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

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New Health Policy

Union Government has unveiled New Health Policy 2017 (NHP 2017), which seems to be high on promises and it is to be seen whether it will be able to fulfill those promises or will remain low on delivery. Some of the tangible promises envisaged in NHP 2017, *inter alia*, include: raising the allocation for health to 2.5 per cent of GDP, improving hospital bed availability, reforms in medical and paramedic education, strategic purchasing of private care for poor families/underserved areas through public-private-partnerships (PPPs), management of determinants, control/elimination of communicable and non-communicable diseases. The NHP also promises to address issues pertaining to mental health, tele-medicine, health information, medical research, control of quality and cost of drugs/implants and diagnostics, regulation of the health care sector, mainstreaming and enhancement of AYUSH, priority to good quality and accessible primary care (which gets two-thirds allocation of funds) more than secondary tertiary care. It also promises to strengthen public facilities and making them accountable for quality of care.

However, many experts opine that bulk of these promises constitute a part of wishful thinking on the part of the government. Government's declaration of increasing health spending from the current level of 1 per cent to 2.5 per cent of GDP from the by 2025 seems unattainable and is just postponing the problem. Under the existing situation, a 2 per cent allocation is required right now to fill empty posts (30 per cent to 60 per cent of posts of doctors are vacant) and ensure the payment of Seventh Central Pay Commission rates to the health-medical establishment. In view of the fact that India is already at the bottom of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) in public funding on health, one wonders as to from where government will find the money to meet these targets. Undoubtedly, the plan to set up screening centres for hypertension, diabetes and oral, breast and cervical cancers in 1.5 lakh primary health centres that will henceforth be called by the catchier name of 'wellness centres' seem attractive; nevertheless, some experts point out that given the existing pitiable state of the public health delivery system, the government may have turned a blind eye to the cultural, technological and economic obstacles that will hobble this aim.

Generally speaking, the health policy is seemingly strong on intentions but falls short on embracing the tough options that accompany a shift from acute care to preventive health. These include changes in medical education curricula and research and intensive training in the science and practice of cost-effective health promotion. Healthcare system in India is already faced with major problem of declining quality and affordability of medical education and the paucity of trained nurses and paramedics. Issues about AYUSH doctors using modern medicine and ubiquitous quacks, especially in the northern and north-eastern states, are neglected issues. The health system is layered as primary, secondary and tertiary (specialty) care, but the latter is dominating the private sector, entailing high cost and deprivations.

Nevertheless, India is the global hub for low-cost pharmaceutical industry; however, drug prices are still exploitative. The neglect of 'health-determinants' of water safety, sanitation and waste management, pollution, occupational hazards, tobacco and addictions continue to increase ill-health etc have made affordable and quality healthcare for all an elusive dream. The proposed move for national medical commission envisaged in the NHP 2017 entails the potential of bringing more bureaucratic blocks and more centralization of human resource policies. Besides, new policy's silence on the rural doctors' course and emphasis on bridge courses and substitutes entails the likelihood of the human resource gaps haunting the people in most of northern and eastern parts of India. Apart from human resources gaps, especially in the rural areas, other key issues like under-utilization of resources, poor quality control and a patchy track record in scaling up experiments in public-private partnerships to meet challenges etc are missing from the new policy. In the wake of poor implementation of existing legislation, accountability and quality standards vary widely across India. On the whole, the NHP 2017 will remain hollow if it fails to make affordable and good healthcare as the guiding principle and lays down an appropriate ecosystem to come up to the people's expectations of an affordable, responsive and proactive healthcare system.

— BK

Saudi Arabian Dilemma of Regional Leadership

Ms. Elodie Pichon*

[2017 will be a challenging year for Saudi Arabia, which is losing its leadership in the Middle East and faces looming economic challenges stemming from low oil prices.]

Saudi Arabia has been humiliated in Syria, and embroiled itself in an endless and costly conflict in Yemen. According to Reuters, Saudi Arabia is spending \$175 million per month for bombings in Yemen and an additional \$500 million for ground incursions. The low oil prices and mounting military expenses have wielded unprecedented impact on Saudi foreign reserves, which depleted from \$732 billion to \$623 billion in 2015.

However, the main cost of these military failures is not a financial one, they have also dealt a fatal blow to the Saudi monarchy which used military nationalism to foster support, and implement a cult of the personality to King Salman. The Saudi propaganda relies on anti-Iranian rhetoric, and exaggerate Tehran's geopolitical role to justify its foreign policy. In Yemen, Saudi monarchy has mischaracterized the Houthis as Iranian proxies. They claim that Tehran provides the Houthis financial and logistical support, as well as military advisers (*Financial Times*, February 2014).

One of the arguments put forward is that the Houthis, who were isolated in the mountains in the North, would not have been able to gain such prominence without external support. However, their growth is primarily due to the support of the ex-president Saleh, who still has tribal and military allies. Thus, the extent of Iran support

in term of funding and supply of arms remains unknown. (Salisbury, P., 2015).

The war in Yemen embodies a military nationalism, which fired the Islamists imagination but could turn against King Salman. Indeed, Islamists in Saudi Arabia expected a quick victory against the Houthis, qualified as blasphemous puppet of Iran. Moreover, defeated militants in Syria could come back in their country and reunite to canalise their military effervescence in their country, accusing Saudi leaders for their defeat.

Saudi Arabia's difficulties pose a threat to its hegemony in the region, which reverberates on its allies' support. Indeed, Egypt pursues its own national interest when Saudi Arabia was expecting total cooperation, and unconditional support. There could be a backlash from Saudi Arabian population which expect the Kingdom to keep its leadership in the region.

Their lack of leadership in the region is aggravated by the deterioration of its relationship with the USA. The US is less and less dependent on Saudi oil and condemns its religious extremism, which has been worsened since the accession of King Salman in January 2015. Moreover, President Trump's financial approach to foreign affairs means that he will be tough toward Saudi Arabia if they face economic hardships.

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Concerning the Saudis, the bone of contention is not only the Iranian nuclear agreement but also the absence of support for their ally Mubarak in February 2011, which has been perceived as a betrayal from the US. Despite the disagreements, Saudi Arabian government knows that they can't afford to break ties with the USA. They rely on the USA military presence in the region, and on American military equipment.

The economic difficulties only add pressure to the government, which can't afford to be present on all fronts. The collapse of oil prices cost Saudi government 75 billion of Euros, even though public spending increased to finance the war in Yemen. The country's foreign reserves have dropped by a quarter since oil prices started falling in 2014, and the budget deficit skyrocketed from 6.7% of the PIB in 2015 to 20% in 2016.

Consequently, Riyadh adopted a politic of austerity, and seized on every opportunity to squeeze costs: they cut construction projects, cut pay for ministers, freeze hiring, rise in fees for visas, increase fines for traffic violations. Overall, they cut off 80% subsidies on public goods and services. The price for basic goods such as water and electricity has skyrocketed and spurred dissatisfaction nationwide.

In addition to the cut of public spending, the government announced an ambitious plan to diversify the economy, which relies entirely on oil. If the plan is successful, non-oil revenue will triple by 2020. To do that, they want to expand the country's mining industry to exploit gold; phosphate and uranium deposit and build up the financial, technology and entertainment sectors.

The challenge is high for King Salman, who massed extraordinary domestic power, using a wave of Sunni-based Saudi nationalism. The lack of leadership in the region, the military failures, and the economic difficulties pose a threat to the monarchy. For too long, the monarchy has postponed the necessity to implement economic reforms, cut public spending and diversify the economy.

Indeed, the efforts put into place by Abdallah, who became a King in 2005, to implement reforms have been stopped when the fear of a contagion of the Arab Springs in 2011 led the King to spend 135 billions of dollars to buy social peace. With social and political tensions, the government tries to avoid economic reforms, which could spur dissatisfaction. But the situation is critical and the survival of the regime depends on the King's ability to reform the country, and assure Saudi Arabian leadership in the region.



PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN

**Edited by
Babuddin Khan**

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Media and Society in Bosnia

Senadin Laviæ*

[Fascism is in full sweep around us. Writing about the ruins that left behind it, is the task of our time. Maybe it is the most important task, because we must not remain silent! Disaster of (human) policy is in practice, but we are hardly surprised. Every statement around us which denies the possibility of existence of Bosnia, is essentially fascist howling of a monster that is trying to be covered up by diplomatic phrases about democracy of our next-door neighbours from Belgrade and Zagreb.]

Politicians, their followers and spokesmen, media experts, semi-conscious girls in military uniforms with rifles in their hands, folk singers with microphones, masses captivated by politicians who encourage them to hatred, the poor in shelters of demolished cities, dead children on the streets, big and small dictators, Muslims who try to take off from their faces the terrorists' label while they are bombarded by the aircrafts of civilized world - they all together tempt again the evil of fascist destruction of the world, only today at a higher technical level.

Media lead us directly to the streets of Syrian cities that were bombed and destroyed by the Western Allies aviation, the Russian military and local forces. Not so long ago, almost yesterday, Serbian guns were destroying Sarajevo, Konica, Mortar, Bihar, Grazed, Olive, Srebrenica and killed civilians, innocent citizens. Serbian criminals turned the cities into military targets. The cities in which the Bosniaks were the majorities. In other cities they were exterminated and "humanely" moved out, for example, from Trebinje to Scandinavia.

In the large crime of Serbian politics, which is developed by SANU (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts) and supported by SPC (Serbian Orthodox Church), the cities in Bosnia became the target of Serbian criminals on the way of a large "Serbian state" building, where it is never existed. Serbian war strategy made the "legitimate targets" of the cities - because the Bosniaks live there! In that way, the half of

Bosnia has been occupied. The cities have become battlefields. The urban culture and spirit have been destroyed. The destruction of urbanity is in practice. Media recorded the terrible images of death and human evil ... Media recorded ...

In the European tradition, the man is meant in different ways. The man is being determined as a *zoon logon echon*, as *animal rationale*, it is like a living being who has language and mind, being who as a social being lives in the community with his equal. For centuries we believed that rational being respects speech and intelligence, all those things that philosophers from Plato's *State* and Kratil to Wittgenstein's theory of meaning and *Sprachspiele* talked about.

But people have the ability to abandon all considerations and allow themselves to be infected by ephemerality, nastiness, ideologies. The idea of greed that defines our age is defined by the conservative view of the world. It helps the dominance of consumerism. It rejected every possible sense of the idea of equality among people and recognition of human characteristics. The greed is preferred in it, without mercy and compassion towards each other. It has all kinds of fundamentalism and exclusivity.

The capitalist greed for profit is in it. In it there is the power of insane generals and mighty armies that are driven by sick minds. The domination of the fascist forces has become normal in it. The hatred has become characteristic in it. From everywhere, they speak and order: "Stop thinking, stop thinking!" In all this the media has been involved.

Gone are the days when we have thought, deliberated. But, unfortunately, the time “when philosophers like Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre, Michel Foucault or Jean-François Lyotard said about contemporary events or suggestions that they would have done to improve things that were considered important - belongs to the past.

Nowadays, even those who imitate the behaviour of the philosopher, who have pushed out the philosophers in the 1970s, they have compensated themselves by entertainers and models, football players and boxers “(A. Badiou / S. Žižek, *Philosophy in the Present*). It must be admitted that the models look better, and football players run ‘faster’ than philosophers! From those dangerous *displaced philosophers*.

We must not ignore it at all! The media have hidden critical intellectuals from the scene, pushed them, darken them and offered us manipulators who explain that we need to be serfs of capital, banks, financial funds, elite, leaders, generals... The corrupt deceivers every night mislead us by false claims that we need to be nobody and nothing. The media help to maintain the state of captivity in the ghetto, in the “closed society”, in the cage. The media “help” us to forget Bosnia...

Hence, could we write about the ruins, about collapsed architecture of the world, refer to the right to think of our destiny while from all sides deny to us the sense of philosophical attitude in the present, manly courage in front of the world that the capitalists and fascists led before the abysses of the human. Alain Badiou is trying to write a *manifesto* for philosophy.

We are not aware that an attempt to kill Bosnia will define our life and thinking. Trying to delete Bosnia from the face of the world, is the question of sense of Europe. It has been clear long ago that this issue exceeds the Serbo-Croatian historiography performances, small rural constructions of frustrated tribes, their ridiculous myths, folk singing of mountain-dwellers, nebulous ideas about their own place in history...

But they have not still confronted with their crimes as human beings. This confrontation is waiting for them till doomsday, to their beliefs, at the beginning of each new day when should be built some new human form.

This confrontation cannot be avoided or substituted by some form of art, a novel, something like Andrić’s novel *Bridge over the Drina River*, which can be used to escape into the false image of history in order to be pushed aside the crimes against Bosniaks in the Second World War, ignored them and forgotten them. And also, that the history of Bosnia can be forged and focused people’s attention on the other side.

Literary, novelistic fiction, the work of contemplation, it is offered as a historical truth! However, it is escapism. Therefore, the panel-warning on the Town hall has a moral sense because it tells us that the criminals from the Serbian people have burned the house of knowledge and killed citizens from the surrounding hills. This is the truth that liberates. So, we have to pass through the ruins. After that, nothing will be the same for us. Let’s make Bosnia free of primitive ethno-religious nationalism which the media serve to it.

After all, our confidence in mind has remained. We have fallen into the flow “from solid to liquid” (Z. Bauman) and lost orientation. Around us echoes the authoritarian cacophony - *EinVolk, ein Reich, ein Führer* - and we do not understand what this means! We disappear in fog.

Image for the public

The undertaking to “shape the world in the image for the public” (M. Heidegger) through the media, books, proceedings, conferences, political manifesto, the party’s programs, Nobel Prize winners’ literary works and then, this image becomes obliging for all others, leads us to almost hopeless position that shows us the forgery, simplifying, reducing and destruction of the contents of the world that we live in.

