgence and democratization have been two of the most significant developments of the last quarter of the twentieth century. In Muslim world this relationship is of special importance because of the strength of the Islamic resurgence and the intensity of Muslim demands for greater popular participation in political processes.

In Malaysia, however, the new movements have been legally recognized and made part of the political process. The assertiveness of the Islamic ethos in many parts of the world since the 1970s is a reality witnessed in many countries particularly those with sizeable Muslim populations and Malaysia is no exception.

One scholar has assessed the Islamisation process in Malaysia with special reference to two key issues, i.e., firstly whether contemporary Islamic developments are responsible for Malaysia becoming an "Islamic state" and secondly the relevance and feasibility of such a political option for governing Malaysia (Mutalib, 1993).

The United Malay National Organization (UMNO) has always sought to emphasize development issues and the economic benefits of its leadership of the Malay community, whereas the opposition Parti Islam (PAS) has taken the high moral ground stressing Islam as the key to unity and progress of the Malay community.

Islam was politically marginalised in Malaysia under the country's founding father Tunku Abdul Rahman. Then his successor Tun Abdul Razak Hussein saw an outpouring of petro-dollars from friendly Middle Eastern states which helped to fund a cornerstone of Tun Razak's domestic policy and the formulation of a National Cultural Policy of which Islam became an integral part (Mandal 2008:277-278).

Mahathir's successor Abdullah Ahmad Badawi promulgated Islam Hadhari or 'civilisational Islam' as a fundamental tenet of his administration. By this time, how-ever, the wheels of Islamic bureaucracy were already prepared to act in adherence to politically slanted *fatwas* (Ahmad Fauzi 2009: 181-183). Since its implementation Islam Hadhari became a repressive mechanism and which effectively legalized abuse of power against both non-Muslims and unorthodox Muslims. *Barisan Nasional* (National Front) and UMNO's disastrous

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election results in 2008 effectively ended the Islam Hadhari programme.

In the view of Joseph Chinyong Liow, Malaysia is often held up as a model of pro-Western Islamic nation. Moreover, the author showed that Malaysian politics has taken a strong turn toward Islamism. He also offered a comprehensive analysis of the growing role of Islam in the last quarter century of Malaysian politics. The conventional approach suggests that the ruling UMNO party has moved toward Islamism to fend off challenges from the more heavily Islamist opposition party PAS.

Liow, however, has argued that UMNO has often taken the lead in moving toward Islamism and that in fact PAS has often been forced to react. Moreover, the result is the game of “piety-trumping” that will be very difficult to reverse and that has dire consequences not only for the ethnic and religious minorities of Malaysia but for their democratic system as a whole (Liow, 2009).

UMNO was formed as a communal party and its object being to protect and promote an ethnically defined community. The principal challenge to UMNO has come from Parti Islam, which asserts the primacy not of race but of religion. Parti Islam has succeeded in its efforts to steadily shift the political discourse toward religion where it took the high moral ground, rather than being on the defensive when UMNO stresses the more tangible benefits of economic improvement. These two parties have different interpretations on Islam (Ratnam, 1969).

UMNO’s position on Islam has always been one of detachment and defensiveness. It has done what is necessary to uphold the constitutional provision that Islam is the national religion. UMNO has responded to the PAS challenge by building Islamic institutions throughout the country and implementing a policy called the Islamisation of the government apparatus.

However, UMNO has never been fully recognized by Malays as the champion of the religion, but rather as the champion of Malay rights, uplifting the economic and societal status of Malays. The dismissal of Anwar Ibrahim, a symbol of Islamic resurgence within UMNO further eroded the

party’s reputation as the upholder of Islam (Maznah, 2010).

According to Vidhu Verma the Islamic resurgence of the late 1990s was different from earlier incarnations (Verma, 2002). It was brought about by the authoritarian politics practiced by Mahathir, changes in Malay identity, and popular views. It is viewed as an appropriation of political space within the arena of institutionalized repressive tolerance.

Dr. Mahathir’s politics provided psychological unity, not only to Muslims in Malaysia but all over the world. In the *Borneo Post*, Mahathir had also loudly proclaimed that Malaysia is not just an Islamic nation but an Islamic fundamentalist state. Islam therefore becomes a greater factor of identity to the Malays and the Muslims.

Moreover, Shanti Nair is concerned over the Malaysian foreign policy and how the policy is shaped by a domestic Islamic agenda. She has examined the relationship between Islam, development and economic growth, the problem of extremism and relations with other countries and also addresses the real and imagined significance of Islam as a force in contemporary global politics.

Conclusion

PAS has already visualized that Islam will remain as the pillar of its hegemonic discourse and political strategy. In fact, Islamisation in Malaysia has shown restraints within UMNO and the main target would be UMNO’s “weak Islamic credentials” (*Straits Times*, 2002). More importantly while UMNO has passed on a range of rumours in order to demonise PAS and the Islamists’ version of political Islam as a result of which some scholars of Islam in Malaysia have perceived that, “as the two parties continue to up the stakes in the Islamisation race between themselves, they have effectively blurred the distinction between their respective approaches and interpretations, leading to a fusion of visions and objectives where PAS and UMNO’s stand on Islam seem almost identical” (Farish Noor 2002:15).

In a way this inconsistency has placed UMNO in a position of disadvantage in the face of the apparent fidelity of PAS toward political Islam.

By virtue of historical antecedents which led to unique constitutional arrangements since independence in 1957, the place of Islam in Malaysian politics has been and will continue to play its role. Successive Prime Ministers have managed Islam in the way they feel best reflect the constitutional provisions pertaining to it. In order to counter the challenge from the Islamists, the UMNO leadership will have to deprive PAS of ideological fodder for its political cannons.

On priority UMNO must realize that whatever the ideological polemics involved, PAS has in effect profited from UMNO's increasing alienation from its main support-base related to Islam (Chin, 2013). Religious education will have to be carefully monitored and if necessary re-monitored in order to reconfigure the ideological underpinnings of politicised Islam in Malaysia.

The General Elections of 2013 have given a strong opposition as political Islam is ultimately as much a political as it is religious and doctrinal phenomenon. Finally, on the foreign policy front the UMNO-led Malaysian government will have to tread carefully the ground between overt support for the global war on terrorism.

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Plight of Rural Female Migrants in China

Amarendu Jyoti*

[In post-Mao era a significant number of rural women have migrated to the SEZs (the Special Economic Zones) and the big cities to take up various kinds of jobs. The era of economic reforms has accelerated the pace of migration of young women from rural areas. These young rural women migrants are absorbed in different kinds of jobs in urban cities. The state restrictions on migration are no longer stringent. Rural women work in cities for some years and contribute to family income back home in countryside. They also contribute to Chinese economic growth and development. Thereupon, they retire to their native countryside, marry and have families.]

During the period under review, female migration has contributed remarkably to rapid industrial development so far as China is concerned. These rural females have migrated to urban areas with a view to acquiring wealth and freedom. No wonder, they have played a very solid role in the development and industrialization of the Chinese economy.

Since the 1980s we observe that some unavoidable and lucrative causes are responsible for rural-urban female migration. Their migration has influenced Chinese economy, in general and industry in particular a great deal. Moreover, rural female migration in China has been a pivotal component to China's rapid economic development. Furthermore, their migration has also had a tremendous impact on them (women) socially politically and economically.

The post-Mao economic reforms together with agricultural under-development paved the way for rapid female migration. It resulted in affecting Chinese industrial labour force. Guangdong province in China has witnessed migration of many young women from countryside to take up some work. Usually they get employment in clothing and electronic factories. Such a migration has had a favourable impact on the economy of the towns.

However, we find glaring inequalities with regard to income between urban coastal and rural inland

provinces and several other socio-economic issues. Henceforth, young rural women leave countryside and migrate to urban centres.

In China, economic reforms have encouraged increased commodity production and a more open market. It has had both direct and indirect impact on the lives of young rural female migrants.

Chinese industries have affected the rural economies. And the migrant women experience globalization on local levels. Rapid industrialization in the free trade zones and Special Economic Zones has rendered ample opportunities to work. Such opportunities are rendered for young single Asian women and this is how a female industrial force is created. Such young rural migrants are regarded as the backbone of industrial development in particular and economic growth in general. Migration has witnessed both rural and urban economies being affected favourably.

Significantly, Chinese economy relies remarkably on industry and interestingly industry is vitally dependent upon rural women migrants. Moreover, we also observe that globalization and industrialization affects young rural women. Thus, their migration is an indispensable and basic ingredient of China's expeditious urbanization and development.

It is interesting to note here that female migration to big and industrial towns and cities has contributed to expeditious economic development of China and

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consequently China is ranked among the world's fastest growing economies.

In the early 1980s, China started getting foreign investment. It resulted in flourishing of rural as well as urban economies as a result of which job opportunities for poor young females increased in cities, in industrial and manufacturing sectors.

Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms policies in 1980s resulted in accelerating the pace of development in some regions in China, the coastal towns in particular started becoming rich quickly. As a result of this, many rural females migrated to the urban centers.

Furthermore, it is also observed that New Free Trade Zones (FTZs) and Special Economic Zones (SEZs) have paved the way for foreign investment and jobs for rural migrant women. FTZs stood for those areas which had extra freedoms and tax breaks and they in turn encouraged foreign trade and investment. SEZs have also given greater advantages.

Opening reforms of foreign investments led the rural areas to compete with rapid industrialization. Consequently, young women arrived in urban sectors to offer their labour in mostly domestic and factory work. In these sectors these women were regarded as physically and mentally congruent to the job.

On the other side, we find many rural parents sending their young daughters to the city with a view to taking up some jobs. These young females work in the cities, earn money and send money back home in countryside. Subsequently, foreign-invested industries employ young females at low wages.

Rural migrant women take up factory work, usually foreign-invested clothing, electronics, toys and footwear factories. They also work as bar-girls and sex-workers. Foreign investors employ them because of their reputation of being docile, 'nimble-figured' and obedient workers. These women are crucial to the development of global capital and industrial growth.

However, these rural migrants are treated most unfairly and at the cost of their work, global firms increase profits and facilitate a quick turnover of capital. It is a matter of sorrow that migrant women whose labour is remarkable and vital to the economy are usually marginalized from society and stripped of their dignity and rights by permanent urban residents.

Thus, we find that rural-urban women migration has given a powerful and positive thrust to Chinese industrial economy. We cannot ignore female migrants who have played significant roles in the process of individualization and urbanization.

Some scholars are of the view that migrant women do so primarily for the economic reasons and often endure the social injustices. They are employed by their employers as they are said to have patience and hardly complain about the work. Moreover, they are also said to have fast fingers, good eyesight and the passivity to withstand low-skilled, unstimulating work. Women's hands are smaller and can more quickly and swiftly finish the work. They are easily controllable, less confrontational, willing to work & make money, tolerant and obedient.

