

ISSN 0970-7247

# THIRD CONCEPT

**English Monthly**

Annual Subscription Rs. 200

Vol. 31

No. 372

FEBRUARY 2018

Rs. 20.00

- ❖ **ASEAN-Japan Relations**
- ❖ **GST & Agricultural Sector**
- ❖ **Print Media & Development**
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## An International Journal of Ideas

Vol. 31 No. 372 FEBRUARY 2018 Rs. 20. 00

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

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

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### Worrisome Indicators

Undoubtedly, Prime Minister Narendra Modi tried to project a rosy picture of India in his recent debut address at Davos to garner investment from the foreign investors on the strength of burgeoning economy, commitment to the process of globalization and climate change in accordance with the Paris accord; nevertheless, ground realities within the country and recent indicators released by international organizations hardly support prime minister's claims. Perhaps encouraged by the optimism relayed by World Bank and IMF in their recent estimates that India's economy would be the fastest growing economy in coming years, the PM declared that Indian economy would reach to five trillion US dollar economy by 2025. Some economists have lamented that PM Modi's flaunting of his economic reforms at Davos belie the strong undercurrent of discomfort at home in the wake of growing unemployment, downslide in manufacturing and the underlying adverse impact of demonetization and hurried implementation of the GST, the promised benefits of which are yet to show up.

Media reports indicate that even domestic players have cut back on investments because lack of demand has rendered existing capacity useless and the RBI survey for quarter ending September 2017 indicates that domestic industry is operating at only 70% capacity. The creation of new jobs is nowhere close to optimal and many experts opine that in the absence of secure livelihoods from the farms to the factories, the mere opening of bank accounts for the poor has done little for financial inclusion. Disquieting indicators are emerging from Oxfam's recent report about income disparities in India. PM Modi's hour-long speech at Davos emphasized on India's support for globalization and criticized protectionism being exercised by developed countries. However, media reports make it discernible that in December 2017, the government imposed stiff tariffs on imports of cellphones, video cameras and televisions, a move which points towards protectionism. While pointing out that India is confronted with a challenge in terms of imports, some economists opine that India is keen to attract foreign manufacturers without appearing to violate international trade norms with a view to leveraging its market size to drive industrial policies to spur greater high-tech manufacturing in the country and it is where these experts warn that such a move is prone to cause greater trade friction.

Undoubtedly, India has played an important role under the Modi regime in sealing the Paris Agreement on Climate Change but indicators point that India has walked the talk on its commitments, especially in the renewable energy. It has been pointed by some climate experts that the steps to promote renewable energy in the country have been let down by the lack of planning or coordinated efforts within the government. While asserting that a lack of regulations for wind power has hamstrung the sector, these experts lament that solar power industry has also been squeezed by a narrowing pipeline of auctions. It is pointed out that Modi government's reported move to stall the imports of cheap solar modules from China and elsewhere are likely to undermine the renewables industry. Modi government's reported move to impose 70 percent tariffs on imported solar panels is also disputed by some experts. While conceding that imposition of stiff tariffs could spur domestic production of solar panels, experts also opine that such a move could lead to expensive solar power far more expensive for the domestic consumers and, in turn, slow down India's fight against the vagaries of climate change. India's progress on climate change in the post-Paris phase is far from satisfactory. Pollution, both aerial and water, is assuming serious dimension in India. A recent report on ranking of countries on pollution by Yale's Centre for Environmental Law and Policy showed India falling to 177 out of 180, down from 156 in 2016. On the other hand, China has improved its ranking appreciably. These are disturbing indicators. Present dispensation has ambitious plans and its strategy of staking high claims in international fora should match with domestic achievements, otherwise hollowness of such claims entails the possibility of undermining nation's interests. There is need to walk the talk. Domestic stability and prosperity are a sine qua non for garnering foreign investment. If such a state of affairs is allowed to prevail, attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) would remain a chimera.

— BK



# ASEAN-Japan Relations: Realities and Prospects

Dr. Hina Hassan Khaki\*

*[Japan has always been an all-weather friend of ASEAN. Japan gave an unwavering support to ASEAN, especially in the first decade of its formation. The formal relationship between ASEAN and Japan started with the Fukuda Doctrine of 1977 because of which ASEAN-Japan relationship has now developed into strategic partnership for peace, prosperity, stability and mutual trust and confidence. The paper discusses and examines the relationship between ASEAN and Japan in the initial years of formation of the association. It analyses how the relations between ASEAN and Japan have evolved over time, covering various fields such as foreign policy, development assistance, security, economics, etc. The paper also gives suggestions for further strengthening of the bond between the two.]*

The relationship between ASEAN and Japan is the one which can be more perfectly called as symbiotic relationship. The Lombok and Malacca straits make Southeast Asian region strategically important for Japan because the oil tankers and container ships travel to and from Japan through these straits.<sup>1</sup> Similarly being the world's second largest economy and an actual part of the larger East Asian region, Japan exerts greater influence on regional affairs in general and over its smaller Southeast Asian neighbours in particular.

The Second World War greatly affected the military force of Japan. For a quite long time Japan lacked the enthusiasm to play a military and political role in the Southeast Asian region and restricted the mission of its Self Defence Forces (SDF) strictly to homeland defence.<sup>2</sup> But as economic development in Japan gathered pace, it became a crucial source of investment capital for most of Southeast Asian countries to accelerate their own industrialisation processes.<sup>3</sup> The chronology of events that ASEAN-Japan Cooperation has seen in post-Second World War period can be studied under following headings;

## **Official Development Assistance (ODA)**

After the devastation of the Second World War, Japan found Southeast Asian region as a

repository of important raw materials like timber, fossil fuels and certain minerals. It also saw Southeast Asian region as an export market as well as the site for relocation of Japanese manufacturing industries. The Southeast Asian region was not infrastructure wise that much developed and purchasing power was also very low.

This was the reason which led Japan to implement Official Development Assistance (ODA) programme.<sup>4</sup> Under Official Development Assistance programme, ASEAN receives extensive financial and technical assistance from Japan, especially in infrastructure development, as part of Japan's Asia-centric strategy. The development assistance not only promoted exports from Japan to Southeast Asia but also helped the Southeast Asian region in absorbing the Japanese investments. ODA also led to the strengthening of political ties of Japan with the member countries of ASEAN individually.<sup>5</sup>

There were some contentious issues which Southeast Asian countries raised against Japan. Southeast Asian countries apprehended that Japan was trying to dominate the region economically. Japan's production and export of synthetic rubber directly competed with Southeast Asia's exports of natural rubber in general and with Malaysia's exports in particular. When the Japanese PM, Kakuei Tanaka made a

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\* Dept. of Pol. Sc., Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.

visit to Southeast Asian countries in this connection on January 1974, he was met with anti-Japanese riots in Bangkok and Jakarta. The riots were the cause of concern for Japan as the incident followed the energy crisis of 1973 that exposed Japan's vulnerability to raw materials' scarcity.

In this backdrop, Japan took some noteworthy steps to approach the Southeast Asia in a friendlier way to improve its relations with the region in economic, political, strategic as well as cultural spheres. The establishment of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) as the aid arm of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1974 was the outcome of such activities.<sup>6</sup>

### **Fukuda Doctrine**

The then Japanese Prime Minister, Takeo Fukuda delivered the policy speech at the first Japan-ASEAN Summit Meeting in Manila, what came to be popularly known as 'the Fukuda Doctrine', which sought to define the underpinnings of Japan's policy towards Southeast Asia after meeting with leaders of ASEAN countries in 1977. There were three principles which serve as the foundation of Fukuda doctrine. These were;

- Japan, a nation committed to peace, resolved to contribute to the peace and prosperity of South-East Asia and the world and avoid becoming a great military power despite its economic and technological capabilities,
- Japan as a true friend of Southeast Asian countries, would do its best to strengthen the relationship of mutual confidence and trust based on "heart to heart" understanding and become an equal partner of ASEAN and its member countries; and
- Japan aimed to foster a relationship based on mutual understanding with the nations of Indo-China, and thus contribute to the building of peace and prosperity throughout the region.<sup>7</sup>

These three principles pronounced by Fukuda made it clear by assuring that Japan would not be a military threat to ASEAN again, it would

sponsor the cultural and people-to-people ties with ASEAN.<sup>8</sup>

The first ASEAN-Japan Summit which was held in 1977 made it explicit that Japan was very much interested in seeking strong ties with ASEAN as an institution by laying emphasis on three important areas viz., trade and investment, development assistance and political tie-ups.<sup>9</sup> At the second Japan-ASEAN Forum in Tokyo in November 1977, Japan offered US\$ 1 billion toward ASEAN industrial projects, to demonstrate its commitment.