Afterwards, it is shown that we already have available finished images, constructed images of

the world and experiences, simulations and bad copies, but not our own opinion about the world that opens up the world to another dimension, in addition to simple performance on us as subjects who have mastered the world as a subject that we must subordinate and exploit for its untameable needs.

Modern-aged, Cartesian *image of the world as an object* which approaches the subject to it with its intellect and instruments, has suffered a dramatic criticism and transformations during the last hundred years, and it must continue to transform in the direction of love for the world in which we live. *Adaequatiorei et intellectus* goes with it, as well as the metaphysical realism of “appearance” of the spirit that we must overcome. The man is seen as a camera that “objectively” shoots the world... A man just constructs media image.

The media are emerging as a threat for our freedom. They dramatically widen cultural pessimism, xenophobia and policy of divergence. The fascist tendencies are pouring from them, ethno-foulism and impassioned sermons on life meaning. The boundaries between fiction and reality or fictional form and actuality disappear without explanation and levelled every form of rationality in the mud of fascism. It has been already seen by Adorno, Lowenthal, Horkheimer, Benjamin, Marcuse and others.

We have been splashed again by a wave of fascistoid infection, that monstrous that has appeared in the past that we have not overcome and ennobled as people (*unbewältigte Vergangenheit / unmastered past*), the past which we could not obey to the man and his values.

Unbeaten ghosts of the past are trying to push us into migration again, into the new emigration, the escape into a hidden corner of the world where the fascists cannot reach us. They are trying to prepare for us a new genocide, murder, dehumanization. But there is no more space for migration and running away - finally we have to face with the Serbian Nazis and fascists! The

crisis of capitalism and liberal democracy always opens the space to small then to large fascists around us. Usually, most people are not aware and do not notice when the fascists grab them and harness to the crazy circle of crimes. The media have real criminal role in it.

Our media are provincial. The media are the culmination of an enlightened false consciousness. Sloterdijk denounces them with special pleasure. Guillotine has survived in them. Media lynch as a “proof” of guilt of the accused is the means of prosecutors and conspiracy groups that do not have public responsibility. That is the main method of political disqualification of opponents. Media campaigns are the “evidence” of guilt. Manipulation of public spirit is shown as irresponsibility, incompetence, ignorance and danger for the system.

They asked Umberto Eco: “Do the journalists have the role in stopping of conspiracy?”, and he said: - *Journalists must help to prevent the rule of lies and manipulation. This should be one of their struggles, while preserving critical spirit alive, and avoiding standardization of thought* “. ([Http://lupiga.com/intervju/intervju-umberto-eco-velike-lazi-stvaraju-povijest](http://lupiga.com/intervju/intervju-umberto-eco-velike-lazi-stvaraju-povijest))

The journalists have been transformed into “soldiers” of organized interest groups in the social structure. They behave as the loyal soldiers of leaders and their clique that rotate. The media, unfortunately, do not work for citizens around the world. The media, the secret police or the prosecution services often work together under one political hat against citizens. They manipulate the citizens from the position of financial interest groups dealing with top-grade transactions and serve to a few in society. The poor pays everything eventually. In Bosnia, Syria, or who knows where tomorrow?

The media has taken in hands the role of creator of our reality. With its superficial power of judgment, they formed millions of forms and contents of the people’s minds that move into unconsciousness of their own existence, not knowing the meaning of their lives. They,

almighty and all-shaping media, create confusion that cannot be treated or removed. They create terror more than it can be expressed by referencing to the word simulacrum and much more than that can be daily consumed. They can wage wars, rob the countries, exterminate the nations, they can make spectacle from crime, they can mislead as much as you please... And they think they are innocent!

In fact, the media are there to carry out the post-war rehabilitation of the area, subsidence of soil, levelling of horror, relativizing of evil, rehabilitation of war criminals... They are just the extended arm of the ruling policy. The media are there to deceive us and left dazed for the next day. The media give space to local fascists, neo-Nazis, nationalists, misanthropy, bums, primitives and similar creatures that infect the public. And that lasts for decades.

Media collaboration in spreading of hatred and evil among people, cannot be presented at all by rational means. Madmen present the criminal political programs, and the media follow and support them. They transmit their words, using them as exclusive news, scandalous insane appearances due to better viewers rating and profit. This is the simple essence of irresponsible media structures. The media teach us to “tuck tail under” and gather in our corner, to accept the “peremptory set” of systemic attitudes in which we are trapped. Media “teach” us that there is no rebellion...

Lies of the media (II)

Meaningless populist campaigns sputter around us. Politicians scream from all sides and promise “golden spoons for common people”. People have become phlegmatic, indifferent, tired from the promises. Citizens live passages as from Adorno’s book *Minima moralia*. Logic disappears in speech. People are talking nonsense. Babble. Trash. They are frustrated and outraged. Only some of them still consider the moral issues of human endeavour. There is no reference to the *ethic of responsibility* and moral attitude in human matters. On the scene are the “priests” and politicians who are not able to keep like male and knight in front of serious things of life, but they escape into the empty “height” or “bottom”, it does not matter.

Endlessly, the media provide the repetition of lies, they provide the duration of the controlled society and choking of critical consciousness. They have the truth that is transmitted by authorities. For decades, they hide questions and possible answers. They do not ask one of the most important questions initiated by Dervis Susic: “*Do you know anything about yourself? Let’s say, who you are, i.e. we, Bosniaks? It must be known!*” Do we know who is Avdo Međedoviæ, at all -”A singer who talks”? What means to us “Bosniak’s Homer”?

If Husein Basic is right, then Avdo is too big for us or for our powers of understanding? How did we reach this condition? Where did we get from our vocabulary of undefined beings? What are the curricula in the education system? Moreover, the media teach us the emptiness, the silence, the worthlessness of their own existence.

The International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) warned at the end of 2016 that some species that were not on the list of endangered ones, have become the part of the list of endangered species. It happens in case of noticeable reduction of giraffes and African gray parrots in the wilderness. Horrible, indeed? Also, it is endangered the leopard, they assume that only 7100 leopards have remained in wilderness. The animal protectors have slogans: *I’d rather go naked than wear wool. Wear your own skin! Let animals keep theirs.* Let’s protect animals if we cannot protect people. The slogans of fighters for animals protection peal everywhere, but in the same time, small people are eradicated because of their names, language or belief.

Where are Rohingya people who are Muslims? Does anybody think of them while the Nobel Peace Prize is given? Do entity “RS” on the ground of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a result of the crime of genocide? The “priests” of genocide and guards of its results are the ones who would continue the same “job”, wouldn’t they ?

Can the media and media cynicism make of that crime the humanist fairytale about the man’s “will”? Immoral human figures tell us that the genocidal creation “RS” on the ground / territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina is “the result of the will of the

Serbian people". What a juristic formulation?! The media help the rising of this "truth", especially media predators with their destructive content in which the public is experienced as an animal farm.

The media shamelessly deceive and contribute to decline of public morality into the mud of ethnic-nationalist images of the world which can be best understood as Kaèavenda-shape idolatry in the heart of fascism. Media bravely return and lead us to the Middle Ages, in the empire of *crusade*, priests and local rulers, among dogmatized protocols of life and octroyed algorithms of truth, but we must not forget that they only serve to certain policies and have to implement it. Therefore, the media operation is turned into a mechanism that should objectify the possibility of civilizations' wars as a new spectacle - as if the army do not fight with political and economic interests behind them.

The media, unfortunately, are caught in the net of power and it is not hard to serve it, because they are the source of funds to maintain the system. In Bosnia, most of the media (public radio and television broadcasters) are paid by citizens - hence, citizens pay them to be oriented by the media. The media participate in the general moral degradation and education of the population that shower them with their information and programs.

Such as the industry of beauty maniacally exploits the sense of human beauty, just as well the cynicism of legal system perverts the meaning of law and justice among people. Corrupt prosecutors, police officers, judges, businessmen, at every step destroy the system and order in society. Nowadays, primitive aesthetics and law are the only reflexes of one horrible process in which the human existence is systemic destroyed on all sides of mankind.

It seems that the process is complementary in which modern technology destroys human life by shutting off a movement in it, action, thought, dynamics, resulting in autism, with processes ghettoisation and atomization that people for the purposes of capitalism and organized control. Burning Aleppo is in the media image, as if Sarajevo used to be, under the watchful eye of the UN and world forces. Graham Bamford shines in my Bosnian heart.

Lies in media reports

The media in the hands of corporate capitalism pelt us by messages, information, products, offers. We are choking and losing support in everyday life. "*Children of the rich cannot play rock and roll*" - the warning of officers' sons of failed army! We need to start thinking about a new definition of a man and the key terms of human life. The great transformation is in progress, an epochal turn of all that we have conceived as a people.

Eva Bartlett, an independent Canadian journalist and human rights fighter, all around the world, warned in her speech at the UN that *the sources from the ground* mislead mainstream media, i.e. these sources are compromised and are not credible at all. The image that comes through their reports to the public all around the world is a *false* image and not corresponds to the state of things on the ground.

Corporate media fabricate the reality, deceive the public, adapt their reports to the interests of the big players, fabricate "*fake news / story*", recycle the testimony, so that everything you read is the opposite to the reality. Bartlett warns that the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (SOHR) is located in Coventry led by the authority of one man who "*receives*" information from so-called White helmets. Image from Syria, therefore, was under the control of corporate and compromised media.

We are led by financial institutions through debt for borrowed money. The rulers of the 21st century will be the semi-educated and uncultivated, barbarians without shame who take pride in their vulgar manners and ignorance, self-satisfied demimonde. They control the money flows and subordinate the debtors. And media serve to it... We will know all about this *today* when this is important to no one, when we wouldn't remember criminals and politicians from Belgrade no more, from that dark city.

The media will insidiously level Serbian chauvinists' crimes and patriotic struggle of the Bosnian people for their survival. As if we are stupid, they still sell us the Yugoslavianism, the old Serbian hegemony and narration, those old and empty speakers of

existence without identity... Anti-Bosnian forces have strategically put people on positions in the system and they deliberately disintegrate the state. They attack all the points of the Bosnian state, which make them the resistance - or bribe them with money and escort-ladies or set them the “dance”.

They have at the disposal the means and resources. They do it by means of the police and secret police services, the judiciary and prosecution, paid media and corrupt journalists, ministries of this and that, embassies and no one is trying to stop them.

Numerous media are in the service of destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Genocidal creation on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the work of the Milosevic’s regime which is on the ruins of Yugoslavia tried to create a Greater Serbia. The identical plan had Tudjman’s regime, but handle with velvet gloves. The evidence of it is in the top analysis by Cyril Ribic about the project HZHB. The complicity of the media in the profanation of our social life is boundless, shameful and invaluable.

The media, of course, will never take this responsibility because they remind us to the children who go round like sparrows that tweet from the rooftops, but they are not able to learn the lessons given and do not like the lecture. They never feel the guilt and do not take responsibility.

Media show us that they are the heart of the simulacrum and ideological one-sidedness of the society with no choice. They are callously involved in people’s liquidation that was aimed from the political opponents. The ignorance and indifference come out of them. Journalists repeat ideological matrix, they do not differentiate the meanings, they do not know the old definitions and do not want to learn the new ones, they speak language that conceals rather than reveals social processes, irresponsibly refer to the words, do not have time for language consolidation and clarification of terms, because they are connected to police, secret services, companies, party’s secretaries and leaders. They must fulfil their requirements.

They have to satisfy divergent interests and that it all seems “logical” - and that certainly cannot be logical. But citizens? (Nota bene. The growing children need to know that the Army of the Republic in Bosnia Herzegovina was not “so-called” - it was legendary and the only legal military force of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that got up to save the state of a double aggression of Milosevic and Tudjman’s regime. The media in B&H today transfer the deceits from Belgrade media-propaganda and intelligence circles that someone who is legally defended their country “so-called.” Such morbidity comes from the heart of fascism. The truth is not proved by means of revealing a lie of fascism or it is not true to prove a lie of fascism.) Citizens should be protected from forgery!

The right-wing hook has been raised against Bosnia as a unique state and began peddling morbid attitudes on “three of Bosnia”, certainly ethnic-religious fragmentation. This is just a continuation of anti-Bosnian hegemonic criminal ideas that cause war and suffering. Still the media are at the service of the fascist attitude towards Bosnia of Great Croatian and the Great Serbian discriminatory arrangement. Thereby, the media openly advocate the right-wing hatred, exclusion, xenophobia, ethno-foulism, they are silent on the constitutional discrimination, support the society of ignoramus, they create the fake image.

The media deceive us and lead to the situation to leave rational behaviour and accept something that we have not yet understood, but the next moment we can see that it is disastrous for us. Meanwhile, the media have earned billions of dollars and their owners are rubbing their hands without thinking whether it is dangerous or good for people that have supported a sick fascist to come to power.

Therefore, there is no intellectuality in the media, the understanding or superior thinking, because their goal is the manipulation of mediocrity that dominates on the historical scene. Media deception is only the consequence of the old ideological deception of Bosnia that began at the end of the 19th century and continued until our time in many false narratives.



Paradigms of Women Empowerment in India

Arpon Sarki*

[To strive for particular cause is not all novel in any way. But it can be a pathway as well as means of proceeding toward that cause through constructive deliberation and assertion of social affirmation. Women's survival and empowerment is critically important for this world. Inequality between man and woman became persistent in the history of social disparities in the world. Even though it has scales down to some extent, it still remains in one or another form and is a global phenomenon.]

Periodically wide range of discourses are carried out in several forums ranging from international to national and regional to local level with specific attention focused on the concept of inequalities – gender-led development and gender-led empowerment of women. Political philosophers, ranging from Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes to Rousseau, view women lacking rational quality that detaches them from doing and putting at par with the men's position. Hence it is beneficial for them to serve in the interest of their male counterpart.