No wonder, the large influx of young women migrants who seek employment are provided with jobs by the foreign-investor companies and they are given low wages and exploited. Through the columns of newspapers and other media reports we are made aware of the plight of migrant rural women workers. They are sometimes verbally abused, raped and/or compelled to work for long hours.

Besides, working conditions in many work places are unsafe, detrimental and unhygienic. Chemical fumes, unbearable heat and long hours of standing may prove harmful to women health wise. Culturally and socially, young unmarried rural woman who work poses a threat to the established social order.

Rural women who migrate feel that they have to improve the standard of their lives and do away with rural hardship. At the same time their migration to cities affects economic growth in both rural and urban sectors. Young rural women migrate and make money in urban centers and money sent home by

them is often the main source of earnings and support for family expenses such as housing, parents medical treatment, siblings education or marriage.

Although these young migrant rural women engineer the industrial growth, yet they face difficulties in workplaces and the local government fails to redress their grievances or do away with their problems and difficulties.

The rural migrant women usually do not have contracts with their employers, or otherwise they have to agree to the terms and conditions offered by the employers. Secondly, these women have to work for long hours, averaging 11 to 12 hours every day. Many factories do not observe weekends and work seven days a week. Although Chinese labour law guarantees workers 8-hour workdays, 40-hour work-weeks and at least one day off every week.

Thirdly, migrant women often get wages below the local legal minimum wage and sometimes factories compel these women to pay fees to the government which is, in fact, meant by the factories to pay.

Fourthly, rural migrant women usually do not enjoy any benefits such as medical insurance and social welfare services. Fifthly, supervisors infringe upon migrant women's personal rights and dignity. Sometime they assault them physically and humiliate them personally.

Sixthly, migrant women are susceptible to workplace injuries as factories do not meet safety standards. So, such women workers are exposed to industrial hazards & pollution.

Seventhly, non-state owned factories have not organized labour unions and that is why migrant

women workers have no appropriate channel through which they may raise their voices.

Thus, we see that rural women migrants decide to work and live in cities regardless of hardships, social discrimination by urban residents and exclusion from certain benefits of urban life. They decide to live in cities to work and earn money with a view to improving their families' economic condition.

A young woman's life in the rural areas is economically worse and so they migrate to cities, despite acute hardships and problems. No doubt, they experience terrible working and living conditions, however, when the decision-making crops up, the expectations and the importance of earning money prevails.

Thus, we see that industrialization and urbanization have given birth to the rise of migration of rural labour into non-agricultural industries. No doubt, it is imperative for a developing country to grow. We observe that migrant women workers are absorbed in heavy, dirty and unpleasant work. Moreover, they are denied urban political, cultural, educational and social benefits by local government. Consequently, they are confined to secluded factories and industrial complexes.

We find that in the process of modernization the Chinese Government has failed to recognize women's roles and rights in a labour-intensive economy. On the basis of our above-mentioned facts, we observe that migration of rural women to city is imperative. Howsoever, in the process of modernization and industrialization, women's exploitation and violation of their rights should be given proper thought and their grievances should be redressed adequately.



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NABARD's Role in Agriculture and Rural Development

Dr. P.Chinnachamy*

[The need for strengthening the institutional arrangements for the supply of credit to the rural areas was being felt for quite a long time in the past and with the implementation of the integrated rural development programmes of the rural sector this requirement became still larger. The necessity for augmenting the flow of rural credit and giving it a proper direction became all the more imperative to achieve success in rural development.]

The RBI appointed in March 1979 a committee as Committee for Reviving Arrangements for Financial Institutional Credit for Agriculture and Rural Development (CRAFICARD) to go into the whole gamut of rural credit and to make recommendations for recognizing and strengthening it. The Committee in its report submitted in March 1981 recommended among other things, setting up of National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development. To fulfill this objective National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) was, therefore, set up in July 1982, by an Act of Parliament to take over the functions of ARDC.

Functions of NABARD

NABARD is the apex organisation with respect to all matters relating to policy, planning and operational aspects in the flow of credit for the promotion of agriculture, small-scale industries, cottage and village industries, handicrafts and other rural crafts and other

allied activities. NABARD has continued to follow the policy earlier laid down by the RBI in regard to sanction of medium credit limits for approved agricultural purposes. It also grants long-term credit to State Governments for contribution to the share capital of co-operative credit institutions.

NABARD's refinance is available to state cooperative agriculture and rural development banks (SCARDBs), State Cooperative Banks (StCBs), Regional Rural Banks (RRBs), Commercial Banks and other financial institutions approved by RBI. NABARD provides two types of refinance. The first is extended to RRBs, Apex Rural Credit Institutions such as, State Co-operative Banks, and State Governments for their short-term and medium-term credit requirements.

The second type of refinance is extended to provide resources for ground level deployment of rural credit is meant to increase ground level credit to finance to short-term seasonal agricultural operations through co-operatives.

Table 1

Types of Refinance Facilities Offered

Sl.No	Agency	Credit Facilities
1.	Commercial Banks	Long-term credit for investment purposes Financing the working capital requirements for Weavers' co-operative Societies and State Handloom Development Corporations

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2	Short-term Co-operative Structure (State Co-operative Banks, District Central Co-operative Banks, Primary Agricultural Credit Societies)	Short-term (crop and other loans) Mediumterm (conversion) loans Term loans for investment purposes Financing WCS for production and marketing purposes Financing State Handloom Development Corporations for working capital by State Co-operative Banks
3.	Long-term Co-operative Structure (State Co-operative Agriculture and Rural Development Banks, Primary Co-operative Agriculture and Rural Development Banks)	Term loans for investment purposes
4	Regional Rural Banks (RRBs)	Short-term (crop and other loans) Term loans for investment purposes
5.	State Governments	Long-term loans for equity participation in co-operatives Rural Infrastructure Development Fund (RIDF) loans for infrastructure projects
6	Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) Informal Credit Delivery System	Revolving Fund Assistance for various micro-credit delivery innovations and promotional projects under 'Credit and Financial Services Fund' (CFSF) and 'Rural Promotion Corpus Fund' (RPCF) respectively

Source: NABARD *Annual Report*.

Agency-wise Refinance Disbursed by the NABARD

To ensure the timely availability of the credit to the farmers for taking up their seasonal agricultural operations, banks had started to follow the production-oriented system of lending. The assessment of credit requirements was based on the area under the different crops and the scales of finance according to the various types of crops the raised.

The NABARD provided refinance facilities to the direct lending institutions by way of fixing credit limits

for financing the Seasonal Agricultural Operations (SAO) at concessional rates of interest to the State Cooperative Agricultural and Rural Development Banks (SCARDBs), to the State Cooperative Banks (SCBs), to the Commercial Banks and to the Regional Rural Banks (RRBs) according to the term loans extended by them in the rural areas.

This refinance facility was provided for a period varying between 3 and 15 years, depending upon the purposes for which the loans had been provided. Table-2 below depicts the refinance provided by the NABARD to the various categories of Banks.

Table 2
Agency-wise Refinance Disbursed by NABARD

(Rs. in Crore)

Year	SCARDBs	StCBs	Commercial Banks	RRBs	Total
2001-2002	2732	1089	1608	1178	6607
2002-2003	2853.5	1783.7	1241.5	1538.6	7417.3

2003-2004	2544.14	1736.5	1713.6	1589.35	7583.59
2004-2005	2703.98	1243.92	2569.56	2049.11	8566.57
2005-2006	2082.47	1173.72	4027.74	1332.4	8616.33
2006-2007	1742.72	1130.67	4568.82	1352.81	8795.02
2007-2008	1950.58	826.55	3951.73	2313.99	9042.85
2008-2009	1986.54	802.52	5867.19	1879.04	10535.29
2009-2010	2221.30	1251.95	6057.19	2478.65	12009.08
2010-2011	2351.85	1356.62	7348.49	2428.91	13485.87
Total	25509.08 (25.82)	13118.15 (13.28)	41154.82 (41.66)	19008.86 (19.24)	98790.9 (100.00)
C G R	-3.24	-3.34	21.65	6.92	—

Source: NABARD *Annual Reports*–Various Issues.

It is observed from above Table-2 that the refinance facilities provided by the NABARD to the banks had significantly increased from the level of Rs.6, 607 crore in 2001-2002 to the level of Rs.13, 485.87 crore in the year 2010-2011. Only the commercial banks had availed themselves of significant shares (41.66 per cent) of the refinance facilities provided in the successive years, followed by the State Cooperative Agriculture Rural Development Banks (SCARDBs) which had obtained 25.82 per cent of the refinance provided; and the RRBs to the extent of 19.24 per cent of the refinance and the State Cooperative Banks (StCBs) had accounted for only 13.28 per cent of the refinance amounts received from the NABARD.

It had become clear that the Compound Growth Rates of refinance obtained by the commercial banks was found to be higher than RRBs. With regard to SCARDBs and StCBs secured the negative Compound Growth Rate for the refinance facilities received from the NABARD.

Agency-wise Ground Level Credit Flow from NABARD

Table 3

Agency Wise Ground Level Credit Flow from NABARD

Year	Co-operatives	Commercial Banks	RRBs and Others	Total
2001-02	23524	33587	4934	62045
2002-03	23636	39774	6150	69560
2003-04	26875	52441	7665	86981
2004-05	31231	81481	12597	125309
2005-06	39404	125477	15605	180486
2006-07	42480	166485	20435	229400
2007-08	48480	181088	25312	254658

2008-09	36762	223663	26724	287149
2009-10	63497	285800	35217	384514
2010-11	78007	345877	44293	468291
Total	413896 (19.26)	1535673 (71.48)	198932 (9.26)	2148501 (100.00)
C G R	13.31	31.12	28.88	—

Source: NABARD *Annual Reports*–Various Issues. improves the resource base of institutions providing credit to the rural sector.

Table had shown that the ground level credit from the NABARD to the banks had significantly increased from the level of Rs.6, 2045 crores in 2001-2002 to the level of Rs.4,68,291 crores in the year 2010-2011. During study period, the Ground Level Credit flow for agriculture and allied activities the Commercial Banks have availed the highest Compound Annual Growth Rate of 71.48 per cent, followed by Cooperatives and RRBs and other agencies was 19.26 per cent and 9.26 per cent.

Conclusion

For over two decades, NABARD as a national Apex institution has been playing a pro-active role in addressing important issues of the rural economy. With its presence on the boards of all RRBs and co-operatives, NABARD is fully equipped to emerge as a strong player in the rural credit system. To conclude, NABARD has thus been playing a pivotal role in the channelisation of bank credit to the rural sector way of providing refinance and

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Impact of Urbanization on Rural-Urban Fringe Areas

Monica Dahiya* and Himani Dahiya**

[Past has witnessed urban and rural communities as physically and economically separate and distinct entities. However, the coming of industrialization led to a large scale expansion of urban areas into the countryside and this distinction between rural and urban areas is becoming increasingly blurred. Today, the increasing rural-urban interdependence and the development of transportation and communication binds the rural communities more closely than ever with their urban counterparts that in its wake has generated a zone of transition, known as 'rural-urban fringe', between the rural and the urban landscape.]