In the Post-Ministerial Conference with ASEAN Foreign Ministers held on 17 June 1978 in Pattaya, Japan's foreign minister reaffirmed his government's eagerness to donate 5 billion Yen (approximately equal to US\$ 20 million as per the exchange rate at that time), in annual instalments to ASEAN Cultural Fund which was established in December 1978 by an agreement which provided that the fund would be administered solely by ASEAN and the contribution to it shall belong to ASEAN and held in the custody of the ASEAN Secretariat.

In 1979, a provisional Centre was established to promote Japanese imports from, investments in tourism to ASEAN, which was made permanent body in 1981 and officially named as ASEAN-Japan Centre. In 1980 Japan Scholarship Fund for ASEAN Youth was set up which was meant for providing education in varied number of fields to numerous ASEAN students. Japan also initiated the Friendship Programme for the twenty-first Century, referred to in official documents as the 'ASEAN-Japan Youth Friendship Programme'.<sup>10</sup>

In September 1980, the then minister for international trade and industry, Tanaka Rokusuke out-lined four priority areas of ASEAN-Japan cooperation, viz., the promotion of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), the resolution of energy issues, the development and promotion of manufactured goods for export, and human resources development.<sup>11</sup>

### **Japan's FDI in ASEAN and Plaza Accord**

In 1980, Japan imported 221 million tons of petroleum and 134 million tons of Iron ore through the Straits of Malacca and the Lombok. In case of other natural and industrial resources Japan was dependent on ASEAN countries such as rubber 99.5%, timber 42.2%, Vegetable oil 64.4% bananas 83.7% and nickel 51%.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, imports of heavy industrial and chemical products from Japan to ASEAN increased remarkably. The Japanese companies began to invest concertedly in ASEAN countries in 1980. After the Plaza Accord of September 1985, which saw the appreciation of the yen against ASEAN currencies, there was a sharp rise in the graph of Japanese investment to the ASEAN-5 (Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines).

The Japanese companies contributed to the increase in export market of ASEAN countries by making direct investment and manufacturing high quality products and also focused on transfer of technology from Japan to ASEAN countries during this process.<sup>13</sup>

On the peace and security front, Japan attended the inaugural meeting of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which was held in 1994 along with other nine dialogue partners of ASEAN.<sup>14</sup> Thus, ASEAN countries and Japan are closely cooperating in a number of multilateral track one and track two security cooperation and dialogue processes led by foreign ministries and the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific.<sup>15</sup>

### **Asian Financial Crisis 1997-98 to Comprehensive Economic Partnership (CEP)**

The leaders of ASEAN countries highly appreciated Japan when it transformed its patterns of assistance towards these countries, in response to the economic crisis by announcing the comprehensive human resource development programme for 20,000 persons from ASEAN member countries for a period of five years at the ASEAN-Japan Summit of 1997, Tokyo.<sup>16</sup> The other noteworthy initiatives which were taken

by the Japanese government to help ASEAN countries to recover from the Asian financial crisis included; the New Miyazawa Initiative, the Obuchi ASEAN Initiative, and the Chiang Mai Initiative. In 1997-1998 to discuss the effects of the Asian Crisis, informal meetings took place between ten ASEAN countries and its three Northeast Asian dialogue partners viz., China, Japan and South Korea (ASEAN+3 or APT). The joint statement issued by these thirteen countries on East Asia Cooperation at third Joint Summit in 1999 started the formal ASEAN+3 process, which paved the way for the number of inter-governmental economic initiatives both at bilateral as well as multilateral level and also opened up the gates for political and security cooperation.<sup>17</sup>

The Koizumi Doctrine of January 2002, meant for strengthening the economic and security cooperation between Japan and ASEAN, was also gladly received in ASEAN countries. Japan has played a crucial role in containing piracy in Southeast Asian waters. The most successful effort in this direction has been Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP).

In the ASEAN-Japan Summit of 2002, a joint declaration was issued on Comprehensive Economic Partnership (CEP) to include the elements of possible free trade area to be concluded within ten years. The differences in the economic levels as well as sensitive sectors in each country were also taken into consideration. The declaration also paved the way for bilateral negotiations between the individual ASEAN countries and Japan. The October 2003 saw the signing of framework on the Comprehensive Economic Partnership between ASEAN and Japan. The framework accentuated the liberalisation of trade in goods and services.<sup>18</sup>

### **Current Cooperation between ASEAN and Japan**

Japan is now regarded positively as an all-weather friend and an important partner,

sympathetic to needs and aspirations of ASEAN, with no major historical and territorial issues with it. Japan is playing a very significant role in the political, strategic and economic development and regional integration of the region.<sup>19</sup>

It was on the recommendation of the then Japanese Prime Minister, Koizumi in November 2002 that Japan and ASEAN leaders agreed to designate year 2003 as “ASEAN-Japan Exchange Year” for promoting exchange in variety of areas for strengthening the cooperation between ASEAN and Japan.<sup>20</sup> In the ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit which was held in 2003 in Tokyo, Japan signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation. Tokyo Declaration for the Dynamic and Enduring ASEAN-Japan Partnership in the New Millennium was also signed along-with its Plan of Action which served as a roadmap for future ASEAN-Japan relations.<sup>21</sup>

Japan together with Singapore and Indonesia played a vital role in the establishment of East Asia Summit (EAS) in 2005 which extended its membership beyond ASEAN+3 to India, New Zealand and Australia.<sup>22</sup> The year 2008 saw the creation of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) for making the recommendations to strengthen the partnership between the two. In 2012, Japan became the part of ASEAN’s fresh initiative for negotiation for a Pan-Indo-Pacific economic integration involving the sixteen founder members of East Asia Summit (ten ASEAN member states and six dialogue partners-Australia, China, Japan, South Korea and New Zealand), known as Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership which stands in the ASEAN centrality is a softer and more reasonable scheme of liberalisation in the Asia-Pacific Region. The first ASEAN plus Japan Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC + Japan) was held in 2013 for enhancing the cooperation to fight against terrorism and other forms of transnational crime. On the 40th anniversary of ASEAN-Japan dialogue relations in 2013, the Commemorative

Summit was held in Tokyo, where a Vision Statement on ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation and a Joint Statement with the theme ‘Hand in hand, facing regional and global challenges’ was adopted to serve as a framework for further strengthening the relationship between the two.<sup>23</sup>

The economies of Japan and ASEAN countries are increasingly becoming dependent on each other. Japan is ASEAN’s largest source country for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), with an FDI stock of US\$ 180 billion in 2014. Today ASEAN is Japan’s second largest trading partner after China. In 2014 the two-way trade between Japan and ASEAN reached US\$ 220 billion which accounted for about 9% (approx.) of ASEAN’s total trade. Although ASEAN is an important import market for machinery, chemicals, iron ore, non-ferrous and metal products from Japan, it exports large quantities of mineral fuels to Japan.<sup>24</sup>

In the 18th ASEAN-Japan Summit, chaired by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Mohamad Najib Tun Abdul Razak, held in Kuala Lumpur on 22 November 2015, the Heads of ASEAN member countries appreciated the important contributions of Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund towards the implementation of various projects under ASEAN-Japan cooperation. The ASEAN-Japan Ten Year Economic Cooperation Roadmap in various areas was also welcomed in this Summit. It also appreciated Japan’s support to develop micro, small and medium enterprises (MSME’s) in the region which was to be reviewed in 2016 to take into account ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint 2025.<sup>25</sup>

In the 20th ASEAN-Japan Summit having the theme, ‘Partnering for Change, Engaging the World’, held in Manila, Philippines on November 13, 2017, the ASEAN leaders acknowledged the pro-active role played by Japan since the initial years of its formation due to which ASEAN-Japan relations have matured into strategic partnership for peace, prosperity, stability, quality of life and mutual trust and understanding.<sup>26</sup>

## Conclusion

Thus, it can be said that since Fukuda Doctrine, ASEAN-Japan relations have developed a lot and have permeated all the critical and diverse domains be it economic, political, strategic and socio-cultural. Japan's positive role in supporting and assisting the ASEAN countries to mitigate the consequences of Asian Economic Crisis in the region to achieve economic stabilisation has been reciprocated by Southeast Asian region by making itself available as a natural resource hub for Japan. It is on this basis that the concept was announced that, "Japan and ASEAN are trustworthy partners- acting together, advancing together for stability and prosperity". But to further strengthen the symbiotic relationship, Japan and ASEAN need to initiate and adapt new approaches to respond appropriately to the continuously changing situations.