Most these mainstream philosophers have either ignored or dismissed cursorily the position and status of women. They have reiterated, justified and defended women's subordination on the alleged natural and biological differences between the sexes and have also pointed to the inherent physical and mental superiority of the male. In doing so they have reinforced the stereotyped image of women as an emotional, irrational and sensual person in need of male guidance and domination.

However, many Feminists have challenged these male-centred claims, and voiced for reconstruction of societal norms, they speak against the earlier distribution of resources and rights and demand for the redistribution of the same to bring substantial equality in society.

Empowerment, which is used and talked about in common parlance, is hard to understand and

to be grasped without proper assessment of its various dimensions and while understanding the same, it must not be divorced from people's lives and empowerment they enjoy. Oxford dictionary defines empowerment as authority or power given to someone to do something. One cannot define empowerment in vacuum, rather the term 'empowerment' is used in relation to any other objects or subject. Defining women empowerment is very much complex and simple at the same time.

While defining women empowerment, one needs to look on and critically analyze the factors that affect the very definition. Analysis of women empowerment basically starts with men empowerment and in between. At the same time, it also depends on other multi-dimensional features such as social character, social cohesion, family structure and units and other parameters, which are, in fact, interrelated and tend to influence each other. It is, therefore, very much essential and at the same time critical to take and consider adequately the broad as well as narrow view on women empowerment.

Empowerment of one kind tends to help, assist and complement directly as well as indirectly enlargement of other kind of women empowerment. Women since immemorial times have been subjected to several forms of societal bondage and subjugation and hence to evaluate with some degree of concreteness is always a matter of essentialness. The basic point in the discourse of women empowerment is that it will flourish and thrive only in an ambience of cordial

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and friendly societal climate rather than just any law and regulation or policy.

Indeed more public discussion ranging from international to national and regional to local level will help to bring positive changes in overall aspects of women empowerment and is definitely bound to prove to be advantageous for everyone. One of the earliest champions of individual rights and freedom was JS Mill, who fervently appealed for equal rights of women. He argued that women were by no means less talented than men and hence deserved equal rights with men.

Nature has divided human race between men and women but their status and role in society are determined by our culture. Traditional doubt that biological differences between man and woman do not justify inferior status of women and cultural facts have contributed to accentuate the biological difference between men and women. The concept of women empowerment gained relatively wide acceptance with the emergence of feminist movement in the wake of enlightenment that sought to enlarge scope of rights of man. Women were deprived in matter of allocation of benefits and burden.

Time and again, several writers voiced in favour of women empowerment theoretically; however, till date it remains a hypothetical situation. Some speak in favour of reforms of state institutions to improve the women's condition while others favour societal contribution. Society often devalued women on daily and unstructured basis. Gender inequality is not unique in any region or any part of the world but it takes different form with different consequences.

Places where principle of inheritance and descent are patrilineal i.e., men matter in property and lineage, strict control over social and mobilization in public domain, play productive and reproductive role, there women often enjoy lower status. Robust evidence proves that gender equality in education and labour force participation contributes to economic growth, whereas there is weak and inconsistency

evidence that economic growth contributes to gender equality (Kabeer and Natali, 2013).

However, the claim that economic growth always has positively contributed is rather different in practical form. Economic growth does not necessarily contribute to gender equality rather it also will depend on patterns and forms of public action that can dismantle the walls within the society. But before that we need to chalk out and tackle the conceptual wall that generates those inequalities within society.

Women empowerment in Indian Context-

There is considerable ambiguity about the nature and status of women in Indian society. Sometimes women are glorified with old adages and sayings like 'Gods live where women are worshipped,' thereby representing *Shakti*; at the same time, they are made to hold another profile that is said to be sanctified by religious writing and folklore, and a woman is believed to be fickle and fragile, sensuous, a tempter, folly, greed, tricky etc. Because of her supposedly inconsistent character, she has to be kept under strict control.

However, this claim fails to get any logical and firm evidence. In society like ours which is characterized by concept of preference and priority (in between man and women), women folk primarily have to keep themselves under certain restrictions which are further backed by customary and traditional values and laws. These values and laws often act as controlling mechanism and are deliberately exercised on women's activities, including in matters of sex, their movement and contacts, and that women's resources need regulation and control. The manner in which those controls are exercised depends to a great extent on social structure, role allocation value premises and rigidity or flexibility of social control.

The interplay of historical, economic, social and political forces contributes significantly to shaping and re-shaping of gender equations. Women Empowerment (WE) is important rather an implication in terms of their rights and

duties. The concept of WE is not just an issue of discussion and debate rather it is a mirror that helps to play a robustly constructive role in bringing about changes in policy and accord priority for the advancement of society.

Pre and post-independent India has experienced emergence of women groups in different parts of the country. Both political and apolitical groups have led the campaign of women empowerment largely on the question of providing more autonomy to women. The non-government organizations (NGOs) started assuming the role of social responsibility. Periodically, several networks seem to have come alive as they coalesce to react to specific issues and subsequently relapse into inaction till another issue propels them into action (Chakravarty, 2005)

Empowering women is important but is not less important to provide an aura for the same. Hence paramount question is to calculate and analyze the position of women, that whether women are in position to utilize opportunities provided to them in real terms to enhance their empowerment in relation to others or not, whether justifiable or not, because women's choices, capabilities and prospects have profound impact not only on their own lives but on their society as well. Women who are unrecognized, especially in rural areas, remain to be the most vulnerable section in terms of socio-economic disparities etc.

India has limited reach in terms of social policy which includes the agenda of women empowerment. The policy that aims at realization of women empowerment is indeed a largely matter of clarity of political will and social thinking and certainly public reasoning can be helpful to this context. Women empowerment is often lauded with passing of laws and acts to empower women socially and economically etc. Women do not face problem of speaking about their plight but problem in being heard and these facts are very much prevalent from family, at local level to regional and national to international levels.

Gender equality and societal rules and norms

Gender inequality of one form led to another form and it is critically important to analyze in large corpus because many features of gender inequality are not much visible and are existing in a disguised way. It cannot be removed at once hence rather try slowly to overcome its effect. Some of the basic but very crucial aspects that we have to tend to rely on to overcome gender inequality include : female education, women outside employment, opportunity to earn income independently etc.

Many features of gender inequality not visible in India. Prevalence of customary and religion backed laws continues to overshadow the proper and practical implementation of civil laws and protection. Even the discrimination prevailing in social institutions contributes to erode and violate women rights. Statistics show that the overall picture of gender inequality in India is stark and the way out are not to camouflage reality by resolving to tokenism and parading exceptions, but tackling problems head on.

As per report compiled by Geneva-based World Economic Forum on annual global gender gap Index, India ranked 108th and in gender it ranked low at 87th place globally with jump of 21 places from last year largely. In 1871, when India carried out their first census, there were 5.5 million more males than females in the country (Natarajan, 1972). In 1990, the census revealed there were 25 million more males than females in India, a figure that rose to 35 million in 2001.

Today, experts are estimating this number could be as high as 50 million missing women in India alone (*NY Times*, 2005). In 2010, 640,472 abortions were reportedly carried out, however experts believe this number could be as high as seven million, with over two-thirds taking place outside of authorized health facilities (*Time*, 2013). The CSR has been on the decline since 1991 and currently is the worst since independence. From 945 girls for every 1000 boys in 1991, it went down to 927 in 2001 and to 918 in 2011 (Dubudu, 2015).

India, in terms of providing opportunity for employment, especially to womenfolk, in comparison to that of its male counterparts, demonstrates a complex graph. Critics ; however, view that this is mostly because of existence of skill gap between men and women .We can find gender gap in terms of employment in the labour force, kinds of work women are engaged, and the wage they get in comparison to their male counterparts for the similar kind of work and number of working hours.

The unequal share of unpaid care responsibility by women also has a negative impact on the economic empowerment. Women represent half of the global population and one-third of the labour force, they receive only one-tenth of the world income and own less than one percent of world property. They are also responsible for two-thirds of all working hours. (Philip Cohen, Mar 8, 2013).

As per Census 2011, workers constituted 39.79 per cent of total population whereas the ratio of female workers was 25.51 per cent. The percentage of female main workers to total female population stood at 25.5 which show an increase as compared to 14.68 reported in the 2001 Census. As per report published by Union Ministry of Labour and Employment (2011-12), GoI, wages/salaries per man-day worked for directly employed women worker at all India level was reported to be at Rs. 145.63 whereas it is almost double for the men (Rs. 288.14) for the year 2009-10.

The wages/salaries per man-day work for directly employed women workers were Rs. 328.74, Rs. 293.55 and Rs.139.61 in Public sector, joint sector and private sector respectively, whereas for men workers it was much higher i.e. Rs. 619.86, Rs.725.47 and Rs. 255.47 respectively during 2009-10.

However existing naturalness of ideology of division of labour and universal subordination of women across society and culture has come to face stiff opposition from feminist movement. It has been stated that employment of women

change their position in society, but at the same time, critics view that women with job face double burden of which one is considered as traditional role in household activities and second is their job outside house which has often been valued negatively. Women labelled with term housewife are often ‘unpaid labour’, and as per UN estimates, if they given even the minimum wages for their work then, it can contribute 11trillion dollars to global economy.

Similarly, empowerment of women does have a link with the access to education because lack of education can lead to the vicious circle of poverty discrimination and gender inequality. An overview of the literacy rate of women and men shows that women are still lagging behind men. The education status of women and female enrolment and retention in the education are greatly affected by various factors ranging from families and social factors, cultural norms, economic status and the limitations within the education delivery system also have its impact.

Similarly inequality in education between women and men varies region wise. Some states have high rate of literacy rate while others even fail to hit the average literacy rate. Female literacy and gainful employment both will give bigger place and voice for women within family and could dramatically be beneficial for overall enhancement of women empowerment. Through proper education women can attain knowledge and thereby they can plead their argument and view in a very constructive way.

There has been substantial scale up in the percentage of literacy rate among the female as compared to previous years. As per 2001 census female literacy rate stood at 53.7% as compared to their male counterpart with 75.3% with a gap of 21.6% and in 2011 female literacy rate increased to 65.5% and gap between male and female literacy rate had dwindled to 16.6%.

However, even with increasing literacy rate of women, the idea of women working outside the home is still culturally hard to digest. Women’s status in the society is often largely

conceptualized by the inside relationship between cultural context and individual preferences. The women's autonomy has often been instrumental in growth of their influence and in enhancing their role in shaping wide range of traditionally associated variables including, family and its value system, norms, social parameters, and moreover it has made impact on their role in decision-making, mobility, incidence of domestic violence, access and control over economic resources.

Freedom, right, and violence

One can link up freedom of choice and freedom to enjoy rights with the concept of women empowerment. Freedom of choice and rights constitute or envisage important parameter that propel concept of WE. Individual self-determination is a basic human rights .It is indispensable to the development of his sense of moral responsibilities.

Both freedom and security are important ; however, question is often raised as to whether women need more freedom or security. Viewed in a broad perspective, both are different, freedom is to do one what one desires and this freedom should be valued by others. Violation of freedom often leads to violation of security. In this way, both are interconnected. Tradition dictates that women are to be treated with respect. However, most of the women spend their entire lives in the well-sheltered environment of their homes, often devoid of any identity.

The spectrum of challenges an Indian woman has to face is massive. The extent of violence against the girl as foetus and infant shows how deep the bias against women is and why they will be secure only if India introspects and changes. As per the report of National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), the year 2015 has witnessed a reduction in crime against women as compared to 2014 with decrease of 3.1% in overall crimes rates against women. The year 2015 saw the registration of 3, 27,394 cases under the head of Crimes against Women as compared to 3,37, 922 cases in 2014.

Women's freedom of act and freedom of choice is likely to be violated and thereby leads to greater risk of social marginalization. In fact, greater number of missing women in India clearly demonstrates the low status of women in the family. India has witnessed decline in number of early marriage after passing of 2006 Prohibition of Child Marriage Act ; however, as per WHO report for 2013, India still tops the list of such case related to early marriage with 47% of all marriages that happened in country. Deeply entrenched rules, norms and practices shape the women's social relationship and this further influence behaviour, define value and freedom of choice.

Missing women

India is a democratic society where gender inequality is construed as the biggest impediment for creating an egalitarian and just society. However, the greater number of missing women in India clearly demonstrates the low status of women in the family. Missing of women is due to social choice and social behaviour. Hence gender injustice calls for conscious action. The concept of missing women was coined by Amartya Sen when he put forward a very pertinent estimation of 100 million missing women of which 80% of these total missing women are from India and China.

Sen coined the term of missing women basically to refer that in developing countries ratio of male to female is considerably low and trend is further declining and is basically due to the presence of deprivation caused by cultural mechanism such as tradition and value. All these resulted in the deaths of women due to discriminatory treatment in terms of priorities and preferences. It is out of place to argue that the traditional social inequality backed by customary laws and tradition, outweigh women survival advantages in society in general.

According to a study by Klasen and Wink (2002), close to 100 million women in Asia are missing (which includes having died because of discriminatory treatment in access to health and

nutrition or through pure neglect). China and India each has about 42.6 million missing women. Similarly, Asia-Pacific human development report published for UNDP in 2010 has similar kind of claim of missing women.

The report further indicates that the countries of South Asia are characterized with large gender gap and basic capabilities in term of education, health, nutrition and employment opportunity. As per 2014 social institution and gender index, more 90 million women have been missing around the world. Similarly UNFPA estimated that more than 117 women across the world are missing, largely due to the gender biased discrimination (in form of sex selection).

Property rights

Bina Agarwal has lamented that for women, effective rights in property are critically important, not just for their economic well-being but also for their political and social empowerment. There is also a strong correlation between landlessness and poverty. Land in women's hands not only enhances their own livelihood options, but also the welfare of their families. The early 20th century also saw the emergence of a number of women's organisations demanding inheritance rights for women in a predominantly patrilineal context.