In this 'rural-urban fringe' zone, the most significant and widespread effect of this process is the intensification of typical urban behaviour in rural communities, which is highly dependent on the proximity/accessibility of rural community to its urban counterpart. Therefore, the emergence of the fringe zone in India with its complex problems of adjustment of rural communities to its location with respect to the neighbouring metropolis and the changing socio-economic environment poses new challenges to the planners as well as academicians.

Review of Literature

There is a paucity of literature in this field. A review of the few studies, which have appeared in this field, brings out the following facts: (1) an overwhelming number of contribution centre on the identification, definition and delimitation of the zone, rather than the dynamic process of the rural-urban fringe; and (2) a sociological study provides valuable facts but it is merely a descriptive raw inventory of sociological events in a single fringe community rather than a formal analysis of fringe communities in general or with reference to their locations or accessibilities with respect to a city.

Thus, improvements in the existing literature are not likely to be made by assigning more competent persons to the task but a new study is required to

reveal the changing economic and commercial activities in response to urbanization. The present research paper is a modest attempt towards this direction.

Hypothesis

The present study is based on a broad hypothesis, which has seemingly remained neglected till date, is that 'inter-village differences in economic characteristics in response to urbanization in the rural-urban fringe are significant.

Thus, it has been assumed that being other things equal, location or accessibility of the 'fringe community' to a city play a significant role in the process of urbanization and consequently, in changing economic and commercial activities.

Study Area

The Metropolitan City of Delhi, i.e. National Capital of India, has experienced growth on a mammoth scale, resulting into a dynamic and fast growing rural-urban fringe around it. Keeping in mind other things, e.g. physical conditions and type of urbanization, should be equal, the villages were selected in the same direction, i.e. in the northwest district of Delhi.

Data and Methods

The study is based on empirical data obtained from households through a stratified random survey of the population of three selected villages (Fig. -1): Badli, Khera Khurd and Holambi Kalan. All these villages have sufficient number of households of

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different strata viz. peasants, artisans and landless labourers. At the time of survey, Badli was in close proximity of the city of Delhi and its whole of agricultural land was acquired for urban land-uses. Khera Khurd was about one and a half kilometer away from the geographical city and its half of the agricultural land was acquired.

The third village, Holambi Kalan, was about six kilometers from Delhi and its agricultural land was being cultivated. Thus, all three villages were well within the rural-urban fringe of Delhi as delimited by Nangia (1976). Further, according to Srivastva (1976) these villages were in different stages of urbanization.

The sample consists of 180 households – 60 from each village – 20 from each occupational category; namely, peasants, artisans and landless labourers, on the basis of traditional household occupation during ‘Jajmani System’ – caste ridden service system. Basic statistical techniques like Chi-square have been applied to understand various aspects. The significance of inter-village differences has been tested using Chi-square at 95 per cent confidence level.

Analysis of Results

The analysis indicates that metropolitan influence on fringe dwellers depends on their location. A city’s proximity to the village on the rural-urban fringe envisages radical change in the behaviour of the local people in terms of their household and their personal characteristics, economic and commercial activities as well as their socio-economic linkages and values. Thus, there are significant inter-village differences

in economic and commercial activities in response to urbanization in the rural-urban fringe.

Occupation and Occupational Changes

The most inevitable and direct outcome of urbanization is the change in occupation of the work force in the rural-urban fringe, which triggers many other changes.

Place of Work

Inter-village differences in the place of work were significant. Table 1 reveals, as expected, that as the city comes closer to the village, greater number of respondents seek job in the nearby city. However, during the survey it was observed that till the conversion of land-use from rural to urban sets in, a greater proportion of landless respondents seek job in the nearby city. Closer to the city this difference was not observed to be significant.

A similar tendency has been recorded in case of inter-generational changes in the place of work. It was found that grandfather of almost all the respondents were employed in their respective villages. Closer to the city, changes in the place of work started, though not significantly, during the generation of fathers of respondents.

However, in comparison to the respondents, a greater proportion of their second generation starts work in their village, particularly when the agricultural land has been acquired for urban-uses. This may be due to increase in threshold for non-traditional occupations, which in turn is on account of influx of outsiders and proximity to the city.

Table 1. Place of Work and Home-Village of Workers*

Village	Place of Work			Total	
	Home	Delhi	R-U Fringe	Elsewhere	Village
Holambi Kalan	87	55	8	9	159
Khera Khurd	51	58	3	2	114
Badli	40	57	5	2	104
Total	178	170	16	13	377

The data refer to the number of workers from 60 households from each village.

Thus, initially all these villages had subsistence economy when almost all the villagers used to work in their villages under 'Jajmani System – caste ridden service system'. However, in the process of urbanization inter-village differences become significant because a village passes through three different stages in respect of place of work. In the first stage, more landless respondents seek employment in the nearby city or elsewhere. This may be due to decreasing threshold in agricultural sector owing to mechanization in agriculture and increasing population.

In the second stage, particularly after acquisition of agricultural land, work force of all the categories seeks jobs in the city or elsewhere. However, at this stage unemployment is the maximum, mainly among peasants as they lose their agricultural land. The third stage is the next generation stage, when some dwellers, particularly, artisans start their work (mostly their traditional ones) in the village and sell their products or services to the villagers or in the city. Landowners are laggards in this respect and they depend on increased rental income for a long time.

Table 2. Nature of Employment and Village of Workers*

Village	Nature of Employment				Total	
	Salaried	Self Employed	Work for wages	Partly employed	Un employed	
Holambi Kalan	168	71	65	21	2	9
Khera Khurd	59	42	12	1	10	124
Badli	59	37	7	1	9	113

* The data refer to the number of workers from 60 households from each village.

It was also observed that the next generation tends to opt for the same nature of employment and work, if available, though in a modified form. After acquisition of land it is not possible for peasants, who either purchase land elsewhere or seek salaried

Nature of Employment

In response to urbanization, 'Jajmani –System' starts vanishing because of the adaptation of the modern technology and increasing population in the same area. Therefore, many villagers, particularly casual and semi-skilled labourers seek employment in the city. Some peasants stop farming and give their land on rent. Some landless respondents had availed this opportunity.

Hence, transaction in cash substitutes the barter system – prevalent feature in 'Jajmani-System'. This cash transaction gives rise to opening of many additional shops in the village. Some artisans modify their traditional work, for example, some potters start selling their potteries, barbers set their hair-saloons, blacksmiths start mini-workshops, and the carpenters become self-employed in carpentry. Further, immigrants increase threshold for more establishments and the landless labourers also start some small shops.

Table 2 reveals this sequence as with the decrease in 'Jajmani-System' greater proportion of respondents were self-employed or in salaried jobs. However, this inter-village difference is not significant at 95 per cent confidence level.

job or depend on rental income. This finding is supported by Table 3. However, inter-village differences in the nature of work are significant as there is substantial decrease in primary sector.

Table 3. Nature of Work and Village of Workers*

Village	Nature of Work			Total
	Primary Village	Secondary	Tertiary	
Holambi Kalan	67	24	68	159
Khera Khurd	33	15	66	114
Badli	17	28	59	104
Total	117	67	193	377

* The data refer to the number of workers from 60 households from each village.

Satisfaction with Occupation and the Idea of Change

When asked about the satisfaction with their present employment, it was found that the per cent of satisfied respondents increased from 50 per cent in Holambi Kalan to 70 per cent in Badli (Table 4). This is due to the higher preference to urban jobs over rural jobs, and the number of persons in urban jobs was being higher in Badli.

Table 4. Village and Number of Satisfied Heads of Households with Occupation.

Village	Heads Satisfied with Their Occupation	
	Number	In %
Holambi Kalan	31	19.50
Khera Khurd	37	32.46
Badli	43	41.35
Total	111	29.44

The intention to change greatly depends on the capacity to change for betterment and satisfaction with the present job (Table 5). Although it is difficult to generalize these responses but salient features can be drawn on the basis of direct interaction with the respondents:

About 25 per cent of the respondents are satisfied, but still want to change. Most of them are incapable to change for betterment. So, they are satisfied on the basis of their capabilities. There are very few who are satisfied, want to change and also capable to change. They are young and educated.

About 37 per cent of the respondents are satisfied and do not want to change. Seventy-two per cent of them are not capable to change. So, they are satisfied because they cannot change. Remaining 28 per cent are those who are satisfied but do not want to change, however, they are capable. They are mostly the older or most satisfied ones.

A little more than 25 per cent of the total respondents are not satisfied and intend to change. Fifty-six per cent of them are capable to change. Hence, they are not satisfied according to their capabilities. Other 44 per cent do not have capability for betterment. They are mostly engaged in petty jobs.

About 11 per cent are miserable, who are dissatisfied and still do not want to change. They are mostly older landless labourers.

Highest preference to change for betterment is for business followed by service. But as the city comes closer to the village, preference for business over service increases.

Economic Linkages

Urbanization not only increases the frequency of economic interaction, but also causes shifts in economic linkages. Inter-village differences in this regard reveal that such responses to urbanization depend largely on the proximity to the city as stated herein.

Nature of 'Jajmani-System'

Jajmani-System was a caste-professed service system wherein even households among different occupational categories were well defined for mutual services (Jajmani-patronage) on barter-system. In the process of urbanization these 'Jajmani-linkages'

are substituted by open-market linkages, when one can go to anyone and anywhere for services. In other words, village economy becomes liberalized and sphere of interaction goes on increasing with urbanization.

Landless labourers are first to come out of the 'Jajmani-System' as they stated that modern-salaried jobs are better than 'jajmani-salaried' ones. Artisans leave the 'Jajmani-System' because of the lack of threshold for their increasing population, on the one hand, and decreasing business due to the introduction of modern technology, on the other.

Secondly, in the process of urbanization self-sustained village economy is being transferred into market economy and the barter system is substituted with cash transactions because many persons, particularly those who are employed in modern salaried jobs elsewhere, receive in cash and pay in cash. Thus, with the introduction of modern technology, market gardening and modern salaried employment in the process of urbanization, intra-village linkages are decreasing.

Rural-Urban Linkages

Even a cursory study of reveals an overwhelming attraction of Delhi for the vast majority of its fringe dwellers. Every respondent visits Delhi, although frequency of visit varies from daily to monthly. But inter-village differences are significant in this respect. This differentiation may be due to the following reasons: (i) Introduction of market gardening and its increasing trend need frequent visits to the city for marketing. (ii) Introduction of modern technology and increasing population has decreased per capita opportunities for employment in the villages.

On the other hand, increase in the employment opportunities in the city has attracted many fringe dwellers for modern salaried system. Such employees visit the city daily. (iii) Among the peasants, who have got modern salaried employment and who have nuclear families give their agricultural land on rent.

In this process the landless become the leading tenants and start market gardening, which increases their visit to the city. Further, as stated by the landless

labourers, even petty jobs offered in the city are better paid than their services in the 'Jajmani-System'. So, they are most attracted to the city.