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## Rethinking Gender, Multiculturalism and Identity Politics

Dr. Adfer R. Shah\* & Dr. Fayaz A. Bhat\*\*

*[Women play as an agency to transfer the culture and codes of any community, group and socio-cultural setup. They don't consider themselves as free beings rather community's good face value beings, that we collectively called Izzat. The obstacle to development is not mere identity politics but questioning people's gender, identity, minority status, pan-nationalism, etc. Identity politics is a real obstacle to development and women in India are the worst victims of it be it the menace of instant triple talaq and people's justification of it or child marriages or women 'illiteracy, etc. Women always succumb to their community or group codes thereby surrendering their freedom. Though the changes like triple talaq bill are taking place but there is still a long way to go and to realise the fruits of democracy and the idea of multiculturalism.]*

While it is true that most of the women across different classes, communities or groups desire change in their lives and social status but a range of coercive factors act obstacles in their path. They are fed up of unprecedented *fatwas* that are often more binding on them, though hardly taken seriously now everywhere in the country. However, simultaneously there are crisis within the so-called multicultural/secular social systems where every community is conscious of its identity and prefer their own codes and many a time even

oppressive customary practices rather than the general laws, reflecting a growing sense of identity politics and hollow secularism.

The state also plays politics over such customary codes, brutal practices or personal laws and keeps mum even sometimes in the extreme human rights violation cases like Imrana rape case (2005, MuzzafarNagar) or Roop Kanwar tragedy (Derola, Rajasthan), etc. The Muslim women's movements or for that matter other women's movements along with the idea of feminism receive a setback when even women instead of uniting for a cause succumb to community codes rather than their own rights and empowerment.

### **Multiculturalism vs Feminism**

\* Sarojini Naidu Centre for Women's Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.

\*\* Teaches at the Dept. of Sociology, University of Kashmir.

While multiculturalism demands respect for all cultural traditions and lays the foundation for peaceful coexistence and harmony, feminism acknowledges the traditions that fall in line with its mandate of equality among all. Unfortunately neither we see a true multiculturalism nor feminism. The fact remains that strong cultural identity or identity politics in the contemporary times has come to be viewed as a dynamic phenomenon and cultural practices, community consciousness, etc., are recognized as the sites of contestation as well.

However, in the present times we find that even egalitarianism among men and women is sacrificed for identity politics though it is the women who suffer every time and Muslim women stand highly vulnerable among the other vulnerable women every time. Also this is not wrong to maintain that majority of world cultures though multicultural still continue to be patriarchal or male oriented and the case of India is not exceptional, thereby routinising patriarchy down the generations.

### **The contemporary Crisis**

At the same time there are crises with the highly glorified multiculturalism also like calls from cultural minority groups for greater recognition and special rights, statuses based on community identity, economic situation, culture, ethnicity, reservations/quota demands, etc., inevitably raising questions about the proper scope and limits of such an accommodation. When cultural practices and arrangements that are protected by policies of multicultural tradition stand in tension with constitutional guarantees of gender equality, or when social practices are internally contested within communities like female genital mutilation continued as a cultural practice, crisis against intragroup marriages leading to honour killings (Khap terror), shame killings (female child abortions) of infants, etc., the very pluralism turns to contestation and sounds fake.

Therefore, securing women's rights by keeping in view their different backgrounds and identities and protecting them from harm in multicultural societies is a bigger task before the states

globally and back home we have a plethora of such communities like Muslims in Muzaffar nagar, Pandits in Kashmir, Kashmiri Muslims outside Kashmir, people from the northeast India, other vulnerable minorities, etc., The fact remains that women's vulnerability has increased multifold due to political uprisings, violent conflicts, social tensions like riots, increasing sex crimes, decreasing sex ratio, poverty and politicisation of women's issues, etc., calling for a strong collective social and legal apparatus to protect the vulnerable amid the hollow slogans of pluralism, multiculturalism, functional diversity, politics of social domain, etc..

Not only governments need to take adequate steps to address such covert or apparent mutual hatred but people also need to strengthen the weakened social fabric as there are some complex intricacies with the concept of contemporary multiculturalism as well. When liberal democratic states attempt to limit, reform, or prohibit cultural practices and arrangements of ethnic and religious groups, their actions are perceived as a deliberate intrusion, or even oppression against particular groups or minorities.

Not surprisingly, such interventions mostly rebound in terms of dissent and protest and even strengthen the customs or practices in question like the renewed commitment to the wearing of the veil, headscarf or *chadar* in North African communities in France and Turkey. Although in some cases, state bodies make efforts to consult with the community in question but too often these overtures have a token quality to them and do not help to build lasting political trust. A minority community's confidence in state-led reforms of their cultural arrangements is diminished still further when racism / favouritism / nepotism / mushrooming / corruption is pervasive in the broader social, economic, and political institutions.

Though all the multicultural traditions are not beset to such complexities as the state and society has gradually absorbed the art of accommodation

for all but not without exceptions and aberrations. Though multiculturalism today is a reality in almost every nation; however, simultaneously it is equally true that most of the traditional cultures have historically oppressed women/other vulnerable minorities that still continues. So the question remains; have we understood multiculturalism or just know how to play politics of it? Therefore, governments bear the burden of formulating policies that protect women's /others' rights within such a sensitive multicultural framework.

There has to be a rethink on overall gender and social justice perspectives and policies at place though in the contemporary era there is a democratic tradition and a general commitment to protect the individual's civil and political rights everywhere but we have to see the success of such a commitment as well. Not just this but the followers of multiculturalism ideology should pursue feminist and gender-based alignments within cultural practices so that the society can realize the constitutional goals of universal equality, gender equality and justice.

Women though many a time are victims of the personal laws or customary practices but are always motivated by vested interests to follow community codes rather than work for their own emancipation and that is why we are still yet to have a common women's movement. Even history is testimony to the fact that women are not just victims in times of riots but also assist their men to perpetuate violence on other women or groups. The case of 'saying no to the second marriage' does not apply only to Muslim women but any women on the globe have the inherent tendency for this choice.

Personal laws/moral brigade/community laws must be paid attention unless and until they don't compromise an individual's basic human rights and women have to realise that acting as an agency of patriarchy and exercise power on other women is not their actual power but the biggest impediment to a united and successful women's movement.

## Conclusion

The fact remains that acute identity politics follows social conflict along with anti-social tendencies, radicalism, terrorism, polarisation of larger society, venomous politics, community or religion-based dichotomy, general women's oppression as a culture, etc. Such hateful tendencies speak of our backwardness, lack of education and limited horizon that we continue with even in the contemporary era. We must not get swayed by big loaded terms especially in the poor and developing world but try to address the community question as a part of a larger issue and develop a curriculum and legal framework that aims at inclusivity, empowerment, justice, safety, security, and free voice for all.

The state has to work hard to deconstruct politics of identity politics and understand the demon hidden in fake versions of multiculturalism, under the garb of which rights of the poor and vulnerable are always compromised. After all believing in multiculturalism does not mean simply to have interest in other cultures but overcoming the coercive and irrational subjectivities of one's own culture.

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# Impact of GST On Agricultural Sector in India

Dr. A. Punnaiah\*

*[After the 1991 economic reforms in terms of liberalization, privatization and globalization, the goods and services tax (GST) is perhaps one of the biggest revolutionary economic and taxation reforms undertaken in India. The GST aims to streamline the taxation structure in the country and replace a gamut of indirect taxes and only GST will be applied as an indirect tax. It will apply on 1211 goods and 500 services, taxes like excise duty, VAT, service tax, luxury tax etc., will go with GSTs implementation. GST is essentially a consumption tax and is levied at the final consumption point. The principle used in GST is destination principle. It is levied on the value addition and provides set offs. As a result, it avoids the cascading effect or tax on tax which increases the tax burden on the end consumer. It is collected on goods and services at each point of sale in the supply line.]*

**T**he GST that a merchant pays to procure goods or services can be set off later against the tax applicable on supply of goods and services. Therefore, manufacturers, wholesalers and retail merchants can avail tax credit mechanism under GST regime. They would pay applicable GST but it can be reclaimed by the tax credit mechanism. It will be charged at the point of sale according to its destination tax or point of sale tax nature. A person who supplies goods and services would be liable to charge GST from the consumer.

## Concept of Goods and Services Tax (GST)

Goods and Services Tax (GST) proposes to introduce a single tax on supply of goods and services or both, by amalgamating all the central indirect taxes (excise duty, countervailing duty and service tax) and state indirect taxes (VAT, luxury tax, entry tax, Octroi, etc.). GST seems to be more comprehensive, compliant, simple, harmonized and development oriented tax system. The GST, unlike the present system, will allow the supplier at each stage to set-off the taxes paid at previous levels in the supply chain. It is essentially a tax on value added at each stage. The final consumer will thus bear only the GST

charged by the last dealer in the supply chain, with set-off benefits at all the previous stages (GOI). The uniformity in tax rates and procedures across the country will lead to various benefits for the economy and the consumers.