With this development, a committee under the chairmanship of B N Rao was set up in the 1940s to look into the matter of women inheritance rights, divorce laws and related matters. These issues were also widely debated in central legislative assembly. However, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Jawaharlal Nehru were committed to the Bill but it was deferred till after the first general election of Independent India in 1951, because of resistance from conservative elements within the Congress.

The Hindu Succession Act, 1956, originally did not give daughters inheritance rights in ancestral property. They could only ask for a right to sustenance from a joint Hindu family. But this disparity was removed by an amendment to the

Act on September 9, 2005 (*Indian Express*, November 2, 2015).

A Hindu woman or girl will have equal property rights along with other male relatives for any partition made in intestate succession after September 2005, the Supreme Court has ruled. The apex court said the female inheritors would not only have the succession rights but also the same liabilities fastened on the property along with the male members (*The Hindu*, October 13, 2011). One can reasonably argue that new provisions under HSAA 2005 are proving to be somewhat counter-productive when it comes to practical application.

Undoubtedly, it is hailed as a constructive and practical step that can help to hammer out the issue of gender bias but the law will remain helpless if women are discriminated against. The property right is big deal in its own way and highly correlated with other rights and opportunities. This is, in fact, a kind of reform of existing Hindu laws based on tradition and religious sentiment. However, difficulties may come from the Hindu clerics.

Critics, considering the very nature of a patriarchal nation like India with past facts of unquestioned discrimination, have cited its dire potential consequences in the form of spikes in female infanticide, uncontrollable spirals of land fragmentation, and breakdown of the Hindu family system. If the same rights are given to the daughters as to a son, there will be uneasiness and tensions and every family will be ruined with litigation and it is also argued that granting daughters equal inheritance rights will fragment holdings and reduce farm productivity.

Customs' and 'customary law' have been used as a way to give a stamp of cultural authenticity on to what is in effect a denial of rights to property and land for many women across the country. Women were excluded from ownership right of land and it has been accepted that mechanization of agriculture benefited men because of their access to farm technology. In this regard, Sen and Jean Dreze point out that

due to the limited access in terms of women's paid work or control over family income and its distribution, their position within the family was adversely affected.

Separation of resources within the family and its cultural section, women may view greater autonomy as a desirable goal for themselves but in the context where household are organized along corporate line, based on the ideology of togetherness under the control of male head, autonomy to them is often denied. Moreover, women not always actually seek opportunity for separation of resources because it is neither socially acceptable nor individually desirable.

Role of the State

In a country which has a history of more than 3000 years of women oppression, the attempt at women emancipation is just 187 years old since the first legal action in women emancipation was taken by legally banning the practice of Sati in 1829. From 1829 to 1947, a number of laws were enacted aiming at bringing some reforms and changes in the existing position of women in society. In Pre-independence time, India experienced good number of women related movements against various social and religious practices that put women in vulnerable conditions. In fact, women in pre-independence period highly got influenced from the social reforms and women movements in Europe and North America during 19th century.

The contemporary period witnessed emergence of a good number of women organizations that played crucial role in relation to women emancipation and thereby empowerment. From Rammohan Roy to M K Gandhi and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, B R Ambedkar and beyond, social radicals have had to battle against various perverted forces of reaction and orthodoxy that was deeply entrenched in societal structure. Custom, tradition social practice and religious laws were all heavily loaded against the idea that all citizens should have equal rights.

In pre-independent India, the nature and content of women empowerment was determined largely

by the then existing colonial conditions. Similarly, question and debate regarding women empowerment during contemporary times was reflected in the form of colonial authority and complex socio-economic and political forces backed by narrative of womanhood (Anupama Roy, 2010).

In the post-Independence period, role of the State has become critically important so far as the issue of women empowerment is concerned. In post-independence period, we can see the shift in the role of the State. India is a democratic country where universalistic principles are very much at the core of its Constitution. However, to articulate those principles with fair and proper reorganization collectively is very questionable so far as the State's role in women empowerment is concerned.

The principle of gender equality is even enshrined in the Indian Constitution, by which the State over the years has been formulating various planning strategies in the line of action for women development and it has undergone various shifts of emphasis since the most significant changes occurred during the Fifth Five Year Plan with the shift from welfare to development.

And similarly during the Eighth Plan, there was a renewed emphasis on development of women as equal partners in the development process by making them partner of their development policy and finally in 9th five year plan it shifted to empowerment approach for the further amelioration women's existing position. The shifting role of state may be the consequence of women movement in the 70s that started raising its voice against the very nature of the development and sought for more women-centric development across the country.

The post-1970s period saw emergence of numerous feminist organizations formed autonomously from political parties. Women and question of genders were at forefront of these movements and the primary concerns of these organizations included violence against women,

as manifest in dowry deaths, the rape of women by police and security forces and domestic violence (Amrita Basu, 2010).

For instance Chipko movement in the Himalayas was started for saving the trees and along with it a demand arose considering women's share in local needs and resources of which women constitute a major part. Women actively participated in Chipko movement which challenged the very nature of state-sponsored development policy. Similarly the inclination of Indian state towards the issue of women and women's rights in the context of their religious community was clearly bespoken by the posture it exhibited in Shah Bhanu case in 1985.

And similarly the debate and demonstration following the incident of Sati in September 1987, in Deorala, a village in Rajasthan, reflected the manner in which the rights of Hindu women were similarly (like Shah Bhanu case 1985) imbricated with question of religious identity, and community autonomy (Anupama Roy, 2010). Both cases have brought an entire range of issues related to the religion and women rights which is an integral part of women empowerment.

In the 1980s onward, there sprang up rallying forces among women groups on the issue of reservation for women in elected bodies and basically due to which in the 1980s with 73rd and 74th amendment, a step, with an idea of democratization (from below) through empowerment was taken that emphasized reservation of seats up to 1/3rd in grassroots bodies to throw up new leadership from below and apart from putting in place institutions of local governance and decentralizing power structures, the amendments also sought to deepen democracy by ensuring that hitherto excluded social groups like women, SCs & STs were adequately represented in those bodies. It set in motion a process of political and economic self-determination at local level embodying what is called empowerment for women.

The current version of the bill, the 108th Amendment, seeks to reserve 33% of all seats in governing bodies at the Centre, State and Local

levels. And this bill is still lingering in between the two houses of which Rajya Shaba already passed it in 2010 but it has yet to get clear mandate from the Lower house. The profundity of passing of women reservation bill is clearly reflected from the observation made by Parliamentary Standing Committee Report (2008) on the Constitutional (108th Amendment) Bill which seeks to reserve one-third of all seats for women in the Lok Sabha and the State legislative assemblies.

The Bills have been introduced quite a number time since first introduced by H D Deve Gowda in 1996 but unfortunately no subsequent government has shown courage enough to justify the fate of bill. It is not a latent fact regarding presence and representation of women legislators in Indian Parliament since first election. However, a closer and more comprehensive look at whether there is substantial representation of women in the Parliament, in terms of numbers and as well as issues raised, reflect a rather dismal state of affairs. The global average for women in Parliaments stands at 22.4 % (*Indian folk*, 2016).

The nature and tradition of Indian politics clearly manifests that it has had patriarchal heredity and it would not be out of place to argue that our Parliament has been blatant with vicious circle of patriarchy. A critical and more encyclopedic perusal apropos substantial representation of women in the Indian Parliament, in terms of numbers, contemplates a rather dismal state of affairs.

As per the report compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) on the basis of information provided by National Parliaments of different countries by 1st December 2016, India ranked 145 out of 193 countries that classified by descending order of the percentage of women in the Lower and upper house or single House. In Lok Shaba 65, and in Rajya Shaba 27 women members are elected which is just 12% and 11.1% respectively out of total number of elected members in both houses. Out of these, 69.7% have relatives who are already in politics as per report published by Lokniti - Programme for Comparative Democracy, established in 1997.

The magnitude and efficacy of women reservation bill has been relevantly observed by Parliamentary Standing Committee (2008) in its report, which inter alia, said : “Reservation for women is needed to compensate for the social barriers that have prevented women from participating in politics and thus making their voices heard. It is of the opinion that this Bill is a crucial affirmative step in the right direction of enhancing the participation of women in the State legislatures and Parliament and increasing the role of women in democratization of the country”.

In the year 2001 National Policy for Empowerment of Women was drafted for creating an environment for women through economic and social policies, active protection of rights, equal access to decision-making and social sector needs, strengthening institutional support systems and legal machinery, and forging partnerships within civil society. It further proposed to make the legal system more responsive and gender sensitive to women’s needs.

Fifteen years after the last National Policy for Empowerment of Women in 2001, it was expected that the draft of the new policy circulated in 2016 would have new elements and greater insights. Instead, it appears to be a repeat of the old and a listing of new areas without enough to convince people that this is more than just a list of intentions (Niharika Bapna, 2016).

However, plausibility of this argument can be subjected to real implementation (how far this policy *been translated into reality*) of the policy that has been theoretically grafted in the draft of national policy for women empowerment. However, articulation of those principles with fair and proper reorganization of collectiveness seems very questionable so far as the State’s role in women empowerment is concerned.

Probable suggestions

Broadly speaking, there is in the offing a counter-culture movement which seeks to challenge the very basis of value and source of authority in modern culture and also tends to challenge the

irrational and objectionable part thereof. Its main target of attack is the structure of domination in society (where men folk taking rather a leading role) which seems to have lost its rational basis. These forms of counter-culture movement in Indianization form will definitely have considerable impact on the previously existing social –political-economic setup and will also be helpful in restoring the importance of women in a male-dominated society and is also one of the distinct features of such forms of movement.

India, in fact, needs a serious and well-channelized feminist or women’s movement in line with USA feminist movement. In spite of several theoretical and verbal commitments, country fails to throw up a certain concrete step that feasibly can help to widen the issue of attainment of women empowerment in general. This includes strengthening of gender responsive legislative framework with implementation in realistic manner, respect for women’s social and economic rights and freedom and freedom from violence.

The first thing that needs to be done in order to accomplish this task is to eliminate discriminatory laws in family, removal of discrepancies between civil and customary laws backed by religion. Creating opportunity and capabilities is important in the process of Women Empowerment. But quality of life of people also helps in this respect. It is important to realize that there is significant variation in the degree of socio-economic development among Indian states. Hence it is not feasible to develop a single model for empowering Indian women or a single blue print of state policies. But mere government intervention is not enough.

Better results can be produced by determined women citizens empowering themselves and being encouraged to do so by enlightened segments of society and public opinion One cannot think of WE in single whole rather it can be looked in demarcated and separate way i.e., not through the process of generalization of WE. How political arrangement can address human vulnerability and prior to that what form of vulnerability should be addressed.

Women's concerns have to be kept at the centre of public policy, developmental planning and governance, with recognition of their role as critical growth agents and as ambassadors of social change. Traditional conceptualization of treating women as the second class citizen in almost every case and what Simon De Bouviour plaintively dubbed as the 'second sex' based on the arrangement of family in the line of the principle of 'patrileneality' and 'patrilocality' have to be changed.

There is often a kind of infinite clash between religious rights and the new agenda of women's rights often backed by state policy and it needs to be cured and mitigated with proper assessment of the casual relation between these two issues. Apart from this, there is also need for a balancing act between those culturally sensitive approaches on one hand and women empowerment on other. One can reasonably argue that if the effort of channelizing the resources to women succeeds in empowering them then it will also succeed in bring a number of other options and opportunities which had previously been denied to them.

Women's oppression as a class by men and patriarchal structure are geographically and historically almost universal. Gender is linked with prestige and a claim of being man is man and is above women is very much linked with man's public role whereas women's role is linked up with just their role in relation with their male counterparts. Women are valued for their reproductive ability and their productive ability often fails to get symbolic attention and priority. Patriarchal logic of exclusion needs to be mitigated to extreme extent with focused positive and productive approach. And in terms of local governance decision-making processes at local level (specially in panchayat) needs to be better defined, (by avoiding politics of presence) its principle decision in democratic means so that possibility of power capture by few elite members, proxy participation and single point decision scale down at largest context.

A broader social attitude towards fairer sex needs to change if we have to reign in the growing

instances of crimes against women. Institutions and organizations that that are often lauded and seek to deliver resources for women empowerment on instrumentalist grounds may often fail to realize their full transformation potential which tends to level question against them whether they really want women empowerment. From the perusal of above discourse, one can reasonably argue that the issues concerning women's equality have become the decisive part of real politics of Indian democracy.

Conclusion

Ralws's idea of chain connection implies that in order to strengthen a chain we should start with strengthening its weakest link and then repeat the process by identifying the weakest link each occasion. Tackling deeply entrenched gender inequality in education, economic, sexual and productive health rights can maximize the country's chance of meeting the Sustainable Development Goals as well as commitment to the Beijing platform for action. India needs to transform its colossal women force into an effective human resource and this is possible only through the empowerment of women.

The onus of changing the status of women and empower them not just lies with state policy institutions, their policy or feminist movement. These elements do impact on realization women empowerment but there is something more required to accomplish this pious task. In India, empirical support of logic often has been overshadowed by justification of belief. As per Kamala Bhasin, a well known feminist, women are the last colony in the sense that their cheap labour is exploited by families, culture, religion, social parameters, patriarchal system etc., for serving its own narrow ends. She further laments that Indian men will have to change not to support women but to save themselves from being brutalized by centuries of exploitation to patriarchy.



Development of Female Education in India

Dr. M. Tarique Anwer*

[Women constitute almost half of the population of the world. Education for women is the best way to improve the health, nutrition and economic status of a household that constitutes a micro unit of a nation's economy. In this context, it can be argued that lack of woman education can be an impediment to the country's economic development.]