(iv) With urbanization, demand increases not in quantity but also for more variety of goods and services, particularly higher order goods, which are not available in villages. (v) After acquisition of agricultural land demand for higher order goods and services increases rapidly, for which visit to the city increases. Lower order goods and services become available in the village due to increase in demand owing to increase in cash flow and a rapid increase in the number of lower income immigrants.

The ultimate result is that the frequency of visits to the city for higher order goods and services increases but the total number of visits decreases as in the case of Badli. In this support it was found that awareness of higher order markets goes on increasing as the city comes closer to the village. Thus, in the process of urbanization not only 'Jajmani-System' gets changed into rural-urban economic linkages but frequency of interaction also goes on increasing.

Village has frequently been characterized as a place where there is not only a strong sense of "community" feeling, but also a high degree of interaction among its dwellers. However, in the present study it was found that as a result of metropolitan influence such a pattern of relationship rapidly breaks down.

Degree of social linkages can be measured in terms of consumption of sugar in one male's marriage (in female's marriage "baraat – bridegroom and his guests" also attend the function but does not constitute one's social circle.

It is evident from that on an average 141 kilograms of sugar are consumed in the marriage of a male. But there are significant inter-village differences in this regard.

It has been greatly argued that "keeping yourself to yourself" is urban way of life. In villages reciprocal relations are most required because of poor marketing facilities. Secondly, every household in the village cannot have sufficient quantities of implements, which are not required frequently. In

this respect, depicts typical way of life in fringe communities and its changing pattern in response to urbanization. Explicitly, in a metropolitan fringe as the city comes closer to the village the number of households, having no reciprocal relation with neighbours increases significantly. This conclusion is further justified.

The inter-village differences in neighbourly relations are significant at Chi-square test. A close comparison between Holambi Kalan and Badli reveals that as the city comes closer to the village, more and more households become indifferent to their neighbours. However, during this process there exists a stage of greater deterioration in social relations, when agricultural land is acquired and people receive compensation, for example, in Khera Khurd. This deterioration ultimately leads to indifferent attitude.

Household and Personal Characteristics

One of the major responses to urbanization was recorded in the form of changing types of households. It is pertinent to point out that no extended household was found in the sample. Therefore, it may be assumed that this rural-urban fringe consists of only joint and nuclear households.

Depicts significant inter-village differences. As one moves closer to the city (Holambi Kalan - Khera Khurd - Badli), the per cent of nuclear households goes on increasing. It means that in response to urbanization joint households break up into nuclear households.

Such a discussion calls for further explanation as to the changes in the popularity of nuclear household as well as degree of jointness in joint households. The degree of jointness can be measured by the average number of married couples in a joint household. This average is found to be decreasing closer to the city.

This idea is further corroborated in Decreasing average age of the heads of nuclear households from Holambi Kalan to Khera Khurd and Badli demonstrates the fact that breakup of joint households into nuclear ones takes place at younger age in villages closer to the city.

Thus, it can be concluded that by being closer to the city not only proportion of nuclear households goes on increasing but nuclearization of households takes place at younger age. Secondly, the degree of jointness in joint households is found to be decreasing. This is due to many social and economic factors. For example, introduction of market gardening and modern salaried employment instead of 'Jajmani linkages', led to independent earners in cash, which in turn has decreased inter-dependence among members of a household.

Empirically, very high positive relationship was found between workers engaged in tertiary activity and nuclear household. Further, with the advent of modern technology village activities (mainly primary) have become less labour oriented.

Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis it is concluded that metropolitan influence on the rural-urban fringe dwellers depends upon their location. A city's proximity to the village envisages radical change in the behaviour of the local people in terms of occupation, economic characteristics as well as household and personal characteristics.

In the process of urbanization, some sort of reshuffling takes place in inter-generation nature of employment. Joint households break up into nuclear ones due to decreasing requirement of large household for agriculture as well as decreasing interdependence among family members. As the city comes closer to the village, market economy substitutes the subsistence village economy. Consequently economic values surpass the social values and some sort of 'bad politics' is started and the social linkages/cohesiveness suffers greatly.

Subsequently, the behaviour of the native people is radically metamorphosed. Therefore, the research hypothesis; 'inter-village differences in response to urbanization in the rural-urban fringe' is accepted.

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Youth Participation in Indian Elections

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India gained Independence on 15 August, 1947. Since then our country has been recognized as the largest democracy in the world. Unlike many newly independent states in Asia and Africa, like Pakistan, Myanmar, Egypt, Liberia, etc., where democracy was repeatedly eclipsed, or not allowed to strike roots at all, India has remained a vibrant democracy since Independence. One reason for this vibrancy of Indian democracy is the legacy of the Indian Freedom Movement.

The Indian Freedom Movement witnessed mass participation in various political agitations. Even before the Freedom Movement took shape, enlightened British rulers, like the British Viceroy Lord Ripon, took steps to train Indians for self-government. Later, Indians were granted limited autonomy in the Government of India Act (1919) which introduced the concept of 'dyarchy' or dual government.

Under this act, certain departments were to be governed by Indian ministers while the major ones were kept by the Viceroy. Under the Government of India Act (1935), elections were held and the

Indian National Congress formed governments in the majority of the provinces.

The adoption of the new Constitution of India on 26 November 1949 and the proclamation of India as a Republic on 26 January 1950 heralded the age of Universal Adult Suffrage in India. By 'suffrage' is meant the right to vote and by 'Universal Adult Suffrage' it is meant that an adult person is entitled to vote without any consideration of wealth, class, religion, race, or gender. The evolution of the concept of suffrage, took place for centuries.

It was only in the sixteenth century that the idea of suffrage developed. But till the middle of the nineteenth century some sort of property qualification was there. The French introduced 'Universal Male Suffrage' in 1793. In Great Britain it was introduced in 1918. But women had to struggle relentlessly for getting the right to vote. Universal Adult Suffrage was introduced in Great Britain in 1928, in USA in 1965 and in Switzerland in 1971. Thus, as far as Universal Adult Suffrage is concerned, India was far in advance of some of the modern democracies, like Switzerland and United States of America.

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Profile of youth

The objective of the present paper is to discuss the role of Indian youth in the electoral process. Prior to this discussion, let us first examine the characteristics of Indian youth today. Youth may be defined as people aged between 15-24 years. India is a young nation. Median age of Indians is 24.1 years.

Youth Participation in Politics

Some political observers are of the view that youths are not participating in politics to the desired extent. Noted sociologist, Y.B. Damle, distinguished between 'student youth' and non-student youth. He noted that for the student youth, the pressure of career and the desire for prestigious jobs make them impervious to an ideology which requires understanding and action. The non-student youth are so much preoccupied with making a living that for them also ideology based political action is not possible. (Damle, 1989).

Many political observers in the 21st century would agree with Damle's assessment. Thus Latha Narayan, an academician, holds that "The youth have opted to compromise rather than fight injustice. Their energies are mainly spent in the 'self-survival' process rather than in building the nation." She further observes that politics is equated with unfair power games, and hence, a significant number of the youth shun it. In the broadest sense of the term, political action is the process of change being guided by a political understanding of social realities.

Imran Khan, a popular actor in Bollywood, virtually echoes her. "Young people want to bring in change but they feel their voices are bound to get lost in the political rhetoric. They prefer to opt out rather than be a part of the same structure." All observers, however, do not agree with the view that youth are politically apathetic.

Thus, Manisha Natarajan claims that in the 5.5 lakh panchayats in rural areas, several lakh young men

and women are serving as office bearers in various capacities like panch, sarpanch, etc. Seventy percent of them are below the age of 35. So, there is no substance in the allegation that youth are apathetic to politics. She further observes: "Surely that is evidence enough to show that the young are interested in entering the system to change their village communities? If the urban young ones are apathetic about politics it is largely because of the system's penchant for political institutions, the closed-door functioning of political outfits and the special status given to politicians. These are all negative factors and breed revulsion among ordinary people."

The Reality of Educated Unemployment

The literature reveals that the problem of educated unemployment is not only intense but also widespread across India. If we are to apply the theoretical link between unemployment and youth politics (which will be discussed later in the section on alienation), it would suggest that the former plays a large and highly pervasive role in pushing young people towards politics.

In the case of Kerala, the mismatch between the "excess supply of educated" youths and "the small size and low growth of the organized sector" has resulted in large numbers of educated unemployed youths in the state. In Bangalore, IT institutes and private industrial institutes have "led to an oversupply in technically trained workers and inflation in entry level requirements for basic jobs".

Since liberalization, Andhra Pradesh's local labour market has witnessed "decreasing opportunities for recruitment into the public sector and few prospects of anything other than insecure, flexible, temporary and poorly remunerated work".

Increasing youth participation in elections

Faced with the declining participation of youth in the electoral process, an effort is now being made by the Election Commission of India and the

government, educational institutions and civil society groups to increase youth participation in elections. The Election Commission has taken the following steps.

- The Election Commission is proposing to reduce the voting age from 18 to 16 years.
- The Election Commission has also distributed Form 6 among students in schools and colleges for enrolling first time voters. On National Voters Day(25th January,2012),the Chief Electoral Officer of West Bengal, Sunil Gupta said that forms for voter registration in schools and colleges will be available for one month from 1st February, 2012.The aim of the Election Commission is to enroll more young voters.
- The Election Commission has also decided to reach out to young voters through social networks like Facebook and Twitter.
- The Election Commission has decided to observe January 25 each year as National Voters Day. On this day, new voters will be felicitated and given a badge containing the message “Proud to be a voter. Ready to Vote”. Voters will also have to take the following pledge:

“We, the citizens of India, having faith in democracy, hereby pledge to uphold the democratic traditions of our country and the dignity of free, fair, and peaceful elections and to vote in every election fearlessly and without being influenced by considerations of religion, race, caste, community, language, or any inducement”.

To impress upon voters the need to vote, for the first time in its history, the Election Commission participated in the Republic Day Parade on 26th January, 2012 with a float that depicted its 63 year old journey from a fledgling panel under the leadership of noted mathematician, Sukumar Sen to the present day. The tableau depicted the entire voting process with the Parliament in the background

and voters queuing up to vote through the electronic voting machine. It may be noted in this connection that the Election Commission does not merely organize elections in India. It also offers its expertise to several countries.

The Central Government is asking the states to introduce online voting in municipal elections. This is a new procedure, which was tried out, in the municipal elections in Gandhinagar. Here 1500 voters registered to vote via the Internet and 1000 voted.

Corporate houses are also making an effort to politically socialize the youth. We may mention the “Jagore- One Billion Votes campaign” by Tata Tea, which is mainly targeted at the youth. It aims at nationwide registration of voters, especially youth and makes them participate in the electoral process.

The website, www.jaagore.com, is designed to be a portal which facilitates free flow of information and resources and organizations by bringing together, into a common platform those who possess information and those who need them. The website has two key sections-Jaago and Jaagao. Jaago is the information section. It contains information related to elections, political parties, etc. Jaagao is the engagement section of the website. Here individuals and organizations can register and create a profile.