GST is a well-designed value added tax that covers both goods and services. GST is a tax that is levied on the value added to purchase supply before it is sold again. Under the GST regime, tax would be levied on the value addition done at each stage of production and distribution. In the present tax regime, separate taxes are levied on manufacturing (Excise Duty) on sale within state (VAT), on interstate sale (CST), on provision of taxable services (Service Tax) and on imports and exports but GST would be a comprehensive indirect tax which shall be levied on supply of goods or services or both which includes manufacturing sale and consumption of both goods and services throughout India. GST would subsume all different kinds of indirect taxes levied by both central and state governments.

GST would apply to all goods other than exempted goods, alcoholic liquor for human consumption and specified petroleum products. It would apply to all services barring a few to be specified

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\* Asst. Prof., Dept. of Applied Economics, Telangana University, Nizamabad.

## Historical Background of GST

The GST is being introduced with the objective of having a unified tax structure for goods and services. In 1994, Amaresh Bagchi report, suggested that the interdiction of Value Added Tax (VAT) will act as root for implementation of goods and service tax in India. In the year 2000, a committee headed by Asim Dasgupta was set up with the task of designing the GST model and overseeing the IT backend preparedness for its rollout. After that the Prof. Vijay Kelkar task force strongly recommended the integration of indirect taxes in to the form of GST in India in the year 2004.

After successful implementation of VAT system, the Union government for first time in the Union budget 2006-07 announced that the GST would be applicable from 1st April, 2010. Based on the recommendations of various committees and task force for the introduction of the GST, 115th constitutional amendment bill was introduced on 22nd March, 2011 and same was referred to parliamentary standing committee on finance for discussion, but the finance minister announced that the GST will be rolled out by 2011 April.

Since this amendment bill had been lapsed, the Government of India had introduced 122nd Constitutional amendment bill in the Parliament in December, 2014 and Lok Sabha has passed the bill in 2015. The GST was passed in Rajya Sabha on August, 3rd 2016 by a full majority, then after it has been approved by the Lok Sabha on 8th August, 2016. After intensive discussions and debate finally GST has come into effect on July, 1st, 2017 to replace most indirect taxes with single, multi-tiered levy. The tax rates have been determined at 0 per cent, 5 per cent, 12 per cent, 18 per cent and 28 per cent slabs.

## Review of Impact of GST on Agricultural Sector

Agriculture provides the principal means of livelihood for over 58.4% of India's population. It contributes approximately one-fifth of the total gross domestic product (GDP) and accounts for

about 10% of the total export earnings and provides raw material to a large number of industries. As per the Model GST law "agriculture" with all its grammatical variations and cognate expressions, includes floriculture, horticulture, sericulture, the raising of crops, grass or garden produce and also grazing, but does not include dairy farming, poultry farming, stock breeding, the mere cutting of wood or grass, gathering of fruit, raising of man-made forest or rearing of seedlings or plants.

This definition of agriculture under the Model GST Law is similar to the definition under the Maharashtra Value Added Tax Act (i.e. MVAT Act). However, under the Service Tax law, agriculture has been defined as "agriculture" means the cultivation of plants and rearing of all life-forms of animals, except the rearing of horses, for food, fibre, fuel, raw material or other similar products'. The term agricultural produce has also been defined under the service tax law and the following services relating to agriculture or agricultural produce specified in the negative list are currently not liable to service tax.

GST is essential to improve the transparency, reliability, timeline of supply chain mechanism. Under the model GST law, dairy farming, poultry farming, and stock breeding are kept out of the definition of agriculture. Therefore these will be taxable under the GST. Fertilizers, an important element of agriculture, was previously taxed at 6% (1% Excise + 5% VAT). In the GST regime, the tax on fertilizers has been increased to 12%. The same impact is on Tractors. Wavier on the manufacture of Tractors is removed and GST of 12% has been imposed. This is beneficial as now the manufacturers will be able to claim Input Tax Credit.

India's milk production in 2015-16 was 160.35 million ton, increased from 146.31mt in 2014-15. Currently, only 2% VAT is charged on milk and certain milk products but under GST the rate of fresh milk is NIL and skimmed milk is kept under 5% bracket and condensed milk is going to be taxed at the rate of 18%. Tea is probably

one of the most crucial items in an Indian household. The price of tea might also increase due to the tax rate of 5% under GST rate from the current average VAT rate of 4-5% with Assam and West Bengal with the exception of 0.5 and 1%.

The agriculture sector in India has enjoyed a special treatment in the current taxation regime and has been granted various tax exemptions and concessions both by the Central as well as the State Governments. Sale of agricultural produce has been exempted from the levy of VAT. State-wise exemptions from levy of VAT have been granted to commodities like cereals, paddy, rice, wheat, pulses, fresh plants, fruits and vegetables, milk, eggs, meat, etc. Concessional rates of VAT have been levied by various states on agricultural machinery and implements, agricultural tractors, trailers and trolleys, harvesters, threshers, including attachments, and components.

GST will impact agriculture very badly by increasing the input cost of raw material used by farmers. Here are few examples.

1. GST rates on Fertilizers have gone up from existing (5–7) % to 12 %, this is going to hit farmers very hard. I remember 3 years before Urea bag of 50kg was Rs. 250 and today it is already Rs. 750 and after GST it is going to be more expensive. You can imagine how farmers can even afford the fertilizer in these cases.
2. GST Rates of Pesticides have gone from existing 12–15% to 18%, this is really huge. People sitting at top think farmers can be befooled and they won't protest if we increase the cost in the back end, however, my dear bureaucrats - your masters have to pay for making life of farmers hell by playing with farmers life.
3. Changed the Definition of Agriculturist in the new GST Law i.e. many activities are taken out of agriculture purview like dairy farming which were previously considered as agriculture.

### **GST: Implications on National Agricultural Market (E-NAM)**

India is a unique experiment in federal governance with the challenge for ensuring efficient economic development without compromising independence of states. Good and Services Tax (GST) was envisaged to have a simple harmonized tax structure with operational ease leading to a single unified market at national level for goods and services while ensuring that there is no negative revenue impact on the states. On a similar vein, the central sector scheme on National Agricultural Market has been launched to ensure efficiency in agricultural marketing. The underlying principle in both the initiatives is to have a national market facilitating trade and transparency.

Here, let us assess the possible impact of the new GST regime on agriculture and farmers. One can look at it from three angles: (1) Is GST going to be inflation-neutral, given that food has 45% weight in the consumer price index (CPI)? (2) Is GST going to be revenue-neutral, especially which states may lose revenue and how they will be compensated; and (3) does it give some incentives to link farmers with food processing industry, which may help farmers reduce market risk, augment incomes, and create new jobs in rural areas.

Let us look at major inputs first. Fertilizers and pesticides which currently attract VAT varying between 0% and 8% (in several states), will now attract 12% tax under GST. That means the prices of fertilizers are likely to go up by 5-7%, unless the government decides to absorb this by increasing subsidy. Pesticides are put in the 18% slab, up from the 12% excise they attract today and VAT of 4-5% in some states. Tractor rates are tricky. Several components and accessories of it are put in the 28% slab, while tractors themselves are in the 12% slab, up from zero excise duty and VAT of 4-5%. It is not very clear yet whether the input credit claims to cover taxes already paid on components and accessories will exceed the final tax rate of 12% on tractors, and

therefore there could be a scope for reduction in tractor prices; or the tax on components may be rationalized and the applicable rate brought down from 28% to 12%.

There is quite a bit of confusion here. Overall, it seems, from the inputs side, that the cost of cultivation for farmers may increase marginally, which in turn may put mild pressure on agro-prices. But the story is not complete unless we see the taxation structure on agro-output prices. Most of raw agri commodities including rice, wheat, milk, fresh fruits and vegetables, etc., are in the zero-tax slab and rightly so as they are consumed by masses.

However, it may be interesting to note that a state like Punjab which contributes maximum grains to the central pool, imposes taxes and various cesses to the extent of 12% on wheat and rice. And on top of that, there is the arhatiya commission of 2.5% making the transactions cost of these basic staples in Punjab mandis as high as 14.5%. In a country still ridden with poverty, imposing such high levels of taxation on wheat and rice was nothing short of rent-seeking from the Centre and distorting the markets.

Now, with new GST regime, even if commission of 2.5% stays, one hopes that all other taxes and cesses would go away. As a result, the purchase cost of wheat and paddy (rice) from Punjab mandis will go down by 12%. This would be a major gain with several ripple effects. One, the prices of these basic staples in open market should come down by say 5-7%, as most grain-surplus states impose at least that much tax. This was a major distortion in mandis driving the private sector away from Punjab. Now, with zero taxes, the private sector may come back to buy wheat and rice from surplus states, giving a fillip to grain-milling.