In India, women achieve far less education than that of men. As per the Census report 2001, the literacy rate of women is 54.16 per cent and that of men is 65.38 per cent. There has been a sincere effort to improve the education attainment of women by both government and voluntary organizations. The changes in the policies and infrastructural supports on primary, secondary and higher education reflect the initiatives of the Government of India towards women education. This paper examines the trends in women education, the investments on education and infrastructural supports in India.

The study has revealed that there had been significant progress in the performance of women education as discerned from female literacy levels and its change over time. It was also observed that the gaps between rural and urban female literacy rates are narrowing down. It is pragmatic that rural poverty acts as a driving factor for women's education slightly than as a barrier to women's education.

The significant influence of urbanization on women's education implied that urbanization had been playing a beneficial role in the attainment of women's education in India. At the same time, the drop-out rate had a negative effect on women's education. It was revealed that reduction in girls' drop-out rate is necessary for achieving women's education.

The initiatives of the government through investment and infrastructure in developing education in India were examined. With regard

to facilities in schools, it had improved significantly, but a lot more needs to be done.

Women Education in India

It is very important to know the historical background, if we are to make a study of status of women in India. It is not easy to find answers for questions like when did women start losing their status or who was responsible for this situation. The position that women occupied in the medieval and later the colonial period is of utmost importance. Women were never put on high pedestal in the Shastras.

Women's Education in Ancient India

It cannot be clearly stated whether equal rights between men and women prevailed or not during the Vedic period. But available sources show that liberal attitudes and practices pertaining to women did exist. Women were actively involved in religious and social matters. They had some freedom to choose their partner in marriage and a widow was permitted to remarry. As India started taking steps towards civilization, social discrimination increased. Jainism and Buddhism emerged as potent religious reform movements.

According to Buddha, women's spiritual capacities were equal to men's. "Buddhism began as a religion that treated women as equal to men in their capacity for personal spiritual development."¹ "The universal prejudices against women, who are said to be weak-minded, fickle, treacherous and impure are shared by the Jains and expressed in several passages of the canon and in the form of maxims."

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The high status that women enjoyed during early Vedic period gradually started deteriorating in the late Vedic period. Lineage began to be traced in the male line and sons were the sole heirs to family property. As the economic and social status of sons began to rise, the position of women saw a steep decline.

The position of women reached an all-time low during the age of the Dharmashastras. It was during this age that codes of conduct prescribing behaviour norms for women were evolved. This period saw the exclusion of women from both economic and religious sphere. During the period of Dharmashastra, child marriage was encouraged and widow marriage was looked down upon. The birth of girl child was considered as an ill omen and many parents went to the extent of killing the female infants.

The practice of Sati became quite wide spread because of the ill treatment meted out to widows. Although in the Vedic period women had access to education in India, they had gradually lost this right. In cultural reality, the women enjoyed a privileged position in the Vedic period. The women had special customs, rituals and spirituality, with which men were not allowed to interfere.

Women's Education in Medieval Period

The condition of Women in society deteriorated more during the medieval period with the entrance of Muslims. At this point of time several evil practices like child-marriage, sati, and female infanticide were practiced largely. 'Purdah' system was started. These women were also forced to practice 'Zenana'. Rajput women of Rajasthan practiced 'Jauhar'. Polygamy was common in Hindu Kshatriyas.

At the same time many women excelled in arts, literature, and music. Women were also rulers in the medieval period. Some of the great women rulers were Razia Sultana, the only woman monarch to rule the throne of Delhi. The Gond queen Durgavati ruled for 15 long years, before she lost the battle to Asaf Ali emperor Akbar's

general. Chand Bibi also fought the Mughals in 1590s. Nur Jahan is still considered as the most effective ruler. In spite of all these successful women the condition of poor Indian women was the same.

At this time, girls were married at a very tender age. Sati was also practiced where women were forced to jump in the burning funeral pyre of their dead husband. Devdasi tradition was common in southern India where girls were married to deity or trees. The Bhakti movement tried to restore women's position. Mirabai was most popular figure of the Bhakti movement. In this period, education for women was not common at every level, only few girls of rich and famous families could receive the basic and religious education.

Women's Education in British Period

In the British period there was revival of interest in women's education in India. During this period, various socio-religious movements led by eminent persons like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar emphasized on women's education in India. Mahatma Jyotiba Phule and Periyar were leaders of the lower castes in India who took various initiatives to make education available to the women of India.

Women's Education after Independence

Women's education got a fillip after the country got independence in 1947 and since then the government has taken various measures to provide education to all women. As a result, women's literacy rate has grown over the three decades and the growth of female literacy has in fact been higher than that of male literacy rate. While in 1971 only 22% of Indian women were literate, by the end of 2001, 54.16% females were literate.

The growth of female literacy rate is 14.87% as compared to 11.72 % of that of male literacy rate. The Constitution of India guarantees the right to equality to all Indian women without discrimination. The literacy rate before independence was 2.6% rose which in 1961

increased to 15.3% and 50% by the year 2001. And now, according to the 2011 Census, the male literacy rate is 82.14 while female literacy rate is 65.46.

Women's Education in Modern Period

Kerala and Mizoram are the only states in India that have achieved universal female literacy rates. The improvement in social and economic status of women is said to be one of the reasons for literacy. In cities the literacy rate is almost equal between girls and boys in the country; however, the rate in rural areas continues to be less than the boys. 40% of the centers under NFE, (non formal education) programs are set apart for women.

According to statistics of women education in India, today 0.3 million NFE centers have primary education to 0.12 million girls out of 7.42 million children. However, in tribal areas there is not much of a gender bias as compared to all other castes, tribal community statistics show lower male ratio in spite of much low income, literacy, education and other facilities several efforts are being made towards women education and empowerment. The government is taking steps to increase the rate of women education and employment.

Women Empowerment through Education

Women Empowerment is a global issue and discussion on women's political rights are at the forefront of many formal and informal campaigns worldwide. The concept of women empowerment was introduced at the international women conference at NAROIBI in 1985. Education is a milestone of women empowerment because it enables them to respond to the challenges, to confront their traditional role and change their life. So, we can't neglect the importance of education in reference to women empowerment

India is poised to becoming superpower, a developed country by 2020. The year 2020 is fast approaching; it is just 3 year away. This can become reality only when the women of this nation become empowered. India presently

accounts for the largest number of illiterates in the world. Literacy rate in India has risen sharply from 18.3% in 1951 to 64.8% in 2001 in which enrolment of women in education has also risen sharply, from 7% to 54.16% during the period. Despite the importance of women education, unfortunately only 39% of women are literate among 64% of men.

Within the framework of a democratic polity, our laws, development policies, plans and programmes have aimed at women's advancement in different spheres. From the fifth five year plan (1974-78) onwards, there has been a marked shift in the approach to women's issues from welfare to development. In recent years, the empowerment of women has been recognized as the central issue in determining the status of women.

The National Commission of Women was set up by an Act of Parliament in 1990 to safeguard the right and legal entitlements of women. The 73rd and 74th Amendments (1993) to the Constitution of India have provided for reservation of seats in the local bodies of panchayats and municipalities for women, laying a strong foundation for their participation in decision-making at the local level.

Barriers and Problems to Women Education

In spite of certain outstanding examples of individual achievements, and a definite improvement in their general condition over the years, it remains true that Indian women still constitute a large body of under - privileged citizens. Women, of course, do not form a homogenous group in class or caste terms. Nevertheless, they face distinctive problems that call for special attention.

The Backward Classes Commission set up by the Government of India in 1953 classified women of India as a backward group requiring special attention. The Ministry of Education clubs girls with Scheduled Castes and Tribes as the three most backward groups in education. The educational, economic, political and social

backwardness of women makes them the largest group hindering the process of social change.

It is inevitable that when this 'backward' group has the major responsibility of bringing up future generations, the advancement of society cannot be rapid or take any significant form of development. In the report of the committee appointed by the National Council for Women's Education it was emphatically stated that what was needed to convert the equality of women from *de jure* to *de facto* status was widespread education for girls and women and a re-education of men and women to accept new and scientific attitudes towards each other and to themselves.

A changing society and a developing economy cannot make any headway if education, which is one of the important agents affecting the norms of morality and culture, remains in the hands of traditionalists who subscribe to a fragmented view of the country's and the world's heritage. The differences between the positions of men and women in the society will not lessen; leave alone disappear, as long as there are differences between the education levels of men and women.

Inadequate education or no education is the most important factor contributing to the backwardness of our masses, especially women. The low literacy among women brings down the national literacy rate. This gap which exists between the literacy rates of the two sexes also exists between the enrolment of girls and boys at all levels of education. Right from the primary school to the university, we find that the number of girl students is considerably lower than boys.

The plight of women, in terms of education is further compounded by the negative attitude of parents toward female education. Some parents are usually reluctant to send their girl child for formal education especially to higher levels like their male counterpart. Another problem closely related to this is the reluctance to acquire Western education and misunderstanding on the part of the girls themselves about the values of the

acquisition of formal education. In education, equity means equal access to good schooling.

Restricted access to education by women in this country is profoundly rooted in history, religion, culture, the psychology of self, law, political institutions and social attitudes which interact in several ways to limit women's access to formal education when compared with their male counterparts. It has been observed that Indian women are lagging behind their counterparts in developed and some developing nations due to the late start in educating them.

This is caused by our traditions and culture which are hostile to women. This tradition reduces them to kitchen manageresses and producers of babies. Thus, their education ideally, is expected to end in kitchen, a condition which ironically is detested by many parents thereby discouraging their investment in girl-child education.

Other problems against women education include the familiar problems like lack of funds, inadequate facilities, inadequate manpower, sexual harassment, conflicting societal role expectations, government policies and lack of political will power to implement the entire educational programme.

The inferiority complex observable in Indian women can be attributed to the influence of environmental manipulation. Through the traditional socialization process of the typical society, women are made to accept negative self-fulfilling prophecy, stereotyping and stigmatization that they are members of a weaker sex. At present, the forces which combine to hamper women's education and development in India could be viewed broadly to include denial of access to education, early marriage, confinement to solitary living, subjugation by culture to accept choices forced on them, discrimination and harassment at work, political disenfranchisement from elective and political appointment and exposure to cruel mourning rites upon the death of their husband.

Present Scenario

In spite of the forceful intervention by a bastion of female privilege, feminist critics, constitutional guarantees, protecting laws and sincere efforts by the state governments and Central government through various schemes and programmes over the last six decades and above all, the United Nation's enormous pressure with regard to the uplift of the plight of women, education is still in the state of an enigma in India for several reasons.

The 2011 Census report indicates that literacy among women is only 65.46 per cent, which is virtually disheartening to observe that the literacy rate of women in India is even much lower to national average i.e. 74.04. The growth of women's education in rural areas is very slow. This obviously means that still large womenfolk of our country are illiterate, the weak, backward and exploited. Moreover, education is also not available to all equally. Gender inequality is reinforced in education which is proved by the fact that the literacy rate for the women is only 65.46% against 82.14% of men as per 2011 Census.

According to Table I, in pre-Independence period literacy rate for women had a very poor spurt in comparison to literacy rate of men. This is witnessed from the fact that literacy rate of women has risen from 0.7 % to 7.3 % where as the literacy rate of men has risen from 9.8 % to 24.9 % during these four decades. During the post- independence period, literacy rates have shown a substantial increase in general. However the literacy rate of males has almost tripled over the period e.g. 25% in 1951 and 76 % in 2001. Surprisingly the female literacy rate has increased at a faster pace than the male literacy during the decades 1981 -2001. The growth is almost 6 times e.g. 7.9 % in 1951 and 54 % in 2001.

Table 1: Literacy Rate in India

Years	Persons	Males	Females
1901	5.3	9.8	0.7
1911	5.9	10.6	1.1

1921	7.2	12.2	1.8
1931	9.5	15.6	2.9
1941	16.1	24.9	7.3
1951	16.7	24.9	7.3
1961	24.0	34.4	13.0
1971	29.5	39.5	18.7
1981	36.2	46.9	24.8
1991	52.1	63.9	39.2
2001	65.38	76.0	54.0
2011	74.04	82.14	65.46

Source: *Census of India (2011)*

From this analysis one can infer that still the female literacy rate (only half of the female population are literates) is lacking behind male literacy rate (three fourth of the male population are literates). The rate of school drop-outs is also found to be comparatively higher in case of women. This higher rate of illiteracy of women is undoubtedly attributing for women's dependence on men and to play a subordinate role. The lack of education is the root cause for women's exploitation and negligence.

Only literacy can help women to understand India's constitutional and legislative provisions that are made to strengthen them. Thus promoting education among women is of great importance in empowering them to accomplish their goals on par with men in different spheres of life.

Conclusion

It can be concluded from the above mentioned appraisal that there have been intensive efforts to encourage girls to attend schools, which would contribute to higher literacy in future. The study also exposed that there are numerous infrastructural barriers to women education in India. The study calls for focused approach towards escalating women-centred educational communications so as to reduce the women drop-

out rates and to improve female literacy levels in India.

According to the Country Report of the Government of India, education of girls is the most powerful tool to change of position of women in society. Education also brings a reduction in inequalities and functions as a means of improving their status within the family. To encourage the education of women at all levels and for dilution of gender bias in providing knowledge and education, there is a need to establish more schools, colleges and universities even exclusively for women in the state.

To bring more girls, especially from marginalized families of BPL, in mainstream education, the government is providing a package of concessions in the form of providing free books, uniform, boarding and lodging, clothing for the hostiliers, mid-day meals, scholarships, free circles and so on.

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Women's Participation in Governance of J&K

Salfie Muzaffar*

[In this brief article, while emphasizing on the need for increased political participation by women as a sine non qua for strengthening the process of democracy, the author laments that female political participation, especially at the grassroots level in J&K has thus remained a myth and he recommends some suggestions that can be helpful in transforming this 'myth' into reality. Ed.]