Voluntary organizations are contributing their mite. Society for Participatory Research conducted a pre-election awareness campaign in India in 2006. The aim of a pre-election awareness campaign is to sensitize voters about the importance of participating in the electoral process as a way to ensure a responsive, accountable, and a democratically elected government.

The anti-poverty network, ‘Wada na Toro Abhiyan’ organized a ‘People’s Manifesto’ campaign on the eve of the 2009 elections. They published an All India People’s Manifesto. “We will not support any candidate who comes to us only for votes and is

not seen for the rest of the term. We want a Member of Parliament who will walk alongside the people and is recognized by at least 50% of the constituency,” states the Local Manifesto from Mirzapur.

Suggestions

Youth are the future of our nation. We found that youth participation in Indian elections is lower than normal. To improve participation, the Election Commission, governments, educational institutions, the corporate sector, and NGOs have taken some steps. These are laudable steps in the right direction. It is suggested that some additional steps should be taken to ensure better youth participation in elections. The Election Commission has rightly decided to recommend reduction of the voting age to 16 years. But mere reduction of the voting age is not enough. As we have seen, some first time voters are a confused lot. To get them to participate, it is important to impart political education to them.

Conclusion

To conclude, the right to vote is a precious political right that has been won through generations of hard struggle by millions of Indians. It is our responsibility to ensure that we judiciously exercise this right to strengthen Indian democracy. Many countries still do not have a representative democracy. The “Arab Spring” (2011-12) brought into sharp focus the spread of democratic consciousness in the Arab world.

It is only in January 2012 that they voted in the historic first elections to the Egyptian parliament. But the new government did not last beyond a year because the Egyptian President, Mursi’s misrule resulted in another popular uprising which ultimately led to a military coup.

While the “Arab Spring” showed that there is increased awareness of the need for democracy in today’s world, in India, political apathy, especially

of the youth, is worrying everybody. Political apathy is dangerous for any democracy as it may strengthen the forces of fascism.

In fact the recent Panchayat elections in West Bengal have revealed fascist tendencies in the ruling establishment which the State Election Commission has failed to curb. Opposition parties alleged attacks on them by the henchmen of the ruling party. Motorcycle rallies to intimidate candidates and voters alike, have been reported despite the ban on such rallies by the State Election Commission. But the masses, in many places, put up stiff resistance to such politics of intimidation.

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Indira Gandhi Canal and Sustainable Development

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[Indira Gandhi Canal is not merely an irrigation project but it is anti-desertification, a rehabilitation and desert reclamation project. The canal has been transforming the western part of Rajasthan hitherto, covered with vast sand-dunes into a land of granary and greenery. Crops of wheat, mustered, paddy, groundnuts, sugarcane, cotton etc flourish with available canal irrigation in hot arid parts of Rajasthan where nothing but sand rules the root for the years. The canal project not only transforming the sand dunes into green areas but also quenching the thirst of the settlers in its command area.]

The Indira Gandhi Canal Project (IGCP), an engineering marvel in the desert, stretching from Ganganagar to Barmer districts along the Indo-Pak border, is fast changing the Thar Desert into an agricultural productive area and maintains the ecosystem, bringing about 80,000 sq. km. area under irrigation.

The gigantic IGCP, started in 1958 at an estimated cost of about Rs. 3,000 crore, is not only transforming the sand dunes into the green area but also quenching the thirst of settlers in its command area both rural and urban through lift canal scheme.

The canal with a capacity of more than 8.80 million cubic meter of water from the Harike Barrage at the confluence of Sutlej and Beas Rivers in Punjab to Jaisalmer district of Rajasthan covers a distance of 649 km. The construction of canal has already been completed and once the entire distributory system is completed, it will bring a total of 19.00 lakh sq. km area under irrigation, which is about 6.50 per cent of the total geographical area of the state of Rajasthan.

Agriculture in Indira Gandhi Canal Command Area (IGCCA) has gone through a revolutionary change

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(particularly in stage -1) since the introduction of irrigation water by the canal project. As a result, desert landscape has been transforming into a land of new high return crops, yield per hectare increasing, area under double crop has also increasing. Rotation of crops has also been introduced.

Prior to the availability of irrigation water in this part of the Thar desert, drought-resistant crops had occupied more than 90 per cent of the gross cropped area because of the deficiency of the soil moisture had been a limiting factor for agricultural development of this region. Farmers of this area could raise crops during *Kharif* season only and a large tract of cultivable land remained uncultivated.

Introduction of the canal irrigation and modern agricultural inputs has drastically changed the traditional dry farming into commercial and food crop farming. The benefit after the completion of the main canal in 1987, in terms of agricultural production, employment generation and value addition to the local economy are:

1. More than two lakhs families directly benefited from the project.
2. More than 1000 thousand hectare land has been brought under irrigation.

3. Manifold increase in food and fodder crops production.
4. About 0.7 m/yr. rise in the ground water table.
5. A substantial increase in the per capita income which improved quality of life of the poor people.

Data collected during field survey (2013) of the IGCCA stage – 1, indicates that the proportionate benefits of the project have already been realized to a great extent. The benefits from the canal are more than the investment on the project. These include textile mills, sugarcane factory, plants' produce, hydrogenated oil, gum, soap, starch and glycerin, fruits, vegetable preservation, ginning and processing, vineyards and almond production etc.

The agricultural production and productivity per hectare is steadily increasing and the average in dry farming of pearl millet and sorghum is progressively declining from 90 per cent of the total sown area. The sown area under cotton, sugarcane, wheat, rice, pulses, peanuts, vegetables and fruits has increased in recent years.

According to the field survey (2013) conducting in 15 villages across different locations; more than 40 per cent of them are using hybrid seeds, 55 per cent chemical fertilizers and more than 55 per cent spray pesticides as plant protection measure.

Aeolian activities which are responsible for sand drifting and degradation of large tracts of agricultural fields are minimized and the area under degraded land has decreased particularly in canal command area of Ganganagar, Hanumangarh and Bikaner districts. The sandy hummocks and low dunes have been leveled and reclaimed for growing food and commercial crops.

The moisture regime within the soil after the canal water has improved and their erodability has decreased. These tremendous changes have also influenced the fertility status of the soil in the canal command area. The compactness and the moisture

retention capacity of the sandy soils have also improved.

Introduction of IGPC has resulted in minimizing the desiccating impact of temperature and strong winds on biomass production and settlements. Harsh and inhospitable climate of the Thar Desert has become milder and favorable for the plant growth and habitat (both human and animals).

Massive afforestation along the canal, road and the newly settled areas has been done with the water supply by canal leading in reducing the intensity and impact of blown sand. Pastureland development and sand dunes stabilization works have been carried out so that the supply of fodder can be made available to the livestock in the adjoining villages as well as to the migrating flocks of the animals.

To obtain fuel wood, plantation of trees has been carried out so as to meet the daily energy needs of the rural folk. Forestry, pastureland development and sand dunes stabilization have been taken on thousand and thousand hectare of land under first and second phase of the project.

Indeed, water is a basic need of the people. Availability of water for drinking purpose was a utopia in the canal command area of western Rajasthan few decades ago. However, with the constriction of canal and expansion of its distribution system it has been transformed into a reality. Now, besides quenching the thirst of the inhabitants in canal command area, many urban centers and rural villages in the district of Ganganagar, Bikaner, Hanumangarh, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer and Barmer are able to get potable water over the high bank on left side of the canal. Under the project, 900 cusecs of water is kept reserved for the drinking purpose.

The people of the area were previously leading a life of neglect and were struggling for their survival. A sizable number of people who migrated to other districts and Tehsils in search of jobs and other facilities have been rehabilitated, enabling them to be incorporated in the main stream of the

development. As many as two lakh farmer families have already been settled in the project command area.

After the commencement of water in canal command districts of Thar Desert, the physical, climatic and biological conditions have improved resulting into an increase in land and labour productivity and changing the socio-economic conditions of the down-trodden people. The construction of the main canal and its tributaries network, Command Area Development Program, upcoming residential colonies, and allotment of agricultural land etc. all have led to the development of the village, towns and *Mandies*.

The people of the region are growing food crops as well as cash crop and getting good return from their agricultural and livestock produce and have become rich and prosperous particularly in Ganganagar, Hanumangarh, Bikaner and Jodhpur districts. Most of the farmers in this region have purchased tractors and modern farm inputs and are opting for mechanized farm techniques.

Availability of job opportunities and basic amenities in command area has also improved the living standard of the people. The spread of infrastructure facilities i.e. the availability of drinking water, expansion of road network, markets, hospitals and dispensaries and educational institutions, storage facilities etc. have all created a condition whereby the settlers now find more convenience and comfort to live in these colonies and planned villages.

Conclusion

The above discussion can be viewed as a new paradigm shift in the life of the people living in the vicinity of the Indira Gandhi Canal Command Area. The agriculture of the region has gone through a massive transformation with the introduction of canal irrigation which leads to the development of new agricultural practices. After foregoing discussion

it is to be concluded that the introduction of Indira Gandhi Canal Project has proved itself as a boon for Thar Desert and has brought tremendous positive changes in the socio-economic condition of the people of this region.

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Modern Buddhist Culture in Karnataka

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[India is the land of religions where millions of people have faith and belief in any one of the religions. Majority of the Indians are the followers of Hindu religion, which is one of the ancient and oldest religions of the world. Muslims are the major minority group of the society. Christians are in very less number. Both these religions have not originated in India. Religions like Buddhism and Jainism have originated here in the ancient period.]

Buddhism took birth in India in 6th century B.C. India witnessed the rise of Buddha and his thoughts in the latter half of the 6th century B.C. and first half of the 5th century B.C. It was after his 'Enlightenment' in the year 528 B.C. he started the preaching of Buddhist religion to his disciples.

A large number of people had turned to Buddhism in his life time. In a very quick time, a big group of Buddha disciples had started following and practicing his preaching. It was warmly accepted by more and more people from different parts of India. Afterwards we can see clearly the influence of Buddha and his preaching in different parts of the neighbouring countries like Sri Lanka, China, Pakistan and Kandhar, the modern Afghanistan.

Buddha attained "Maha Parinirvana" in 483 B.C. at the age of 80. Just before his death, when his favourite disciple, Ananda started weeping, the Buddha said "All component things must dissolve. Buddha can only point the way, become a lamp unto yourself, work out your own salvation diligently". These were his last words.

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After the "Maha Parinirvana" of Buddha, efforts were made for the growth and spread of Buddhism. But it had not taken a speed even after two Buddhist Councils in 483 BC at Rajagriha and 383 BC at Vaishali. It had grown only after the arrival of Indian Emperor, Ashoka The Great on the scene. It was Ashoka who gave Buddhism a royal patronage and sent Buddhists Bikshus to different parts of the Southeast Asia and the world respectively. He also convened the third Buddhist Council in 250 BC. In this Council he tried for the purification of the Buddhist movement by reconciling different schools of Buddhism with different thoughts.