### **Agriculture Product at Zero Slabs**

Majority people approved that GST can be a game-changer. There are glitches. The rates on fruit and vegetable juices, jam, sauces, purees, mixes, concentrates and a host of processed foods

have been set at 12 to 18 per cent. If we want to give a real boost to agriculture and agri-based industries, the GST slabs should have been zero on primary farm produce and 5 per cent on all processed foods but zero GST on agricultural produce is still a big deal.

### **Benefits**

1. Unified market - the amalgamation of various taxes into one will simplify the procedure and help in evolution of a common market at national level. Increase in tax revenue is projected due to better compliance and broader tax base. There is an increase in exports due to cost effective production. The burden of tax on goods is expected to fall under GST leading to benefits to the consumers. And it would be easy to implement National Agricultural Market.
2. Since the raw material could be sourced directly from farmers instead of entirely depending on middlemen in mandis, e-NAM provides an opportunity to graduate to a real pan-India market for agricultural products. A smooth GST regime can break inter-state barriers on movement and facilitate direct linkage between processors and farmers. This can transform the operations of mandis too if other necessary reforms to free up agricultural markets are undertaken.
3. This is likely to facilitate and strengthen the Scheme on National Agricultural Market (NAM) aimed at an integrated system of market of agriculture produce at the national level, allowing free flow of agricultural commodities across states.

### **Bottlenecks**

The Goods and Services Tax (GST) is set to raise the price of most agricultural inputs like seeds, pesticides and farm equipment, adding to the cost of production for farmers. Further, since the GST rates will be the same across the country, farmers will not be able to take advantage of inter-state price differentials.

The GST, replaces most indirect taxes with a single, multi-tiered levy. The tax rates have been determined at 5%, 8%, 12% and 28%. Abhijit Sen, a former member of the Planning Commission whose charge was Agriculture, told News18 that GST will increase the cost of agricultural inputs. “It is clear that the tax rate on the two main inputs – machinery and fertilizers – will go up, but it is not clear what happens to the maximum retail price (MRP). Will it get subsumed in the GST?”

Most of the agriculture implements like drip and sprinklers, currently attracting a VAT rate of 5%, will be taxed at 18% under GST. Similarly, the tax rate on pesticide sprayers has gone up from 6% to 18% and electric motors from 7% to 12%. Tractors will be taxed at a rate of either 12% or 28%, up from the current 5%.

Rationalization of mandi taxes and associated cess and levies will be the biggest gain from GST as far as agriculture is concerned. However, the taxation structure for processed food is not very encouraging. For example, fruit and vegetables juices under GST will be taxed at 12%, up from current 5%; fruit jams, jellies, marmalades, fruit and vegetable purees, etc., will be taxed at an even higher 18%, up from 5%. This is surprising as it will discourage the development of food processing industry, especially for perishable fruits and vegetables.

Even your humble aloo tikki will attract an 18% tax, if it is in the frozen form! This is contrary to the wishes of even the prime minister who wanted fruit juices to be put in even aerated drinks to ensure good market for farmers.

### **Conclusion**

The implementation of GST is inevitably linked to successful implementation of NAM as it aims at unified tax structure of goods and services which would eventually include agricultural produce. The National Agricultural Market envisages smooth flow of goods across states leading to competitive and transparent prices with likelihood of increased share to the farmer in the value created in agricultural commodities. The learnings from the GST experience may also help in resolving various bottlenecks to be encountered in evolving a unified common agricultural market.

An increase in the cost of few agricultural products is anticipated due to the rise in inflation index for a brief period. Though, implementation of GST is going to benefit a lot to the farmers/distributors in the long run as there will a single unified national agriculture market. GST would ensure that farmers in India, who contribute the most to GDP, will be able to sell their produce for the best available price. GST is essential to improve the transparency, reliability, timeline of supply chain mechanism.



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# Hill Environment, Development and Disasters

Dr. Pramod Chandra Sahu\*

**M**an's ability and power to transform his environment through technological developments has undoubtedly enhanced quality of living in many ways. The same power if applied without rational thinking and understanding the consequences of actions, can also cause incalculable harm to the environment including the man himself. Disasters in Uttarakhand part of the Himalayas speak volumes about irrational human actions and unscientific approach in the name of so called development resulting in a great tragedy. The irreversible damage done to the basic components of environment due to cutting down of forests, buildings roads for promoting tourism, unplanned structures, setting up industries and constructing hydroelectric power plants etc., have all contributed to what mankind will never like to see again.

Uttarakhand disasters like landslides, floods and earthquake are an outcome of the corporate loot of natural resources. The catastrophic disasters have been assessed as a mix of natural and anthropogenic reasons. Although cloud bursts, flash flood and landslide were the main cause of disasters, nature alone cannot be blamed for this unfortunate turn of events. Man has played an equal if not a greater role in these disasters. Poor disaster management, vision-less development in Himalaya regions such as unplanned urbanization, unabated expansion of hydro power project, sprawling growth of tourism industry, rampant mining activities, cutting of trees, illegal encroachments, lengthening and broadening of roads and tunnels and the illegal construction in the fragile eco-sensitive zone, erroneous

agricultural practices and barren hill slopes increased the magnitude of the calamity.

The need of hour is to reflect, examine and understand the natural as well as man-made factors responsible for the misfortune. The present paper intends to initiate debate and generate ideas as to what actions need to be taken on the part of individuals, social groups and the government to strike a better balance between economic developments and environmental concerns.

## Hill Environment

The Himalayas personify Nature's bounty. Beautiful scenic landscapes have been transformed as a result of large scale engineering activities in the region. Topographically the highest and in age the youngest, the Himalayas are characterized by its distinctive structural architecture, rugged youthful landscape and unique sedimentary and tectonic history. Himalayan region is tectonically very active, highly seismic with poor geological set up (Valdiya,1987; Gupta,2006). It is still evolving and adjusting to tectonic movements.

The region is in a state of restlessness. The region is traversed by several lineaments, faults, thrust and fractures, joints and fold complexes, which are considered to be geo-dynamically very active. The surface slopes consist of mostly glacial, fluvio-glacial or fluvial materials which are mostly unconsolidated and loose in nature. The drainage is generally migratory or shifting in nature of river system. Rivers have high level of erosive capacity, especially when loaded with sediments. This is one of the most ecologically fragile regions suffering from slope instability and poor soil stability.

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\* Reader in Geology, MPC Autonomous College, Baripada, Odisha.

Hence, we need to think about a pan-Himalayan development strategy that takes into account the region's environmental resources, need of the hill ecosystem people, vulnerability of the region to disasters and the need for environmental protection. The Uttarakhand disaster (2013) has put a question mark on the kind of economic developments going on in the hill development. This disaster not only disturbed the normal life of the affected community and the state, but also put the developmental efforts in a standstill posture as the funds earmarked for new initiatives are transferred to relief, response and rehabilitation work.

### **The question of “development”**

In the 1990s when the demand for a hill state gained momentum, Uttarakhand people described the special characters of the region. The villagers believed that their new state would pursue a green development path. But, in the 16 years after statehood, the Government has succumbed to the conventional model of development with a single goal of creating monetary wealth. The Government is always interested in making a quick buck rather than a sustainable buck. Decisions are made more on political and economic ground rather than ecological consideration.

There is no doubt that the region needs economic growth. But not at the cost of environment. It will only make the already risk-prone and ecologically fragile region more vulnerable (Kumar, 2012; Sharma, 2012). The question is what should be the development strategy for this region. We need to think about a Pan-Himalayan strategy. The contours of development are to be reframed. It is not really about the environment versus development, it is about environment versus reckless growth built on non-adherence to rule, regulations, guidelines and expert recommendations. The government should limit development to safe places, stop the environment destruction.

Tourism and Hydro-power production is the backbone of the hill state. Hydroelectric schemes are implemented without proper slope mitigation. Tourism accounts for 30% of the state GDP. The tourist influx multiplied to 5 million from 2 million in 2002. The hill environment cannot cope up with so much pilgrims. There are 244 hydro projects in Uttarakhand. A total of 15000 ha of forest have been cleared for setting up such projects. Roads have been constructed without planning, encroaching on natural drainages and making the hills more prone to landslides. We must realize that in the ecologically fragile Himalayan region, health of the ecology is supreme and all developmental activities must revolve around it. Doing anything otherwise is an invitation to disasters. A healthy environment can only give a healthy economic growth.