Strengthening of democracy in a country entails positive participation of all the sections of the society at the grassroots level. Gender equality and gender equity are emerging as the major challenges to the global development debate. As the Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen has pointed out, "Democracy is not only the goal of development; it is primary means of development."¹

Women's participation in political process is important for strengthening democracy and for their struggle against marginalization and oppression. Emergence of women as a strong political stakeholder would change the present scenario of polity of the country. In the legislature they can change the discourse and bring the attention towards problems faced by them. They can form policy in feministic perspective so that their discrimination, inequality, is eradicated.²

There can be no real progress if women of a country are not made partners in the process of decision making, because it is women who can gauge the problem of women folk facing at local level. Mahatma Gandhi believed that full and balanced development of the nation and establishment of a just society is possible only when women participate actively and fully in the political deliberations of the nation. They have proved that they are less corrupt. They

maintain transparency and accountability by their involvement in public life.³

Though women's participation in decision making has increased, especially the women in age group from 25-40. But their participation in decision making and policy formulation can be felt as they are steered by the men folk. Some scholars are arguing that most of the women have assumed this role not by their own conviction but their husbands, fathers or brothers have compelled them to take this role so they are directed by males. Also the officials in bureaucracy neglect the demands and needs of the poor women.⁴

Women's participation in J&K

The introduction of local self-government in J&K commenced with the promulgation of the Panchayat Regulations, No. 1 of 1935 by Maharaja Hari Singh of J&K. In 1936 a special department of Panchayat and Rural Development was established to administer the 1935 regulations.⁵

In 1951 the Panchayat Raj Institutions were sought to re-establish by an act defining their features, functions and allied objectives. Encouraged by the concerns shown by the Union government to further institutionalize the Panchayats, the J&K government passed the J&K Panchayat Act 1958 to "make better provisions for the administration of Panchayati Raj Institutions in J&K". The Jammu & Kashmir Panchayat Act 1989 is the

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latest on the democratic laundry list of the state. “The Act of 1989 is the harbinger of the second democratic upsurge in the J&K.⁶

Problems

Though at present times, the women’s political participation in J&K has increased ; nevertheless, still there are some problems which are as follow:

- 1 Women were elected to the grassroots level in J&K in 2011 in which out of 4128 Sarpanch posts in the 22 districts of the state, only 29 women managed to win the elections, with a dismal success rate of less than 1% (0.70%). According to the data compiled by the Chief Electoral Officer of the state, there is no woman Sarpanch in 10 of 22 districts of the state, as male candidates have won all the posts in the districts.⁷
2. The Panchayats, as per the State Act, are not democratically structured at all the three levels. The principle of direct election of the Panchayat, for instance, is applied only at the village level, neither the Block level Panchayat nor the District level Panchayat are the directly elected representatives of the people and hence women as margins are at the receiving end.⁸
3. Thirdly, women’s reservation in the Act was limited to the level of Panches and was not extended to the level of Sarpanchs. It was further specified only at the level of Village Panchayat and not at the other two levels.
4. Fourthly, the issue of honorarium to Panches and Sarpanchs is still not resolved. The government announcement made any number of times—that the Sarpanch will get an honorarium of Rs.2000 and Panch Rs.1000 per month respectively—has not been implemented till date. The Panchayat Conference, held at Kashmir University in

2013, highlighted that many women Panches voiced their demand for it not as an employment package but as a cushion to face odds in an otherwise extraordinary political situation in Kashmir.

5. This is also thought to be necessary to curb lower level corruption in development schemes executed at the Panchayat level where a nexus has emerged between Panches, contractors and lower functionaries of the Rural Development Departments.⁹
6. One more hurdle in the way of their participation is political unrest of the State. Majority of women feel insecure to participate in the mainstream politics. As many people who tried to participate in the elections felt the soft target of bullets of the militants. It has been estimated about 100 people were killed over a decade in the valley, who were suspected to participate or were about to participate in the mainstream politics. So their participation has become myth.

Solution to transform Myth into Reality

The women’s political participation in the State is not only a constitutional binding but a democratic necessity as well. Hence there is need for the following steps to be taken to enhance female participation in the governance of J&K:

1. Workable linkages should be established between the village, block and district level governing bodies to allow smooth transfer of funds and coordination of functions.
2. The elections to all the three-tier Panchayats must be held regularly.
3. The political parties in the State as political agencies should provide the necessary space to women in their party apparatus so that they

may in turn open the political space for women.

4. Women's economic empowerment should be taken up simultaneously so that one feeds into other to empower them finally.
5. Women's participation in local governance has also the potential to turn them into active peace activists so that they establish themselves as social connectors of an aching society.
6. Both men and women should be trained about the importance of social equilibrium in the society.
7. Educated and socially conscious women need to join the Panchayati Raj movement so that the power-sharing arrangement becomes meaningful.
8. The 33 per cent reservation of women must be extended to the level of Sarpanchs.
9. The education about women empowerment should be made part of the school curriculum so that women's political participation is further strengthened. The students at school level should be informed about the role of iconic Kashmiri women who played a leading role in political movements in the past along with the contribution of those women administrators who are working in different walks of life at present.
10. Training courses/workshops for women should be organised on a regular basis in the local language at the block level in order to educate them to address development and gender-related issues.
11. A model women-headed Panchayat ward with a special package for development from various funding agencies may be established

so as to boost the morale of the elected women members.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, one can say that there is need to conduct dialogue among different stakeholders to ensure political participation of women in letter and spirit. To influence and lead effectively, women representatives must develop and use legitimate power. Women MLAs and M.Ps must develop close contact with women activists to encourage them for local governance in order to transform the myth of women's participation in governance into reality.

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Perspectives on Women Empowerment

Salagare M B*

[The plight of women in rural India in socioeconomic and political spheres is more depressed than that of their urban counterparts. Although these women have been contributing significantly to the social and economic progress of the country, their participation in development programmes has not been appreciated. Hence little place is there for women in development programmes and they are treated only as passive beneficiaries rather than active contributors.]

During the last five decades women have entered in increasing numbers into salaried and remunerative occupations as well as professions hitherto reserved exclusively for men¹. In every walk of life we find them making their presence felt and very often they excel and surpass their counterparts. With the advent of freedom, Indian women have recaptured their individuality, dignity and respect. Woman's social, legal and political status in our developing nation is fast undergoing a change.

Concept of Empowerment

The dictionary meaning of empowerment refers "to give power" or "authority" and to "enable" or permit" Women empowerment is multi dimensional, involves the personal, social, psychological economical and political aspects and has widened the growing concerns of women's issues and movements for gender equality & social justice..

Women's empowerment has five components:

- i. women's sense of self-worth;
- ii. Their right to have and to determine choices;
- iii. Their right to have access to opportunities and resources;

- iv. Their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home;
- v. and their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally.²

Panchayat Raj Institution

73RD Amendment

The idea that produced the 73rd Amendment was not a response to pressure from the grassroots, but to an increasing recognition that the institutional initiatives of the preceding decade had not delivered, that the extent of rural poverty was still much too large and thus the existing structure of government needed to be reformed. The Constitutional (73rd Amendment) Act, passed in 1992 by the Narasinha Rao government, came into force on April 24, 1993. It was meant to provide constitutional sanction to establish "democracy at the grassroots level as it is at the state level or national level".

Realizing such a disappointing state of affairs of women, the Balwantrao Mehta (1957) and Ashok Mehta (1978) committees, considered the need for involving women in the political and developmental processes through Panchayat Raj institutions by means of co-option. This, according to the said committees, may provide a

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channel to integrate women into the developmental and political processes. Accordingly, women have been inducted into the Panchayat Raj Institutions in almost all the states in India. But their representation has been nominal and whoever was being inducted, mostly turned out to be passive members.

The co-option was done only in letter and not in the spirit of getting women involved meaningfully in the political and development activities of the Panchayat Raj bodies, therefore, co-option did not bring any perceptible impact on women's participation in Panchayat Raj institutions. As a result, women did not gain much from the political and development processes at grassroots level.

Of late, it has been realized that unless women are involved in the development process, the overall socio-economic development of the country cannot be fully realized. Further, the participation of women in political sphere has been felt essential because they could only represent women's opinions adequately and deal effectively with the problems affecting women and children. Further they can be effective link between women and the development functionaries and ensure as many development benefits as possible for women and children.

Hence reservation of seats for women has been introduced in Panchayat Raj bodies in accordance with the constitutional provisions (73 Amendment). In this regard, Karnataka State became model to the other states by giving a relatively better statutory representation (25 percent) for women on its Panchayat Raj bodies by the Panchayat Raj Act of 1983 even before the recent constitutional amendment came into force. Thus women in Karnataka got adequate scope to participate effectively in the political

and development processes on an equal plane with male members.

Corporate Objectives towards Women Empowerment

The Women Empowerment Programme aims to organise women, build their capabilities, increase their confidence, and initiate income-generating projects for creating supplementary livelihood in the community. With the objective of bringing social and economic development of women and improving their status in the community, programmes are implemented by many corporates in the name of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). CSR is operating a business which meets or excels the ethical, legal, commercial and public expectations that society has from the business. Major objectives of corporate towards women empowerment are as follows:

- Promising platform to women
- Campaigns for weaker section of women
- Employment at different levels
- Overall development of women
- Financial assistance to needy women.
- Motivate deserving women in different field.
- Protect the right and interest of women.
- Battle against gender discrimination

Suggestions to the Corporates for the Women Empowerment

1. Corporate social responsibility is more than merely a topic to discuss about changing fate and face of society but it should be adopted very seriously and implemented strictly by all the businesses

2. Country like India should specifically advocate for corporate social responsibility as it can be possible remedy for many issues related with women like illiteracy, poverty, labour, unemployment and all kinds of atrocities perpetrated against women.
3. Women related issues need important attention from government, society and especially from corporate sector.
4. Corporate can provide finance to overcome some unsolved issues if properly utilized.
5. Corporate sector should regularly arrange awareness campaigns on gender discrimination.
6. Corporates can definitely empower women right from encouraging them to get education till getting respectable livelihood to become productive citizens.
7. Women related issues at work like sexual harassment though comes under legal framework but it can be stopped by corporate if internal control within organisation gives due importance to women related rules³.

Conclusion

An excellent aspect of panchayat raj institution is that it has made provision for reservation for women in panchayats. On account of this women, have entered the politics at grassroots level. Women representatives have stated that reservation of seats in Panchayat Raj Institution may help women to improve financially, socially and to promote their participation in politics, hence, this provision has to be continued in future also.

In order to contribute something for the women empowerment, many corporate companies are designing their policies, programmes and

implementing systematically. CSR started with the notion of development of hard infrastructure by the time moved towards development of soft infrastructure and recent trends of CSR are concentrating on development of humanities. The result is the changing face of corporate sector towards community development revolving around women empowerment⁴.

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NTFPs for Well-Being of the Rural Poor

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[The vast natural resources of India's forests including Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) such as medicinal and aromatic plants, leaves, fruits, seeds, resins, gums, bamboos and canes offer employment that provides up to half the income of about 25 per cent of the country's rural labour force. However, poor harvesting practices and over-exploitation in the face of increasing market demand are threatening the sustainability of these resources and thus the livelihoods of forest-dependent rural people for their well-being.]

Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) have been identified as important to rural livelihoods as an alternative land-use option as well as in fulfilling an important safety-net function although empirical evidence on the latter is limited. With drastic reduction in the income from minor forest produce, unemployed local people are indulging in illicit felling of trees to sustain their livelihood. NTFP are emerging globally as a tool for the establishment of sustainable forest communities.

They provide employment to various sectors of society, draw on local expertise and culture and increase the outputs of forests. Therefore, promotion of NTFPs species through productivity improvement and value addition is necessary to reverse this trend and to sustain the livelihood of the rural families who have been dependent on NTFP since ages. To secure their livelihoods, people adopt multiple livelihood strategies including using NTFPs.

NTFPs constitute an important source of livelihood for millions of people from forest fringe communities across the world. In India, NTFPs are associated with socio-economic and cultural life of forest dependent communities inhabiting in wide ecological and geo-climatic conditions throughout the country.

Objectives:

The main objectives of present study are

1. To Know the Non-Timber Products available in the Forest,
2. To Highlight the Poverty Alleviation through NTFPs,
3. To Examine the Reasons for the Weak Trade of NTFPs.

NTFPs as Source of Income

The contribution of NTFPs to income varies across ecological settings, seasons, income level, etc. They contribute to improving nutrition either as part of the family diet or as a means to achieve household food security. It has been established that a significant number of rural, tribal and overall forest dependent communities derive a significant part of their food, nutrition, healthcare needs and income from NTFPs. They also contribute to the well-being of rural households, particularly the poor, in terms of food security, nutrition, health and subsistence.

A number of factors, including a policy vacuum, non-destructive harvesting, destruction of natural habitats, bushfires, population growth and high demand, are hindering the use and development of NTFPs. NTFPs are like honey, fruits, nuts, gum, biochemically active plants and others including ecotourism and fresh air and water, excluding fuel wood, which come from a forest.

Non-Timber Products Available in the Forest

Minor forest products include all products obtainable from the forests other than wood and

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thus comprise products of vegetable and animal origin. Some of the important forest products of minor nature described as under:

1. **Grasses, Bamboos and Canes:** Different types of grasses grow in different parts of the country; Most of the grasses are used as fodder or for thatching, but some grasses are better used for cordage, matting and as an important raw material for manufacturing paper. Grasses like sabai, bhabar and elephant are useful for papermaking. Sabai is the most important grass, which provides the basic raw material for paper industry. It is a perennial grass, which grows on the bare slopes of the sub-Himalayan tract and in Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and western part of Himachal Pradesh.

Annually over two million tonnes of sabai grass is collected and supplied to paper mills. The roots of khus grass are used for making cooling screens. Munj, a tall grass is used for making chinks, stools, chairs, etc. and the leaves are twisted into strings. Bamboo belongs to grass family but grows like a tree.