Buddhism in Karnataka

In Karnataka, Buddhism flourished under the patronage of the Mauryas and Satavahanas. Gradually, Buddhism started losing its hold on the people and lost its distinct identity due to the existence of several religions in the state of Karnataka. Among all the Buddhist places, Aihole and Badami of Bagalkot district are very important. The 'Menabasdis' of Badami and temple architects and sculptors of Aihole are famous in the country.

Aihole was considered as a workshop for temple architects and sculptors. A famous rock cut Buddhist shrine is situated in Aihole's hillock, Meguti. It is of

special interest to us, because it is the most important surviving Buddhist temple in Karnataka. The state of Karnataka has Eleven Ashoka Edicts, four in Bellary district, three in Raichur district and three other in Chitradurga district, which are the witness to the Mauryan presence in Karnataka.

Some experts are of the opinion that such rock edicts merely prove that Karnataka was within the jurisdiction of Mauryan Kings, but not necessarily the advent of Buddhism here. But Mangaliputtatissa, a contemporary of Ashoka and a reputed emperor's teacher and mentor had sent missionaries to Mahshaka (Southern region of Karnataka) under Mahadeva, and to Banavasi (The heart of Karnataka) under Rakkhita, to preach the gospel. This would firmly indicate Buddhist prevalence in Karnataka.

After independence of India, state of Karnataka originated in 1956 when reorganization of Indian states on the basis of languages have been made. Geographically Karnataka lies in the Southern part of India which has rich natural resources like sandal wood, iron ore etc.

Concept

The word 'Culture' is derived from the Latin word 'Colere', which means 'to cultivate' or 'to till the soil'. The word specifically used by Sociologists and Anthropologists, but generally it has its own meaning in domestic life. Culture is a way of life. According to Edward B. Tylore, "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". This indicates that culture includes each and every aspect of our life. Our life is more influenced by religious beliefs and practices.

Modern

Modernization is the product of industrialization which has its great influence on the minds of the people all over the world. Modernization is the acceptance of modern values or modern way of life which includes our outlook towards life, approach towards life, dress pattern, food habits, ways of greeting etc. So, in our state of Karnataka people have started modifying almost all the spheres of the life including religion in accordance with the modern values.

Objectives

The main objectives of the present study are as follows:

1. To observe the salient features of Buddhist culture in Modern Karnataka.
2. To measure the content of Buddhist culture in Karnataka.
3. To assess the elements of Buddhist culture in modern Karnataka.

The present study makes an elaborate examination of existence of Buddhism in Karnataka to fulfill above mentioned objectives. The Satavahanas ruled over some parts of Maharashtra and Karnataka up to the second century AD. It is evident from the Prakrit inscription of Vinaya Pitaka which shows that Buddhism was flourishing in Karnataka.

The Satavahanas may have been a Karnataka dynasty, as Dharwad and Bellary districts are called Satavahani Hara (Satavahana region). Some of their kings were called the rulers of Kunthala, the old name for Karnataka. At Sannati in Gulbarga district, Vadgoan Madhavpur near Belgaum and Brahmagiri in Chitradurga district, there are remains of monuments of their period. In Sannati, on both the

banks of river Bhima, many Buddhist stupas of the satvahana times have been found.

In Gadag Taluk of Dharwad district, at Dambal, there was a Buddhist centre as late as 12th century. According to an inscription of 1095 AD, a temple of the Buddhist deity Tara and a Buddhist Vihara were built by 16 merchants during the regime of Lakshmidivi, queen of Vikramaditya VI. In Kolivada, Hubballi taluk, Dharwad district, an icon of Tara has been discovered belonging to about the thirteenth century.

The Maski edict of Ahsoka is another minor inscription quite famous because it mentions the name of the Devenampriya Priyadarshini i.e., Asoka. The village Anabi is located very near to Sannati which is known for the Buddhist Sculptures. The place in the Math of the village is an inscribed Chaya Pratima with sculptural panel which is similar to that location and even is compared to Jewargi and Sannati sculptures.

It is unfortunate and the strange phenomena of the world that, while a very large number of the people of the world follow Buddhism as a religion, at the same time it would have almost completely disappeared from India in the land of its birth. Its decline in India began after the 6th century AD when the Chinese traveler came to India in the 7th century AD. He found that Buddhism was in a state of decline in all places, except Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

For the revival of Buddhism, spirit of renunciation, self-discipline, broad mindedness, liberality, service and sacrifice for the sake of many etc. are required. When all these above stated features become strong enough, no one can stop the revival and growth of Buddhism in India in general and Karnataka in particular.

Buddhist population in Karnataka is on the increase since 1981. Population of Buddhists was 42,225 in 1981 and it increased to 73,012 during the year 1991. It was considerably increased during the year 2001 to 3,92,300. It is the sheer influence of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar movement. As per the statistical analysis, Maharashtra is in first place and Karnataka has occupied the second place in Buddhist population in 2001. It is felt that, some political measures and strong political will is required for the growth and development of Buddhist principles and practices in the state of Karnataka.

Conclusion

It is true that in Buddhism there is no God. In place of god there is 'Morality'. So, what god is to other religions, morality is to Buddhism. The inspiration behind the concept of Buddhism is still relevant in India. Similar is the plight of thousands of depressed classes and other eminent community having gained the illuminating path of Buddhist concept.

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Out-migration as Survival Strategy of Rural Poor

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[Migration in India is mostly influenced by social structures and pattern of development. Uneven development is the main cause of migration. Added to it are the disparities at inter-regional level and amongst different socio-economic classes. The internal seasonal rural out-migration is one of the very common features of Indian society.]

This paper specifically attempts to study the causes and impacts of rural out-migration based on some villages of Darjeeling district in the state of West Bengal. The total number of respondents is 100 (80 male and 20 female). Information is collected from several observations and interview schedules and to conclude, purposive and analytical methods are applied. The socio-economic conditions of the rural out-migrated people before and after migration have been analyzed thoroughly.

Objectives

The main objectives of the proposed study are:

1. To find out the causes of seasonal out-migration in the District.
2. To assess the impact of rural out-migration in the District.

Methodology

This paper specifically attempts to study the causes and impacts of rural out-migration of Darjeeling district in the state of West Bengal. There are four subdivisions and twelve Panchayat Samitis/blocks in the district. From each subdivision 25 out-migrated people are selected randomly as respondents. The total number of respondents is 100 (80 males and 20 females).

Research Questions

Given the aforesaid objectives, the present study has sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the major causes of rural out-migration in the District?
2. What are the impacts of rural out-migration in the District?

Theoretical Framework

Rural out-migration is one of the key issues of both developed as well as underdeveloped societies. It can be viewed as continued process which includes various interrelated and mutual reinforcing components. Therefore, it was hoped through Constitutional and legal measures the process of development would be achieved.

But despite various movements and legal supports and notwithstanding sanctioning of various development projects, the process of rural out-migration is still going on. Thus, it can be suggested in the theoretical framework that the impact of rural out-migration is not only a positive one but sometimes it can bring some positive result too. So, well managed out-migration can be encouraged.

Study Area

The present study has covered the entire District of Darjeeling in the state of West Bengal. It is a frontier district, running up between Nepal and Bhutan and stretching from the plains of Bengal on the south to the state of Sikkim on the north. The Darjeeling district lies between 26° 31' and 27° 13' north latitude and between 87° 59' and 88° 53' east longitude. There are four subdivisions in the district.

Geographically the district can be divided into two particular divisions, the hills and the plains. The hill covers the three hill subdivisions of Darjeeling

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District i.e. Darjeeling Sadar, Kurseong and Kalimpong. The foothills of Darjeeling Himalayas come under the Siliguri subdivision and are also known as Terrain.

Research Design

The study is exploratory in nature. The present work being an empirical study, the materials were collected from different places through fieldworks in the district. For the collection of empirical and secondary data the University of North Bengal Library, District library, sub-divisional libraries of the District, etc. were used. Apart from this, structured and unstructured interviews with the rural out-migrants and intellectuals were conducted. Case studies were initiated in some households in the district. Thus, the present study used both the exploratory and analytical design.

Causes of Rural Out-migration

There are many reasons that can be identified as factors of rural out-migration. In general, both push and pull factors play an important role in these cases of migration. The push factors include the uneven values of land properties and the low daily wage rate which force the migrants to leave their birth-place. While comparatively high wage rates, better employment opportunities and gimmicks of the urban places are the pull factors which attract the migrants to move to the urban centres.

Table- 1 Causes of rural out-migration in the district

Reasons	Rural out-migrated people	
	Male	Female
Desire of high income	35	07
Insufficient work in - villages	15	03
Political cause	05	01
Group affinity	13	07
Indebtedness	10	01
Others	02	01
Total	80	20

(Source: Field survey)

Table-1 shows that there are many reasons of rural out-migration but the most common reason being that the out-migrated people think that they can earn high income in the semi-urban/urban places in comparison to the rural areas, whereas some others are of the opinion that their native place offers less job opportunities. The group affinity is also main cause of out-migration.

Data Interpretation

There are both positive and negative impacts of rural out-migration in the district. Here the responses of the 100 rural out-migrated people have been analyzed to know the impact (both negative and positive) of rural out-migration in the district. The social, economic and political conditions of the migrants before and after rural out-migration have been analyzed here. Conclusions have been made by using some parameters like - level of exposure to media, knowledge of Self-Help-Groups and micro-credit, bank account holding habits, knowledge regarding welfare measures of Government and so on.

It was proved in the field survey that after rural out-migration many people made the habit of savings. The migrants' knowledge of Self-Help-Groups and Microcredit has been increased from 20 percent before migration to 95 percent after migration.

The only 33 percent people had individual accounts in the banks and the rest 67 percent did not have before migration taking place. But, after they migrated, 83 percent people had their individual account. Before they migrated, 66 percent of them had the knowledge of MGNREGA, 66 percent had knowledge of IAY, 59 percent had knowledge of Mid-day Meal and 67 percent of them had the knowledge of SSA. But, after they migrated, 98 percent knew about MGNREGA, 97 percent about IAY, 100 percent knew about Mid-day Meal and 99 percent of them came to know about SSA.

Again, the field report revealed that the 42 percent seasonal out-migrants are very satisfied in the new places where they had migrated. It was clear from the responses of respondents that they were satisfied

with the income level at new place. The 52 percent were very satisfied and 30 percent were only satisfied and 18 percent were of the opinion that native place was good for income generation.

The 36 percent migrants were of the opinion that the places where the migrants were working were better than that of native one. The 46 percent thought that it was more or less satisfactory. The 18 percent were of the opinion that native place was good than that of new places.

The 49 percent migrants said that they would encourage the people of their places strongly for out-migration. The 33 percent said that they would not strongly encourage out-migration. The 12 percent would not encourage the out-migration and 6 percent did not give any answer.