### **Conclusions**

The disasters in Uttarakhand have shown that we need a development strategy for the Himalayas that takes into account the vulnerability of the region and the need for environment protection. We need to think about a pan-Himalaya strategy so that states can evolve common policies based on the region's natural resources- forests, water, biodiversity, organic and specific foods, nature tourism but without adverse effects on the environment.

**Forest Preservation:** Forests are particularly important for the survival of people in the high Himalayan regions. They depend on the forests for their animals' fodder and water for agriculture. Forests also preserve biodiversity and prevent soil erosion- vital for the local ecosystem. Thus, hydropower and other development projects must not be allowed without compensatory afforestation.

**Stop damming rivers:** Water is another key resource of the region as it flows from high glaciers and mountains to plains. This resource is also an opportunity and a threat to its ecology and economy. Currently, there is a mad rush to

build dams across the rivers in the region. All Himalayan states are awarding hydroelectric projects to private companies at a break neck speed. Uttarakhand, on the Ganga basin alone, has identified projects totaling nearly 10,000 MW of power and plans for 70-odd projects. Their impact on the ecology and hydrology of the region must be seriously evaluated, particularly in the light of increasing extreme climatic events. The funny thing is that all the power will be sold to states on the plain, while the local people are put at risk.

**Promote local agriculture:** Himalayan states try to boost their economies using their unique products. They also recognize the need to keep their agriculture organic. Meghalaya was the first to declare itself an organic state; Sikkim followed and Uttarakhand is working to promote green agriculture in the state. But they are facing problems such as difficulties in certification and even forest laws. For instance, Sikkim promoted organic cardamom crop, but discovered that forest laws do not allow cultivation on 'forest land', even though it is done without destroying forests. The soil on the hill slopes are deficient in nutrients, so shifting cultivation or considerable efforts to manufacture manure are tried; needless to say, the returns are meager and labor almost completely discounted and undervalued. Thus, there is need to start dialogue on the future of agriculture in this region.

**Promote tourism but with safeguards:** Adventure and nature tourism, alongside religious pilgrimage is the most obvious route to economic development in the Himalayan states. But this must come with inbuilt safeguards as the ecology is highly fragile. Some common safeguards can be as follows:

1. Similar to sanctuaries and national parks, create a provision of buffer areas within 5-10 km, surrounding the pilgrimage sites, where development is restricted.
2. Give strict priority to the local community in all economic activities of the tourist or

pilgrimage spot. Create local community interest in management of these sites.

3. *Make it mandatory* for the tourists to remove and take back all non-degradable items. This can be implemented through a security deposit and checks at the designated entry points.
4. Increase the rate of entry tax charged by all hill towns. More fragile ecosystems should have higher entry tax. The collected fund should be used for creating better and eco-friendly tourist facilities and strengthening the ecosystem.
5. Promote homestead tourism, instead of hotel/motel tourism, based on policy incentives.
6. Promote reuse and recycling of waste, energy efficiency and renewable energy sources at hill tourist spots.

The overall development status of the region should be judged by using two tools such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross Environmental Product (GEP). Hence, geo-scientific studies involving many role players should be conducted to access the carrying capacity of the hill state and development should be made accordingly. Ecological expertise should be fully incorporated into the economic activities to attain sustainable development in true sense.

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# Role of Print Media in Development

G. Rama Sudha\*

*[The development communication has become an integral part of human life. Man has used some of the tools for communication for fulfilling his socio-economic needs, and established contacts with others belonging to different cultural backgrounds, cutting across geographical boundaries. The advent of the printing press extended and strengthened the human capability of communication. Print media has emerged as a rich source of effective communication. There are some aspects in print media which are related to the role of communication for development. The Print media's closeness to literate people can be used to prepare good communication skills for the development of society. The information plays a vital role for every development project. So, this study appraises the role of print media in promoting development.]*

**T**he role of development journalism has come to be seen as critical in facilitating development in Third World countries. Experts have provided various definitions of developmental journalism. Vilanilam (1975) defined it as 'journalism that deals with the processes of development in developing nations'. The same view was further elaborated by Aggarwal (1978a), according to which development journalism essentially provides information about the development process relatively than events. The prominence in development journalism is, therefore, not on what happens at an exact moment or on a specified day but on what is occurrence over time.

Quebral (1975) defined development communication as the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of the country from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth to make possible greater economic and social equality and the larger fulfillment of human potential.

The term "development journalism" emerged in Asia more specifically in the Philippines, through the efforts of journalists such as Juna Mercado and Chalkley (Lent 1986). Later in 1967, the term gained popularity with the creation of the Press

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\* Research Scholar, Dept. of Communication and Journalism, Sri Padmavathi Mahila Vishavavidyalam, Tirupati.

Foundation of Asia, financed by Asian newspapers and the Ford Foundation (Aitschnull, 1984)

## Significance of the study

The present study presumes that the press as a social institution should play a crucial and decisive role in the development of the nation. To play such a role, the press should disseminate development-related information to the people. Studies have hitherto been conducted in different settings to analyse newspaper readership on development. In comparison to earlier studies, the present study offers a definition of developmental news consistent with specific issues drawn from India's planned priorities. Thus, the present study seeks to analyse the extent of newspaper coverage on the developmental issues. It examines the extent of development reporting by newspapers in Andhra Pradesh.

## Review

1. Development journalism covers the entire gamut of socio-economic and cultural development journalism and does not differ drastically from regular news coverage. Rather, its emphasis is more on development aspects keeping in view the context of development, and it examines critically and reports the relevance, enactment and impact of development (Aggarwal, 1978b, Ogan, 1982)

2. Western scholars like Stevenson (1994:144), Hachten (1996:30-35) and Righter (1979) viewed development journalism as advocacy journalism or propaganda journalism by the government because journalists mostly depended on government handouts.
3. According to Righter (1979), successes accruing from development journalism reporting alerted governments to the importance of economic and social reporting and its potential usefulness, if systematically applied to mobilizing mass support behind government policies. Intended to enlarge the areas of free debate, the concept has been taken over by governments, extended to cover all communications and integrated into an official variant of news journalism (op. cit. p189).
4. Vilanilam (1975) defined it as 'journalism that deals with the processes of developing nations'. According to him, developmental journalism basically reports the development processes rather than events. The emphasis in developmental journalism is, therefore, not on what happens at a particular moment or on a given day but on what is happening overtime.

## Methodology

### Objectives

1. To analyze the role of print media in communicating health information for improving health of rural people in Kadapa district.
2. To analyze the role of print media in communicating economic information for

increasing entrepreneurship among the rural people of Kadapa district.

3. To analyze the role of print media in communicating agricultural information for increasing literacy rate among the rural population of Kadapa district.

### Hypotheses

1. Respondents use print media to obtain information on health/education/occupation related issues.
2. There is no relation between the type of print media and the health/education/ occupation information obtained by the respondents.

### Sample Size and Selection

A sample of 350-people was randomly selected from Kadapa district's villages, with the respondents' age group above 25 years.

### Data Collection

From the sample respondents, data were collected through a questionnaire especially designed for the purpose by personal interview method.

### Tools of analysis

Percentages and chi- square are applied to verify the print media habits of respondents for their development.

### Analysis and interpretation

The analysis on the role of print media for respondents' development and respondents' print media behavior is presented below.

**Table 1: Distribution of gender-wise respondents by different characteristics with newspaper reading**

| Characteristics           | Male | %  | Female | %  | Total | %  |
|---------------------------|------|----|--------|----|-------|----|
| Political News            | 182  | 52 | 112    | 32 | 294   | 84 |
| Editorial/Opinion Columns | 42   | 12 | 20     | 6  | 62    | 18 |
| Entertainment News        | 175  | 50 | 119    | 34 | 294   | 84 |
| Health News               | 137  | 39 | 116    | 33 | 253   | 72 |

|                                   |     |    |     |    |     |    |
|-----------------------------------|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|
| Employment/education related News | 131 | 37 | 116 | 34 | 247 | 71 |
| Government schemes related News   | 95  | 27 | 84  | 24 | 179 | 51 |
| Agriculture News                  | 155 | 44 | 126 | 36 | 281 | 80 |
| Sports News                       | 95  | 27 | 50  | 14 | 145 | 41 |
| Cultural News                     | 22  | 6  | 35  | 10 | 57  | 16 |
| Advertisements                    | 53  | 15 | 49  | 14 | 102 | 29 |
| Any Others                        | 81  | 23 | 54  | 16 | 135 | 39 |

The above table shows that out of 350 respondents, 84 percent respondents were reading political news, 18 percent respondents read editorials / opinion columns. It was further reported that 84 percent respondents were reading entertainment news, 72 percent respondents were reading health news, and 71 percent respondents revealed that they were reading employment/ education related news.