The bulk of production comes from Andhra Pradesh, Tripura, Rajasthan, Mizoram, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Manipur, Punjab, Nagaland, and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Bamboo is called the poor man's timber as it provides cheap material for roofing, walling, flooring, matting, basketry, cordage, cart hoods and a host of other things. Young tender culm is eaten; the seed is collected and eaten as grain. However, the most significant commercial use of the bamboo is for making pulp for the production of paper and newsprint.

Of the total bamboo consumed in India, 32 per cent is for construction, 30 per cent for rural use, 17 per cent for making paper pulp, 7 per cent for packaging and the remaining 14 per cent is used for other purposes. Cane

grows abundantly in moist forests of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. These are major producers of cane in India. Some parts of Assam, West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Orissa are also suitable for growth of cane. It is mainly used for making strings, ropes, mats, bags, baskets, furniture, walking sticks, umbrella handles, sports goods, etc.

2. **Oils:** A large number of plants and trees which grow in Indian forests contain several types of oils which are used to manufacture soaps, cosmetics, confectionary, pharmaceutical preparations and many more things. Commercially important oils are those obtained from sandalwood, lemon grass, khus and eucalyptus globules.

3. **Gums and Resins:** Gums are exuded from the stems or other parts of different trees, partly as a natural phenomenon and partly by injury to the bark or wood or blazing the tree. The most important gum is Karaya obtained from *Sterculia urens* trees of dry deciduous forests. It is useful in textiles, cosmetics, confectionery, medicines, inks, pastes, cigar, etc. Madhya Pradesh is the largest producer of gums in India. This state produced 808 tonnes of gum in 1999-2000. Madhya Pradesh is closely followed by Maharashtra with a production of 753 tonnes.

Andhra Pradesh with 669 tonnes is the third largest producer. Gujarat and Karnataka are other producers. A large proportion of Indian gums are exported to the USA, the UK and France. Resin obtained mainly from Chir pine, which grows in the Himalayan region in Arunachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and some parts of Punjab. The main producers are Arunachal Pradesh, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Some resin produce is Manipur also.

Crude resin consists of two principal constituents; a liquid known as oil of turpentine (25%) and a solid called resin (75%). They have separated after distillation. Turpentine is mainly useful for paints and varnish as a solvent, synthetic camphor, pine oil, disinfectants, pharmaceutical preparations, wax, boot polish and industrial perfumes. Resin is an important raw material for several industries of which paper, paint, varnish, soap, rubber, water proofing, linoleum, oils, greases, adhesive tape, phenyl, plastic, etc. are important.

4. **Fibres and Flosses:** Fibres are obtained from the tissues of some trees. Most of such fibres are coarse and are used for rope making. However, the fibres of Ak (*Calotropis* spp.) is fine, strong and silky which is used for making fishing nets. Flosses are obtained from certain fruits and used for stuffing pillows, mattresses, etc.
5. **Leaves:** Different types of leaves are obtained from the trees and used for different purposes, the most important being the tendu leaves used as wrappers for bidis. The tendu tree grows in large numbers in Madhya Pradesh Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh. About six lakh tonnes of tendu leaves produced every year in India. With 246 thousand tonnes, Madhya Pradesh is the largest producer in India. Bihar with 53.5 thousand tonnes is the second largest producer. Andhra Pradesh (51.2 thousand tonnes), Maharashtra (33 thousand tonnes) and Gujarat (12.9 thousand tonnes) are also important producers.

Some quantity of leaves is also produced in Rajasthan, Karnataka and West Bengal. Tendu leaves and bidis exported to Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and some other Asian and African countries. Leaves of *Bauhinia vahlii* are converted into plates and leaf cups and used as wrappers by vendors of sweets.

6. **Drugs, Spices and Poisons:** Thousands of drugs are obtained from fruits, flowers, roots, stems and leaves of different types of trees, plants and herbs. Quinine is the most important drug obtained from the Indian forests. Spices are used to add aroma or pungency to food to flavour certain dishes. The important spices are galangal, cinnamon or Dalchini, lesser cardamom (*Chhoti Ilayachi*), greater cardamom (*Badi Ilayachi*), etc. Indian forests produce some poisonous substances, which can act as good medicines when taken in small, regular doses. Some outstanding poisons are strychnine, aconite, datura, ganja etc.

7. **Edible Products:** Fruits, flowers, leave or roots of various species provide edible products. Mango, bel, ber, jamun, khirni, phalsa, sitaphal, etc. are important fruits obtained from the forests. Among the kernels cashew nut, akhrot or walnut, achar, chilgoza and kimal are important. Amla, anar, imli, karaunda, munga, kachnar, kaith, mushroom, zimikand, guchchi, etc. are important products used as pickles or vegetables. Palmyrah, palm, mahua, and corolla used to obtain liquor and their seeds eaten. Tejpata, used for flavouring curries are leaves of a small evergreen tree.

8. **Animal Products:** Lac is the most important animal product obtained from the forests. It is secreted by a minute insect (*Laccifer lacca*) which feeds on the saps of a large variety of trees like palash, peepul, kusum, sissoo, sisir, kul, gular, ber, banyan, jujuba and ghont. These trees grow extensively in the Chhota Nagpur plateau of Jharkhand, eastern districts of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, western border areas of West Bengal, eastern part of Maharashtra, northern districts of Orissa and to a lesser extent in Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka and Punjab. India practically holds a monopoly in the production of lac.

The current annual production of lac in India is about 18.5 thousand tonnes, which is about

85 per cent of the world production. The main producing states are Jharkhand (40%), Chhattisgarh (30%), W. Bengal (15%), Maharashtra (5%), Gujarat, U.P., Orissa and Assam. About 95% of the total production is exported. Our main customers are the USA, Russia, Germany and U.K. At present it is widely used in medicines, plastics, electrical insulation material, dyeing silk, making bangles, paints, sealing wax, gramophone records, leather and wood finishing, ornamental articles, etc. The other animal products are honey, wax, silk moths, horns and hides of dead animals, ivory, antlers of deer, etc.

The major and minor forest products are used for various purposes and form an important sector of Indian economy. About 3.5 million persons are engaged in different forest activities. About two per cent of the government revenue comes from the forests. There has been a steady increase in government revenue from the forests. In some states like Maharashtra, Uttaranchal, Karnataka, Kerala, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, gross revenue from forests is far greater than the expenditure on forest activities. Some foreign exchange has also earned by exporting forest products.¹

9. **Medicinal Plants:** Natural barrier, higher average annual rainfall makes the region rich species diversity and more endemism. Medicinal plants are the important NTFPs that are utilized by human beings for the treatment of different diseases such as – malaria, dysentery, jaundice, abdominal disorders, cut and wounds, fractures etc. Commonly used parts of the medicinal plants are leaves, barks, roots, rhizome, fruits, young twigs, whole plants etc.

10. **Wild Edible Plants:** Wild edible plants are another set of NTFPs that provide variety of

seasonal vegetables and fruits to the local people.²

Policy Framework for a Sustainable Promotion of NTFPs

The forest department has extended its boundaries almost to the doorstep of many tribal villages, instead of leaving open a strip, at least one kilometer in width, between the villages and the forest boundary. Areas were also included in the forests, which had no tree growth at all, and heavy fines are imposed on tribal encroachers.

The experience shows that the forest policy seeks to protect forest wealth from forest dwellers. In estimating the loss caused by the disturbance of the ecosystem, the dangers posed to the lives and economy of forest dwellers by floods and landslides are ignored. The afforestation programme gives top priority to quick-growing species that can be used as raw material for forest-based industries. Even ecological considerations have often overlooked.

On the other hand, the movements by the forest dwellers - Chipko, Bhoomi Sena, Silent Valley Movement, Jharkhand Movement - are insisting on a planned strategy incorporating the needs of the local ecology, local economy and the national interests. Only a people-oriented forest policy and development strategy will be able to bring the forest dwellers in the mainstream of national life without adversely affecting the ecosystem.³

An appropriate policy framework for a sustainable promotion of NTFPs, domestication of NTFPs, improving harvesting and processing techniques are necessary to facilitate food security, reduction of poverty and improved livelihoods, particularly for the economically-marginalized and forest-dependent communities. Facilities pertaining to storage, grading, processing and value addition through convergence of existing schemes and programs in private and public sectors should promote and create for the well-being of the rural poor.⁴

Poverty Alleviation through NTFPs

On account of their potential role in livelihood and poverty alleviation, NTFPs have gained new attention in international debates that make it urgent for governments to put in place pro-poor reforms in the forest sector to protect and enhance the livelihood benefits that forests provide to the poor. If this is to be realized, local communities will get more secure rights if they are to be involved in managing and protecting large areas of forests globally.

However, in many countries, regulatory frameworks are not clearly defined or do not provide adequate security of tenure for forest dependent communities. Investment in locally controlled forestry requires certain preconditions. With greater information, effective consultations with stakeholders and strategic approaches to policy-making, NTFP laws and policies can promote ecological sustainability, equity in trade and improved rural livelihoods.

The NTFP policies work best when incentives and supportive legal frameworks are promoted, including government support for producer, trade and processing groups, market access and premium prices through certification, tax breaks outreach education on new policies and laws. In some cases, particularly when there is sudden and high commercial demand, a more involved regulatory framework is also necessary, including permits, quotas, taxes and restrictions on trade. Governments will need to approach NTFP regulation in ways that reflect the financial, ecological and social costs and benefits of such actions, government implementation capacity and the likelihood of compliance.

The Reasons for the Weak Trade of NTFPs

In the specific context of NTFP gatherers, there are several factors for weak bargaining position *vis-a-vis* the traders, even for those products, which are not nationalized. The reasons are as follows:-

1. **Restrictions on the Free Movement of NTFPs:-** Laws restricting free movement of NTFPs, even when these are not nationalized, bring uncertainty in market operations and inhibit gatherers from maximizing returns to production.
2. **Market Information:** Gatherers' information and awareness about buyers, the prevailing market price and government rules may be inadequate. In a competitive and efficient market, information should circulate freely. In AP (Mott 1998), although price differentials exist for quality, NTFP collectors tend to be unresponsive to this for lack of knowledge or lack of confidence.
3. **Market Access -** Gatherers' contact is generally limited to the village buyer alone, whereas in a competitive and efficient system there should be a large number of buyers and sellers. Gatherers seldom ever bring their produce to the town. They are uncertain about the price they would get in the town for their produce in relation to the costs and risks of transporting NTFPs. Thus, although these products ultimately reach a very large market, the market is geographically limited as far as gatherers are concerned.
4. **Entry into Trade -** Often traders need licenses to buy from gatherers, which are difficult to get. The limited numbers of buyers thus operate in monopolistic conditions and exploit the gatherers.
5. **Poverty of Gatherers -** Most forest extractors are poor, chronically indebted to middle men or landowners and are thus not in control over their labor or other terms of exchange. They would stagnate at the subsistence level, and not benefit from high prices, unless they get out of their serfdom. Thus, underdeveloped rural credit markets influence the disposal of NTFPs at a low price.

6. **Intermediaries** - The number of intermediaries between the producers and consumers is large, though gatherers do not have choice of many intermediaries. This may be due to interlocking of credit and output markets forcing the gatherer to sell to the moneylender. In a competitive and efficient system, there should be choice of several buyers.
7. **Lack of Processing** - The sale of most NTFPs is done without any processing or value addition.
8. **Gender Dimension** - The above-mentioned problems become more acute for women entrepreneurs. Burdened with other roles within the family traditionally assigned to women, their ability to look for far-off markets is restricted.

The small size of production further aggravates the problem forcing them into a vicious cycle of a small market, low production and leading to small surplus. The limited surplus makes them more vulnerable and makes their exploitation possible because it continuously erodes their bargaining capacity, as their need for conversion of small production into cash becomes more acute.

9. **Seasonal Collection** - Most NTFPs are collected seasonally, though these may demand throughout the year. Selling them locally during flush season creates a supply position in excess of local demand, thus depressing prices. Adequate local storage facility is thus required.

Thus, the NTFP issue is more complex than simply lifting of government controls. Several initiatives need to be taken, if the incomes of tribal and forest dwellers is to be maximized. A government agency like the Forest or the Tribal Development Department should perhaps be involved in informing tribal's and gatherers about the prices prevailing in different markets,

improve marketing practices and act as a watchdog.

It may be worthwhile to examine if promotional Marketing Boards, as distinct from commercial corporations which are inefficient, and hence demand nationalization should be set up with responsibility for dissemination of information about markets and prices to the gatherers. The Boards should have the mandate of reducing market imperfections by looking at several constraints, and bridge the gap between what the consumers pay and what gatherers get.⁵

Towards Sustainable Management of NTFPs

Sociological insight, perception and knowledge are, therefore, instrumental and essential for formulation, designing and implementing any effective approach to an integrated development of the rural poor. Sustainable forest management is a key to the sustainable rural livelihood. There has to be a harmonious balance between conservation of forests and development of communities through livelihood security. A sustainable alliance has to forge among Government, Non-Government and Local level organizations.⁶

Forest conservation would initiate in the area with proper forest and NTFP management plans. Regular ecological studies/ assessments to assess the threats to forest would be undertaken. Efforts are made to create a resource centre for providing business development services to primary cooperatives, forest protection committees, local NGOs, for promotion of enterprises. Regular dialogue would continue with different agencies in the government and private sectors for setting of small enterprises on NTFPs.