Again, it is very clear from the above table that 42 percent migrants strongly opined that they will further opt for out-migration. The 34 percent reacted moderately. The 16 percent would not go further and 8 percent were not ready to comment anything.

The table shows that 62 percent migrants are very strongly satisfied and said that the result of rural out-migration is positive. The 24 percent were only satisfied and 14 percent were not satisfied so far as results are concerned.

Impact of Rural Out-Migration in Darjeeling District

This is inevitable that rural out-migration leaves various impacts on the economic, social and cultural structure of the area under study. Besides several positive impacts such as good cultural exchanges, economic improvement, and interest for work (in some cases teamwork), there are some negative impacts too which are described as follows.

Negative Impact

- One of the most important impacts is the lack of labourers during the peak agricultural crop-season i.e., sowing, and reaping which compels the farmers to hire labourers causing them a financial deficit. Therefore, a new problem that arises is the inappropriate usage of the

agricultural bank-loans taken by medium and marginal farmers who cannot repay back their loans due to low yield and hence the financial institution gets a set-back which again leads to another set of defaulters who finally opt for long and distant migration.

- Even the natural simplicity of the rural inhabitants gets replaced by a tendency to avail loans (as this is the money of their right given by the government through the banks), utilizing them to some extent/misusing the funds, failure to repay, moving out for other job adding to the numbers of out-migrants.
- India being a democratic country, this type of constantly growing out-migration is leading to lack of people when there are real requirements of them during some democratic decision as such decisions need to be taken from the mass population following an upward flow.
- Lack of response to the rural job opportunities given by our government like PMGSRY, PMGSY, 100 Days Job Guarantee Scheme, food for work programmes etc., results in the non-effectiveness of these schemes.
- The issue of people smuggling and human trafficking (especially women and children) under the cover of migration which is a growing part of the migration picture.
- The requirement of crops of the locality is to be met up with the procurement from outside. This makes the price-rise of the local foodstuffs which leads to economic crisis.
- The traditional joint-family structure of the villages is rapidly transforming into nuclear family formations which is leading to local cultural degradation, lack of mutual belief and attachments, growing quarrels and problems between the different segments of the same family.
- The urban area is being pressurized due to the constant migration of the people from the rural areas which is leading to an ecological imbalance of the state.

- The local competition among the villagers to send as many members of the family (especially youths) gets sharpened in order to earn more and it culminates in educational degradation of the area as many of the probable migrants are leaving their education at a very early stage.

Positive Impact

- Most of the migrants are youngsters within the age group of 15-35 which means a full-fledged youth power comes into existence. These people are loaded with more energy, more grasping power and newer creativity which help them to learn early and effectively and bring in new revolutions in the society.
- Migration when brings in good income and a better lifestyle, it must bring in another effect called competition- competition among others in the locality to earn the same which must be a healthy one in order to contribute many good thing to one's society.
- One of the positive impacts of rural out-migration is improvement of the economic condition of the people. Crave for higher income, full employment, flexible wage-price are the pull factors for accelerating the trend among the rural youths. The question of job search in the context of migration and the role of family members in migration decisions plays a crucial role in shaping the economic development in their native regions.
- Technological up-gradation is one of the important positive effects of migration. This is found mainly in the people who migrate from semi-urban to urban areas in order to work in the modern technological systems.
- Rural out migration also acts as a field of varied cultural exchange and the migrant are its carriers. The best parts of different cultures, customs, festival, languages, lifestyle, food, clothing etc. are brought together by the migrants, which helps to develop a society- be it rural or urban, into a rich palette of varied and diversified colour of customs and culture. This also elucidates the

concept of Nationalism through the perception of unity in diversity.

Suggestions

After observing the responses of the rural out-migrated people we can put forward the following suggestions:

- Well managed seasonal migration may be encouraged.
- The government should introduce record keeping agency.
- The government may introduce card system for internal migration.
- The government should be aware of health, hygiene and environment of the migrants.
- The government should take initiative by appointing one person in each and every village for record keeping.

Conclusion

After observing the responses of the rural out-migrated people, we can conclude that there are both positive and negative impacts of rural out-migration but in many cases positive impacts are superior to that of negative one. So, well managed migration may be encouraged because it has the capability to change the society. If we compare the responses of the respondents or rural out-migrants before and after migration we can conclude that their desire of having more income, desire of making habits of newspaper reading, watching TV, listening radio, saving habits and the knowledge regarding welfare measures of the government has been increased considerably.

The Government should develop some mechanisms and should be responsible for keeping the records of out-migrants in both times i.e. out-going and in-coming. If we compare their socio-economic condition before and after migration then it will not be wrong to conclude that rural out-migration is a survival strategy for rural poor.



Globalisation and Child Trafficking in India

Amit Malik*

[Child trafficking is a growing phenomenon at national, regional and international levels. It is considered as a contemporary form of slavery and a gross violation of basic human rights by the international community. India is one of the main sources, transit point as well as destination for trafficking in children. Today trafficking has emerged as a low risk, high return and well organized criminal activity. Child trafficking is the third biggest money earning illegal trade. Trafficking does not seem to have any boundaries irrespective of push and pull factors. Trafficking in children is taking place in almost all the countries, only the magnitude differs.]

Trafficking in children is the most abominable violation of human rights. Perhaps not many crimes are as ghastly as trading in human misery. Human rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution are non-negotiable and universal. Trafficking in children is a violation of several human rights, including the very rights to life, the right to liberty, human dignity and security of person, the right to freedom from torture or cruelty, inhuman or degrading treatment, the right to a home and family, the right to education and proper employment, the right to healthcare and everything that makes for a life with dignity.

Magnitude of Child trafficking

Child trafficking is a relatively common occurrence in India. About two lakh sex slaves are imported annually into India. Slavery is supposed to have ended more than a century ago, but it thrives in many countries, including India. Indeed, child trafficking has emerged as a major global problem with serious implications for India immigration policy and law enforcement.

Globalization is a critical factor exacerbating child trafficking. Ninety percent of child trafficking is internal, while the remaining 10% comes from Nepal, Bangladesh, and other neighboring countries. Child trafficking takes place in different forms throughout India, including sex tourism, child labor, and bonded labor. But due to the underground

nature of the business, there are no empirical studies available that can present accurate figures of child trafficking in India.

The numbers provided by the government and different NGOs are only speculative and the true magnitude of the problem is not fully known. It is reported, however, that India is the main recipient of an estimated 150,000 children, especially girl child, trafficked into India from South Asia to feed the commercial sex industry.¹

Indian estimates

India is a source, a transit and a destination country of children trafficked for the purposes of sexual and labour exploitation. Kolkata and Mumbai are the major transit point of India for other destinations. Every day 200 girls and women in India enter prostitution, 80 percent of them against their will (Ranjan 2005). The number of women and children in sex work in India is stated to be between 70,000 and 1 million (Lodhi 2007). Every year between 5000 and 7000 Nepalese girls are trafficked into the red light districts in Indian cities.²

Globalization

Globalization has contributed to the growth of the practices of modern-day slavery and child trafficking. One definition of globalization provided by Martin Albrow is “the active dissemination of practices, values, technology and other human products throughout the globe” (Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery*: 32).

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The practice of slavery has translated human beings into commodities. People have become products which can be traded, bought, sold, and exploited. Globalization is making the world smaller in a sense, making commodities more readily available to people and companies around the globe. If human beings can be considered as commodities or goods, then globalization can be seen as a contributing factor to the spread of slavery and trafficking. The recent impact of globalization allows for child trafficking permeating almost any society.

The International Labour Organization states in its Convention on the Eradication of Forced Labour that, "Over the past few years, there has been a greater realization that forced labour in its different forms can pervade all societies, whether in developing or industrialized countries, and is by no means limited to a few pockets around the globe" (ILO, "Eradication of Forced Labour" 2).

It may be helpful to consider how modern-day slavery has changed from the slavery of the past. In *Understanding Global Slavery*, Kevin Bales discusses three ways in which the practice has evolved. First of all, slaves are cheaper today than ever before. In some cases, human beings can be bought for as little as ten dollars, therefore creating a characterization of disposability in modern slaves.

Another change is the length of time a person remains in servitude. Today, slaves are being held for shorter periods of time than in the past, sometimes for only a few months or years; and finally, Bales states that "slavery today is globalized", (*Understanding Global Slavery* 9). By this, he means that the forms of slavery practiced around the world are becoming alike.

The ongoing trend of globalization can be viewed as an outlet for slavery and trafficking to increase and spread. Globalization is not always a bad movement, but it can result in the spread of horrible things like slavery, just as easily as more positive things such as a consumer having a wider range of products from which to choose.

Another way in which globalization has contributed to the growth of child trafficking is the modern

improvements which have affected international transportation. It has become easier for individuals to travel domestically and internationally. For example, it is possible to purchase a plane ticket on the Internet to fly somewhere later in the same day, as long as you have a credit card.

However, it is possible that this has "simplified international travel as well as child trafficking activities" (Zhang 111). The more common it becomes to cross national borders, the easier it becomes for child trafficking to blend in with leisurely travel.

Slavery and trafficking are heavily affected by the complex set of world-wide processes we collectively label globalization. They are facilitated by the mobility of capital, the openness of political borders, and the deregulation of trade. They are complicated by the transient nature of many exchanges and the lack of adequate enforcement personnel and policies.

More recently, the global war on terrorism and issues of homeland security have been much more salient than trafficking, although many more people suffer from trafficking each year than from terrorism.

Globalization impacts trafficking with both "push" and "pull" factors. Impoverishment in the supply countries is a push factor that forces people to seek ways to improve their economic situation. Many trafficked persons begin their ordeal with the expectation that they will get respectable employment, only to discover the deception after it is too late.

The spread of "global culture" serves as a pull factor, raising expectations of a better life elsewhere. Like the global drug trade, trafficking is a mammoth economic enterprise, providing traffickers with financial resources and technological capabilities to enhance and shield their activities from public scrutiny or interference.

Capitalist Globalization

Capitalist globalization today involves an unprecedented "commodification" of human beings especially children. In the last 30 years, the rapidly

growing sex trade has been massively “industrialized” worldwide (Barry; Jeffreys). This process of industrialization, in both its legal and its illegal forms, generates profits amounting to billions of dollars.³ It has created a market of sexual exchanges in which millions of children have been converted into sexual commodities.

This sex market has been generated through the massive deployment of prostitution (one of the effects of the presence of military forces engaged in wars and/or territorial occupation (Strudevand and Stolfus) in particular in the emerging economies, the unprecedented expansion of the tourist industry (Truong), the growth and normalization of pornography (Poulin 2000), and the internationalization of arranged marriages (Hughes).

The sex industry, previously considered marginal, has come to occupy a strategic and central position in the development of international capitalism. For this reason it is increasingly taking on the guise of an ordinary sector of the economy. This particular aspect of globalization involves an entire range of issues crucial to understanding the world we live in. These include such processes as economic exploitation, sexual oppression, capital accumulation, international migration, and unequal development and such related conditions as racism and poverty.