It was reported by 51 percent respondents that they were reading news related to government schemes; 80 percent respondents informed about reading agriculture news, 41 percent respondents were reading science news, and 16 percent respondents showed interest in reading cultural news. While 29 percent respondents informed about reading advertising, the other 39 percent respondents reported that they reading any other news from daily newspapers.

The gender-wise classification of the total 350 respondents makes it discernible that interest in political news was reported by 52 percent male and 32 percent female respondents; while interest in reading editorials/opinion columns was reported by 12 percent male and 6 percent female respondents. Interest in entertainment news was shown by 50 percent male and 34 percent female respondents, whereas 39 percent male, 33 percent female respondents reported that they were reading health news.

Employment/ education related news attracted attention of 37 percent male and 34 percent

female respondents, whereas 27 percent male, and 24 percent female respondents reported their interest in news related to government schemes. Agricultural news could attract attention of 44 percent male 36 percent female respondents, while it was informed by 27 percent male and 14 percent female respondents that they were reading science news. It was reported by 6 percent male and 10 percent female respondents that they were reading cultural news, while those respondents showing interest in reading advertisements in the newspapers accounted for 15 percent male and 14 percent female respondents. Concurrently, 23 percent male and 16 percent female respondents stated that they could read any other news from daily newspapers.

It also becomes discernible from this table that there is a 5% significant difference in political news, health news, employment/ education news, agricultural news, government schemes related news, science news, cultural news and advertisements reading habit between male& female ( $\chi^2(0.05, 1), P < 0.05$ ). On the other hand, as far as the reading editorials/opinion columns, entertainment news, and any other news were consigned, no significant difference was observed.  $\chi^2(0.005, 1), P > 0.05$ .

**Table 2:** Age-wise distribution of respondents by different characteristics with newspaper reading

| Characteristics                   | Below 36 years | %  | 36 to 45 years | %  | Above 45 years | %  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----|----------------|----|----------------|----|
| Political News                    | 131            | 37 | 82             | 23 | 81             | 23 |
| Editorial/Opinion Columns         | 12             | 3  | 20             | 6  | 30             | 9  |
| Entertainment News                | 139            | 40 | 75             | 21 | 80             | 23 |
| Health News                       | 117            | 33 | 65             | 19 | 71             | 20 |
| Employment/education related News | 118            | 34 | 65             | 19 | 64             | 18 |
| Government schemes related News   | 84             | 24 | 45             | 13 | 50             | 14 |
| Agriculture News                  | 130            | 37 | 80             | 23 | 71             | 20 |
| Sports News                       | 75             | 21 | 50             | 14 | 20             | 6  |
| Cultural News                     | 8              | 2  | 25             | 7  | 24             | 7  |
| Advertisements                    | 50             | 14 | 32             | 9  | 20             | 6  |
| Any Others                        | 55             | 16 | 47             | 13 | 33             | 10 |

It can be seen from the above table-2 that out of 350 respondents, in the age-wise classification, under age group below 36 years, 37 percent respondents were reading political news, 3 percent respondents were reading editorial/opinion columns and 40 percent respondents showed interest in entertainment news. Under this age-group, 33 percent respondents accounted for reading health news, 34 percent respondents for reading employment/ education news, 24 percent respondents for reading government schemes related news, 37 percent respondents for reading agriculture news, 21 percent respondents reading science news, 2 percent respondents reading cultural news, 14 percent respondents reading advertising and 16 percent respondents for reading any other news from daily newspapers.

Under the age-group 36 to 45 years, it is revealed that 23 percent respondents were reading political news, 6 percent respondents reading editorials/ opinion columns, 21 percent respondents reading entertainment news, 19 percent respondents health news, 19 percent respondents reading employment/education news, 13 percent respondents reading government schemes related news, 23 percent respondents reading agricultural news, 14

percent respondents reading science news, 7 percent respondents reading cultural news, 9 percent respondents reading advertisement and 13 percent respondents were reading any other news from daily newspapers.

For the age group above 45 years, it is informed that 23 percent respondents were reading political news, 9 percent respondents reading editorial/ opinion columns, 23 percent respondents reading entertainment news, 20 percent respondents reading health news, 18 percent respondents reading employment/ education news, 14 percent respondents reading government schemes related news, 20 percent respondents reading agricultural news, 6 percent respondents reading science news, 7 percent respondents reading cultural news, 6 percent respondents reading advertisement and 10 percent respondents were reading any other news from daily newspapers.

It is further revealed from the table-2 that there is a 5% significant difference in political news, editorials/ opinion columns, entertainment news, employment/ education news, agricultural news, science news, cultural news and advertisements reading habit between different age group

respondents ( $\chi^2(0.05, 2)$ ,  $P < 0.05$ ). But as far as the reading of health news, government schemes related news, and any other news were concerned, no significant difference was observed.  $\chi^2(0.005, 2)$ ,  $P > 0.05$ .

Table: 3: Occupation-wise distribution of respondents by different characteristics with newspaper reading

| Characteristics                   | Agriculture | %  | Employee | %  | Business | %  |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|----|----------|----|----------|----|
| Political News                    | 60          | 17 | 160      | 46 | 74       | 21 |
| Editorial/Opinion Columns         | 12          | 3  | 30       | 9  | 20       | 6  |
| Entertainment News                | 54          | 15 | 167      | 48 | 73       | 21 |
| Health News                       | 54          | 15 | 135      | 39 | 64       | 18 |
| Employment/education related News | 51          | 14 | 133      | 39 | 63       | 18 |
| Government schemes related News   | 40          | 11 | 84       | 24 | 55       | 16 |
| Agriculture News                  | 48          | 14 | 160      | 46 | 73       | 20 |
| Sports News                       | 20          | 6  | 70       | 20 | 55       | 15 |
| Cultural News                     | 19          | 5  | 29       | 8  | 9        | 3  |
| Advertisements                    | 20          | 6  | 45       | 14 | 33       | 9  |
| Any Others                        | 31          | 9  | 54       | 16 | 50       | 14 |

It becomes discernible from data analysis of table-3 that out of 350 respondents, in the occupation-wise classification, the group of agriculture holders, comprising 17 percent respondents, was reading political news, followed by 3 percent respondents reading editorials/ opinion columns, 15 percent respondents reading entertainment news, 15 percent respondents reading health news, 14 percent respondents reading employee / education related news, 11 percent respondents reading government schemes related news, 14 percent respondents reading agricultural news, 6 percent respondents reading advertising and 9 percent respondents reading any other news from daily newspapers.

Under the group of employee classification, it was reported that 46 percent respondents were reading political news, 9 percent respondents reading editorials/ opinion columns, 48 percent respondents reading entertainment news, 39 percent respondents reading health news, 39 percent respondents reading employment/

education related news, 24 percent respondents reading government schemes related news, 46 percent respondents reading agriculture news, 20 percent respondents reading science news, 8 percent respondents reading cultural news, 14 percent respondents reading advertisement and 16 percent respondents were reading any other news from daily newspapers.

The table-3 reveals that there is a 5% significant difference in agriculture news, science news, and other news reading habit between agriculture, employee, and business holders ( $\chi^2(0.05, 2)$ ,  $P < 0.05$ ). But as far as the reading, employment/ education news, agricultural news, government schemes related news, science news, cultural news and advertisements editorials/ opinion columns, and entertainment news were concerned, no significant difference was observed.  $\chi^2(0.005, 2)$ ,  $P > 0.05$ .

Table: 4: Education-wise distribution of respondents by different characteristics with newspaper reading.

| Characteristics                   | Primary Education | %  | Secondary Education | %  | Degree | %  | Others | %  |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|----|---------------------|----|--------|----|--------|----|
| Political News                    | 45                | 13 | 76                  | 22 | 119    | 34 | 54     | 15 |
| Editorial/Opinion Columns         | 5                 | 1  | 7                   | 2  | 30     | 9  | 20     | 6  |
| Entertainment News                | 39                | 11 | 80                  | 23 | 110    | 31 | 65     | 19 |
| Health News                       | 40                | 11 | 77                  | 22 | 71     | 20 | 65     | 19 |
| Employment/education related News | 38                | 11 | 65                  | 19 | 80     | 23 | 64     | 18 |
| Government schemes related News   | 34                | 10 | 50                  | 14 | 50     | 14 | 45     | 13 |
| Agriculture News                  | 50                | 14 | 80                  | 23 | 80     | 23 | 71     | 20 |
| Sports News                       | 22                | 6  | 73                  | 21 | 25     | 7  | 25     | 7  |
| Cultural News                     | 15                | 4  | 13                  | 3  | 16     | 6  | 13     | 3  |
| Advertisements                    | 15                | 4  | 30                  | 8  | 37     | 11 | 20     | 6  |
| Any Others                        | 13                | 4  | 37                  | 10 | 55     | 16 | 30     | 9  |

The above table-4 shows that under the education-wise classification, out of 350 respondents, of the group of primary education holders, 13 percent respondents reported reading political news, 1 percent respondents reading editorial/ opinion columns, 11 percent respondents reading entertainment news, 11 percent respondents reading health news, 11 percent respondents reading employment/ education news, 10 percent respondents reading government schemes related news, 14 percent respondents reading agriculture news, 6 percent respondents reading science news, 4 percent respondents reading cultural news, 4 percent respondents reading advertisements, 4 percent respondents reading any other news from daily newspapers.