Cooperatives are trained for negotiation with financial institutions for setting up small-scale enterprises on selected NTFPs like honey, amla, tamarind, chironjee, etc. Their capacity would also build so that they could negotiate with

trading houses for better trade arrangement. They could also establish dialogue with different stakeholders for a better policy environment, which include community, based forest management, community based enterprise management of NTFP and for a liberal policy framework in the context of NTFP.⁷

Suggestions

1. More emphasis should be on the enterprise development of important NTFPs for rural poor for their well-being.
2. Communities should be empowered with information about the market, policy and products to enable them strategizing and accessing better returns from NTFPs.
3. Cooperatives should give training for setting up small-scale enterprises for a liberal policy framework in the context of NTFPs.

Conclusion

NTFPs represent significant opportunities in terms of products, employment and income generation. In rural areas, NTFPs play the major role in socioeconomic upliftment of the rural poor people. NTFPs provide as source of food, fodder, fiber, herbal products, house construction materials, cultural needs etc. The oldest trade commodities in the world have recently gained a remarkable significance throughout the world in determining the rural economy and conserve the biodiversity. The indigenous knowledge on forest resources is unique to a given culture or a human society. NTFPs, especially medicinal plants, wild edible plants, rattans, bamboos etc., are the alternative sources of livelihood for the well-being of the rural poor.

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Farmers' Perceptions of Globalization

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[Globalization has showed unprecedented growth in industrial and service sectors over the past 15-20 years. But the primary industry called agriculture has not flourished that much in all areas among all farmers. It is a key industry holding lot of population, providing food to the ever growing population, bringing income to the nation through export, supplying raw materials to many industries. Despite of all the great claims as positive sides, there are acute distresses in agriculture sector. Even though nature is the principal determinant of the sector, the programs and policies of the government also play a significant role in improving the performance of agriculture sector and the status of the farmers.]

Government is very keen in bringing changes in the method of cultivation, agricultural technology, agricultural marketing and the like. But the problem is whether all the farmers are aware of the programs and policies or not? Because globalization is one of the important development processes to be known by everyone as how it works on an individual with response to his work, profession and job.

Based on the premise as to how people become aware of globalization, this researcher has made an attempt to know the sources and the level of awareness towards globalization among the farmers in Theni District. 1200 respondents were selected using stratified random sampling through proportionate probability random sampling. 1200 is 3 per cent to the total agricultural population. The total agricultural population (farmers) constitutes 36371 which are 6 per cent to the workers' population of Theni district as per 2011 census.

The sources and awareness level of the sample respondents were analyzed with the help of ANOVA and the results are presented in this

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paper. Since the sources are multiple and abstract in nature it can't be measured in terms of quantity. However, it can be measured indirectly converting the qualitative data into numerical number called quantitative data. The sources of globalization were analyzed using mean score on the eight sources (Variables). The mean score on the eight variables were calculated from the score of the respective variables on it among all the sources.

Tool applied in the study:

In order to know the significant difference among the sample respondents (farmers) a one way analysis of variance has been applied. Awareness of the respondents towards globalization was analyzed with the help of selected variables which are closely associated with agriculture under WTO regime. Each variable consisted of five statements for which the attitudes from the respondents were collected using Likert's five point scale. The score was allotted based on the opinion of the sample respondents as 5 for strongly agree, 4 for agree, 3 for neutral, 2 for not agree and 1 for strongly not agree.

Table-1

Awareness towards Sources of Globalization

SI No	Sources	Mean Score				Overall	'F' Statistics
		Marginal	Small	Medium	Large		
1	News paper	1.3462	1.8958	1.9583	3.2500	1.7800	78.599**
2	Television	2.8285	3.0069	2.8542	3.0972	2.9067	2.075NS
3	Magazines	1.5353	2.4167	1.6281	2.5833	1.8825	43.440**
4	Training program	1.6058	1.6458	1.2083	1.5833	1.5650	4.721*
5	Journals	2.8013	2.9792	2.7361	2.9653	2.8558	1.687NS
6	Discussions	1.7788	1.2708	1.1667	2.0417	1.6150	21.764**
7	Farmers Association	2.8317	2.9965	2.9028	3.0694	2.9083	1.626**
8	Books	1.5353	2.4167	1.6389	2.6528	1.8933	45.675**

Source: Computed data:

Note:* Significant at 1 percent level

** Significant at 5 per cent level

NS Not Significant

The table shows that the total mean score of the variables television, journals and farmers' association have perceived high level viz. 2.9067, 2.8558 and 2.9083 respectively when compared with other five (Variables) sources. Since television is the biggest mass media gives all kinds of news regardless literacy and illiteracy. Likewise journal and farmers association have strong and playing vital role in creating awareness and imparting agricultural information to all types of farmers. The other sources such as news papers, magazine, training program, discussions and books have perceived only low mean score.

Among these five sources except discussions are very much related to literacy level and understanding level of the respondents. The

validity of the mean score was tested using 'F' statistics through which the significant difference among the four types of respondents are identified regarding their perception towards various sources particularly on news paper, magazines, training program, discussions and books. Since the 'F' statistics show at 1 percent levels respectively, and it is found that television, journals and farmers association are considered as Not Significant

Level of Awareness of the respondents towards Globalization

GATT envisaged the single treaty covering the whole package (particularly reduction of bilateralism and promotion of multilateralism) that should be accepted by all the member countries. It was a debatable issue in 1994. The single treaty resulted lot of impact in the agriculture sector through subsidy reduction, removal of quantitative restriction and curtailing export subsidy. Hence it is better to study the awareness level of globalization of the respondents from the root itself.

Table-2

Awareness towards GATT (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade)

SI No	Variables	Mean Score				Overall	'F' Statistics
		Marginal	Small	Medium	Large		
1	Introduction of DunKel draft	1.2388	1.0625	1.5833	1.9167	1.3150	49.302**

2	Opened window for privatization in agriculture	2.8397	2.9931	2.7708	3.0347	2.8917	1.653NS
3	Included agriculture in world trade	3.5865	3.7500	4.2917	4.4167	2.7500	26.533**
4	Created market access	2.7981	2.7500	2.9583	2.3333	2.7500	5.569*
5	Created best practices in agriculture	2.9038	3.2708	3.2708	3.1667	2.9150	30.189**

Source: Computed data: Note: *Significant at 5 percent level

** Significant at 1 percent level and N S as Not Significant

It is observed from the above table that the variables “Created best practices in agriculture and opened window for privatization in agriculture” have perceived highest mean score as 2.9150 and 2.8917 respectively in the overall score. Followed by the variables “Included agriculture in world trade and created market access” have perceived the same mean score 2.7500 each. Introduction of Dunkel draft has perceived low mean score among all types of farmers and in the overall score also. This implies that the concept is far behind among the farmers.

While looking at the farmers based on their type invariably the variable “Included agriculture in world trade” has perceived high mean score among all the farmers while compared with all other variables. Numerically it is stated as 3.5865 among the marginal farmers, 3.7500 among the small farmers, 4.2917 among the medium farmers and 4.4167 among the large farmers. A significant difference is identified among the four types of farmers regarding their awareness level on the five aspects especially “Introduction of Dunkel draft, included agriculture in world trade and created best practices in agriculture and since their ‘F’ statistics show at 1 percent significant level and the variable “establishment of global prosperity” show 5 percent significant level.

Table-3

Awareness towards WTO (World Trade Organization)

Sl No	Variables	Mean Score					
		Marginal	Small	Medium	Large	Overall	‘F’ Statistics
1	Coordinated world trade	2.8141	3.0000	2.7847	2.9583	2.8725	1.522NS
2	Monitored agricultural subsidy	4.4615	4.6667	4.7917	4.8333	4.5950	27.433**
3	Encouraged farmers	2.8590	2.9931	2.7847	3.0625	2.9067	1.567NS
4	Created market for agriculture globally	2.8125	3.0069	2.8056	3.0694	2.8892	2.270NS
5	Strengthened agriculture sector	1.5577	1.5577	1.6667	2.6667	1.9200	45.499**

Source: Computed data:

Note:*Significant at 5 percent level

** Significant at 1 percent level and N S as Not Significant

The above table reveals that the variable “Monitored agricultural subsidy” has perceived high mean score (4.5950) while comparing the other variables. The perceptions of the farmers based on the type also depicts the same opinion towards the variable in term of the mean score as 4.4615 among marginal farmers, 4.6667 among small farmers, 4.7917 among medium farmers

and 4.8333 among the large farmers. The mean score of “Co-ordinated world trade, encouraged farmers and crated markets for agricultural globally” have perceived 2.8725, 2.9067, and 2.8892 respectively. The low mean score is perceived by the variable is strengthened agriculture sector. (1.9200)

The significant difference among the four types of farmers is identified based on the perception towards the five aspects of WTO “Monitored agricultural subsidy and strengthened agriculture sector” since their ‘F’ statistics show at one percent significant level. The other three variables are considered as Not Significant.

Table -4

Awareness towards AoA (Agreement on Agriculture)

SI No	Variables	Mean Score					
		Marginal	Small	Medium	Large	Overall	‘F’ Statistics
1	Flourished marker oriented agriculture	4.5481	4.3958	4.4583	4.5833	4.5050	4.5050*
2	Flourished subsistence agriculture	1.4038	1.6042	1.4167	1.3750	1.4500	8.938**
3	Promoted health and safety measure in agriculture	2.8125	2.9896	2.7292	2.9792	2.8650	1.835NS
4	Promoted nature based agriculture	2.8141	2.9965	2.7083	2.9444	2.8608	1.875NS
5	Maintained food security	3.0481	3.3125	2.4167	3.7500	3.1200	22.329**

Source: Computed data:

Note:*Significant at 5 percent level

** Significant at 1 percent level and N S as Not Significant

It could be observed from the above table that the variables “Flourished market oriented agriculture has perceived high mean score among all the four types of farmers viz. 4.5482, 4.3958, 4.4583 and 4.5833 among marginal, small, medium and large farmers respectively. The overall score on the same variable also implies

the same. Followed by “maintained food security” has also perceived high mean score in the overall mean score as 3.1200. The overall mean sore of these two variables are 4.5050 and 3.1200 respectively which are high compared to other variables.

The other two variables promoted health and safety measures in agriculture and promoted nature based agriculture have perceived 2.8650 and 2.8608 mean scores and the variable “Flourished subsistence agriculture has perceived very low mean score among all the

farmers and at overall. ‘F’ statistics was applied to test the significant difference among the four types of respondents towards the issues of AoA based on the understanding level of the respondents.

The ‘F’ statistics show that there is a significant difference among the four types of farmers on

the variables “Flourished market oriented agriculture, flourished subsistence agriculture and maintained food security since their respective “F” statistics are at five percent and one percent, one percent level respectively. The variables promoted health and safety measures in agriculture and promoted nature based agriculture are found as not significant.

Table-5

Awareness towards TRIPs (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights)

SI No	Variables	Mean Score					
		Marginal	Small	Medium	Large	Overall	‘F’ Statistics
1	Legal protection for agriculture invention	1.5497	2.4306	1.6458	2.5764	1.8958	42.827**
2	Created opportunity for patent seed	4.5962	4.4375	4.4583	4.5833	4.5400	7.569**
3	Created opportunity for breeder’s variety	2.8189	2.9965	2.7431	2.9792	2.9792	1.773NS
4	Increased genetic engineering in riculture	4.1154	4.2917	4.4167	4.5833	4.2500	12.565**
5	Increased creativity of the farmers	2.8045	2.9792	2.7222	2.9514	2.8542	1.670NS

Source: Computed data: Note: *Significant at 5 percent level

** Significant at 1 percent level and N S Not Significant

It is inferred from the table that the overall mean score of the variables “Created opportunity for patent seed and the increased genetic engineering in agriculture” have perceived highly as 4.5400 and 4.2500 respectively. The other two variables viz. “Created opportunity for breeder’s variety and increased creativity of the farmers have perceived the mean score 2.9792 and 2.8542

respectively. The low perceived variable is “Legal protection for agriculture invention” (1.8958)

The significant difference among the four types of the farmers is identified regarding their perception towards the five issues of TRIPs according to their understanding level. The ‘F’ statistics show that there is a difference among them at one percent significant level on the variables “Legal protection for agriculture invention, created opportunity for patent seed and increased genetic engineering in agriculture.

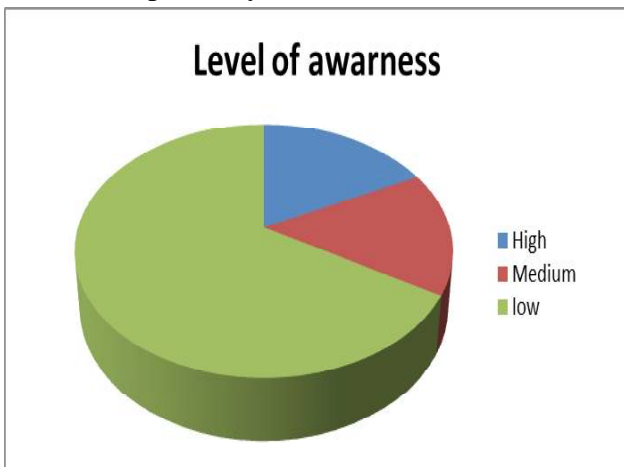
Table-6

Overall level of awareness about globalization

Sl.No	Level of awareness about globalization	No. of Respondent	Percent	Cumulative percent
1	High	211	17.6	17.6
2	Medium	189	15.8	33.3
3	Low	800	66.7	100.0
	Total	1200	100.0	-

Source: Computed data

The overall percentage shows that only 17.6 percent of the total respondents have high level of awareness, followed by 15.8 percent of the respondents have medium level of awareness and 66.7 percent of the total respondents have low level of awareness towards globalization. In numerically it is recorded as 211, 189 and 800 farmers respectively.



Conclusion

The analysis reveals that 66.7 per cent of the farmers had low level of awareness towards globalization and they are not aware of the implications of globalization. Since it is the primary industry and source of livelihood of the majority of the rural population, government, policy makers and NGO have to create

awareness among the farmers about globalization and how to face the challenges ahead of them.

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