The industrialization of the sex trade has involved the mass production of sexual goods and services structured around a regional and international division of labour. These “goods” are human beings who sell sexual services. The international market in these “goods” simultaneously encompasses local and regional levels, making its economic imperatives impossible to avoid.⁴

Prostitution and related sexual industries - bars, dancing clubs, massage parlors, pornography producers etc. - depend on a massive subterranean economy controlled by pimps connected to organized crime. At the same time, businesses such as international hotel chains, airline companies, and the tourist industry benefit greatly from the sex industry.

Impact of Global Changes

Trends in economic development have increased worldwide demand for goods and services. These trends include the widespread expansion of markets, the rising importance of export-oriented growth (including the export of labor as a strategy for economic development), the establishment of expanding multinational corporations and their subcontractor networks, the proliferation of Internet-based business, and tourism development. Globalization and economic openness have also empowered criminals and further opened already porous borders to the increased movement of goods and people.

The evolution of the global economic system has led to trade in goods and services at an unprecedented level. As a result, “Asia has become a center for low-cost, labor-intensive, manufacturing operations.”⁵ These operations have grown while oversight has lagged behind, enabling the creation and expansion of informal “work ghettos.”⁶

Cutting costs through the utilization of trafficked individuals to maintain a competitive edge is a part of the overall “race to the bottom,” in terms of wages. India’s economic boom is partially dependent on trafficked labor; especially children trafficked into domestic service, construction, manufacturing, and commercial agriculture. Traffickers and exploiters dehumanize their victims, seeing them in terms of cost versus benefit transactions, and as cheap and docile laborers rather than as mothers, sisters, brothers, and fathers.

Working in the shadows of loosening economic, labor, and financial regulations, and utilizing cheaper transportation and innovations in communication technology, traffickers have increased their business. There are six new global trends that accentuate vulnerability to child trafficking and have caused the surge in growth of trafficked people.

First, an increase in demand for trafficked people—from end users to those who make a profit from the trade—has become the most immediate cause for the expansion of the child trafficking industry. Second, new technologies have made moving and

recruiting people much easier. Third, petty criminals have been replaced by organized criminals in the flesh trade, turning it into a large-scale industry.

Fourth, natural disasters have driven more people from their homes, stripping them of their livelihoods and assets. Fifth, displacement and migration in the absence of protection mechanisms have increased vulnerability to child trafficking. Finally, the global economic crisis since 2008 has increased unemployment and undermined social safety nets, contributing to increased vulnerability to child trafficking.

Pre- and Post-Globalisation

It is interesting to compare the pre- and post-globalisation scenario in rural India. Prior to globalisation, i.e. specifically from 1989 to 1991, 35.37 % people were below poverty line in rural areas. In the post-reform period i.e. from July 1995 to December 1997, rural India had 36.47 % people below poverty line. This saw an increase of 1.10%.

An increase in the rural poverty must have led to greater exploitation and it definitely has affected the children. In this era of globalisation in India trade is accompanied with technological change which promotes and protects technical, skilled work. Globalisation is usually biased against unskilled workers.

Children mostly engaged in unskilled labor have to suffer because their unskilled work is invisible and unprotected in the word 'economy'. Their impoverished situation is making children more vulnerable to a social evil like prostitution.

One of the main causes of exploitation of children and their abuse in the flesh trade is the age old ignorance and illiteracy prevailing among them. They don't even know that they have legal rights which protect them. Most of these distressed children think that it is their fate and they have to accept to live in this world of darkness. These young children are tortured so much that they hardly believe that there is hope in life.

Although literacy has improved, yet illiteracy is one of the root causes that make rural and tribal children

so weak - that they are rendered helpless to elevate themselves from inhuman humiliation and sexual exploitation. Thus it becomes easier for the procurers and the middlemen to influence or coerce these children into prostitution.

Very poor children become easy victims of inter-state trafficking. If this kind of torture does not subjugate them and they resist, then other forms of subjugation such as sexual assaults, rape, gang rapes etc. are inflicted upon them. They are even burnt with cigarettes, assaulted physically, locked up, forced to consume liquor or to take drugs. In few cases they are tortured so much that they commit suicide.

The lowest price for a girl child sold is about 400 Rupees and the highest could be 70,000 Rupees or more. One can distinctly see two major groups of these sexually exploited girl child. One group of girl child comes from the rural areas. They are mostly illiterate and belong to the lower income group and they are mostly from castes lowly placed in society.

Another group comes from backward communities with some education and little knowledge of English. These girls are exploited by men belonging to the upper class. Due to globalisation the world has come nearer. Transport and communications have increased and tourism is developing rapidly. Enhancement of transport has increased there'd light areas on the highways, mostly in the form of small restaurants etc.

Globalisation has triggered a boom in the tourism industry. Through tourism a refined and secret form of prostitution is developing in the form of call girls. Opening of new hotels, resorts and guest houses for promoting inter-state and international tourism has increased the call girl racket. These call girls are educated. The sad part of it is that school-going girls and college-going girls of lower income group families are deceived or lured and forced to adopt prostitution as call girls.

Television and films play an important role in the dissemination of glamour, especially amongst the impressionable youth. The temptation of easy money to attain a life style idealized therein makes the task

of the middlemen, hotel receptionists, working girls already in the profession etc. easier, who manage to establish contact with these call girls. The activity of call girls is organized in such a secret manner that only occasionally does it come to light when the culprits are caught red-handed. Singing and dancing societies are established to facilitate prostitution.

Persons belonging to the lower income group take money and marry their daughters to rich men of Gulf countries. Sometimes a minor girl child is married with a man who is at least three times older than her. Most of these girl children are later deserted or are taken to Gulf countries for prostitution. Exporting girl child for domestic work or for nursing is taking place but there are several incidents where these girl children are thrown into flesh trade. These girl children are sold and purchased like a commodity. Though they are a source of money for their families back home, but all this at what cost is a big question.

Most of these girl children are working in shops, restaurants, gambling houses or at residential houses of the natives where they are mentally and physically exploited. A report of the human rights organization "Middle East Watch" says: In Gulf countries 1/3rd of these girls' children are being raped whereas 2/3rd of them are physically and economically exploited. Supplying girls' child to politicians, government officials by business groups in return for sanctions and favours is widely prevalent.

Conclusion

An attempt has been made to show that child trafficking is a global issue today that needs the attention of everyone in order to eradicate it. In order to stop the child trafficking problem, over the years, various governments, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been fighting the menace of child trafficking with less success. This has been due primarily because the structural cause of the problem, that is poverty, has not been adequately addressed, and thus has continued to persist.

The developing economies were consistently throwing away and losing out the productive human capital. Developing nations provide the volume of

this slave form because of the socio-economic relations necessitated by globalization and capitalism at its highest level of internationalization. The intensity of the problem of child trafficking has become a global pandemic that is rooted in every community organized by human traffickers who by overt and covert activities use several means possible including among others coercion and wealth to sustain the continuous enslavement of vulnerable people across the globe.

Again, this phenomena permeate every nation state and involves the recruitment, transportation, and to a large extent the enslavement of the economically vulnerable. The combined forces of organized crime and official corruption facilitate illegal movement of the mass trafficked people. Most recipient nations have continued to experience improvements in their quality of life, while the gap between the rich and poor countries continues to widen.

Recommendations

Most of the actors involved in anti-trafficking activities are not addressing the root causes of trafficking in an empowering way. Prevention is still being carried out through repressive programs focused mainly on preventing migration, prostitution and organized crime. There is no real comprehensive long-term prevention strategy for developing nations, nor any clear understanding of what such a strategy should include.

Global efforts to combat trafficking in persons have focused mainly on the criminalization of trafficking. Anti-trafficking policy tends to be dominated by the prevention, protection and prosecution paradigm, which also tends to focus primarily on short-time interventions. We, therefore, proffer the following recommendations, hoping that they will assist in the fight against trafficking in persons:

- First and foremost, nations must first address the trafficking problem as an internal human rights issue that affects its political, social and economic systems. This is paramount because if nations continue to ignore the domestic manifestations of trafficking in persons, the cost could be high,

encouraging corruption and compromising key relationships with other issues;

- There should be job skills training for sheltered victims. Thus, the integration program must provide victims with the ability to deal with stigmatization, acquire job skills and employment, healthcare, educational support, food and accommodation. The skill training plays a vital role, and it is through the crucial concept of reintegration that victims can access potential employment for better living and income conditions;
- Increasing public awareness about the issue and supporting victims with necessary services are very crucial to successfully combating trafficking in persons. This is because the lack of support to victims means that many of them might end up on the streets again and resorting to criminal behavior in order to survive;

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Labour Welfare Measures and Industrial Relations

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[Industrial relations play a critical role in establishing and maintaining industrial democracy. During the independence period industrial relations policy of the British Government was one of laissez faire and also of selective intervention. There were hardly any labour welfare schemes. After independence labour legislation has formed the basis for industrial relations and social security. These legislations have also provided machinery for bipartite and tripartite consultations for settlement of disputes.]

After independence, the Government of India adopted the industrial truce resolution at a tripartite conference in December 1947. Subsequently, several legislations were enacted to maintain industrial peace and harmony and these inter alia included: Factory Act 1948, Employee State Insurance Act 1948, Minimum Wages Act 1948, and the Payment of Bonus Act which was passed in 1965.

Good industrial relationship largely depends upon the welfare measures offered to the employees. Employee is one of the assets of an organization; so employee's welfare directly promotes healthy industrial relations. This article is an attempt to analyze the contribution of labour welfare measures towards good industrial relations.

Meaning of Labour Welfare

The term 'industrial relation' refers to industry and relation in industry means any productive activity in which an individual is engaged. And relations mean the relations that exist in the industry between the employer and his worker.

The oxford dictionary defines labour welfare as "efforts to make life work living for workers". In the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, welfare is defined as "the voluntary efforts of the employers to establish, within the existing industrial system, working and sometimes living and cultural conditions of the employees beyond what is required by law, the customs of the industry and the conditions of the market"

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Classification of Labour Welfare Activities

Welfare activities are classified into three categories.

1. Statutory Facilities
2. Voluntary Facilities
3. Mutual Facilities

The study team appointed by government of India in 1959 divided these activities into three groups.

1. Welfare work within the precincts of an establishment.
2. Welfare work outside the precincts of an establishment.
3. Social Security measures etc.

Statutory Welfare Facilities

Statutory welfare facilities include activities such as medical facilities canteens, sanitary and hygiene, leave, savings, loan, crèche, drinking water, Ambulance, rest rooms etc. Training should contribute to the productivity of labour and efficiency of the enterprise.

The maintenance of good medical, sanitary and hygiene is now taken for granted as an important basic welfare amenity. The medical facilities and good hygienic provided to workers will help to reduce the incidence of sickness and thereby reduce absenteeism among them and increase productivity. Canteen is a structure at the place of work in which wholesome food and drinks provided to the workers at a subsidized rate.

(.....Contnued the Next Issue)