In the group of secondary education holders, 22 percent respondents informed about reading political news, 2 percent respondents reading editorial/ opinion columns, 23 percent respondents reading entertainment news, 22 percent respondents reading health news, 19

percent respondents reading employment/ education news, 14 percent respondents reading government schemes related news, 23 percent respondents reading agricultural news, 21 percent respondents reading science news, 3 percent respondents reading cultural news, 8 percent respondents reading advertisements and 10 percent respondents reading any other news from daily newspapers.

In the group of degree holders, 34 percent respondents revealed about reading political news, 9 percent respondents reading editorial/ opinion columns, 31 percent respondents reading entertainment news, 20 percent respondents reading health news, 23 percent respondents reading employment/ education news, 14 percent respondents reading government schemes related news, 23 percent respondents reading agricultural news, 7 percent respondents reading science news, 6 percent respondents reading cultural news, 11 percent respondents reading advertisement and 16 percent respondents reading any other news from daily newspapers.

In the group of other education holders, 15 percent respondents stated about reading political news, 6 percent respondents reading editorial/ opinion columns, 19 percent respondents reading entertainment news, 19 percent respondents reading health news, 18 percent respondents reading employment/ education news, 13 percent respondents reading government schemes related news, 20 percent respondents reading agricultural news, 7 percent respondents reading science news, 3 percent respondents reading cultural news, 6 percent respondents reading advertisements and 9 percent respondents informed about reading any other news from daily newspapers.

The data analysis of table-4 reveals that there is a 5% significant difference in agriculture news, science news, and other news reading habit between primary, secondary, degree and other education holders ( $\chi^2(0.05, 2), P < 0.05$ ). As far as the reading employment/ education news, agricultural news, government schemes related news, science news, cultural news and advertisements editorials/ opinion columns, and entertainment news, were concerned, no significant difference was observed. ( $\chi^2(0.005, 2), P > 0.05$ ).

## **Results**

### **Major Findings**

After presenting tables and providing explanations and interpretations, broad findings of the study are presented. Out of 350 respondents, 84 percent respondents reading political news, 18 percent respondents reading editorials / opinion columns, 84 percent respondents reading entertainment news, 72 percent respondents reading health news, 71 percent respondents reading employment/ education related news, 51 percent respondents reading government schemes related news, 80 percent respondents reading agriculture news, 41 percent respondents reading science news, 16 percent respondents reading

cultural news, 29 percent respondents reading advertising and 39 percent respondents were reading any other news from daily newspapers. So finally, based on this research, it can be said that more than 80 percent people are interested to read political news, below 19 percent people are interested in reading editorials and opinion columns. Only half of the people are interested to read government schemes related information.

### **Suggestions**

An important role is played by the media in development communication through circulation of knowledge, providing forum for discussion of issues, teach ideas, skills for a better life and create a base of consensus for stability of the state. From the early stages of the introduction of the media in India various attempts were made to exploit their potential for development purposes.

Looking at the outcome of the study, it becomes evident that most people of this country dwell in rural areas as a result of natural cause, and consequently most of them can only get information through the media. The researcher recommends that the electronic media channels and other means of mass communication like books, magazines and radio etc., should be harnessed to carry out or disseminate more information about development to the rural areas.

Media's impact is not limited to the political realm. A country's economy benefits by being more open. By having access to economic information, citizens are better informed about what is happening in their communities and in commercial and financial markets, allowing them to make better informed choices. Overall society benefits too. In addition to current events, media educate the public on issues related to agriculture, health, education, employment, the environment, women, children, and minorities. Independent media give voice to those whose voices often are not heard and engage marginalized groups in

a more participatory discussion of programs that impact their lives.

Democratic, social, political, and economic development goes hand-in hand with media development. While short-term projects that utilize media for specific goals - health information campaigns, a more comprehensive media development strategy holds the potential to create the conditions for sustainable democratic and economic development. The establishment and nurturing of free and independent media is crucial across all sectors to achieve real and sustained overall development of society.

Further research can concentrate on the importance of various programmes like science and technology, women empowerment, non-formal education, child development and others for a better evaluation of rural development in Karnataka.

The present work concentrates only on print media. University departments can conduct research on different aspects of development communication.

### **Conclusion**

Communication could play an important role in disseminating information about agriculture, health education and employment. Newspaper is one of the powerful channels of the print media, which transmits information very clearly among the people. The print media not only create political and social awareness but also help in carrying development messages to rural areas.

Communication plays a vital role in the development of the rural sections in many parts of the country. Communication between farmers, agricultural institutions, central and state governments and NGOs was made possible by exchange of information and experience. Communication tools made it possible to ensure that the voice of the people in the countryside was heard. Newspapers were also an important

communication option to rural people for adoption of new initiatives and it enabled them to participate in development activities. The language newspapers were very effective in disseminating development messages in rural areas.

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# Maoist Movement in India: Early Leadership & Ideology

Dr. Om Prakash\*

*[The Naxal movement traces its ideology to the Chinese leader Mao Zedong's idea of organised peasant revolution, which not only rejects parliamentary democracy but believes in capturing political power through prolonged armed struggle based on guerrilla warfare by building bases in rural and remote areas. The objective is to install a Maoist government. In Maoist thought, "political power comes from the barrel of the gun", and the peasantry can be mobilized to undertake an armed struggle involving guerrilla warfare.]*

Charu Majumdar, inspired by the doctrines of Mao Zedong, provided ideological leadership for the Naxalbari movement, advocating that the Indian peasants and lower class tribal overthrow the government and upper classes by force. A large number of urban elites were also attracted to the ideology, which spread through Majumdar's writings, particularly the "Historic Eight Documents" which formed the basis of Naxalite ideology.<sup>1</sup>

Charu realised that every corner of India is like a volcano and there is the possibility of a tremendous upsurge in India. His invocation call was "expand anywhere and everywhere." As a result upsurge took place particularly in Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh, Debra-Gopiballavpur in West Bengal, Mushahari in Bihar and Palia in Lakhimpur district of Uttar Pradesh.

For Mazumdar, youth and students, un-burdened by a "revisionist" past, and being educated would be most able to grasp the thought of Mao Zedong, and thus, were best suited to achieve this revolutionary personality. For Mazumdar, the students and youth were supposed to fire the first salvos of the anticipated Naxalite revolution, which would expose the "paper tiger" character of the Indian state and inspire the revolutionary masses to rise up in arms against the repressive status quo.<sup>2</sup>

The Naxalite leadership was clearly concerned that upon achieving their economic or political objectives, revolutionary masses would cross over to reactionary camps. It is perhaps this that explains why the Naxalite leaders such as Charu Mazumdar repeatedly emphasised the need for self-sacrifice and selflessness as the defining characteristics of the new revolutionary personality.<sup>3</sup>

The students and youth were viewed representing a historically revolutionary section of Indian society who, would shoulder the task of Naxalite social revolution. Students constituted the educated section of society, made them indispensable in the task of spreading the teachings of Mao Zedong among the uneducated rural and urban working classes. At the same time, the idealism and passion of the youth made them best able to fulfil the role of revolutionary vanguard who could inspire the masses with their selfless dedication to the cause of the Naxalite revolution.<sup>4</sup>

In the article titled, 'A Few Words to the Revolutionary Students and Youth', published in *Deshabrat* on March 5, 1970, Mazumdar wrote: "in a man's life the age between eighteen and twenty four is the period when he can work hardest and be most vigorous, most courageous and most loyal to his ideas."<sup>5</sup>

## The Youth and Student Upsurge

The Naxalite youth upsurge led to the participation of several bright students from elite

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\* Asst. Prof., Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Law University, Jodhpur.

institutions, the most famous among which was Presidency College in Kolkata. Many of these students joined the movement out of a sense of disillusionment with the existing educational system and with the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the urban areas. The Naxalbari uprising provided these students with a sense of purpose and oriented them further towards armed struggle. The Naxalite movement was also misused by the anti-social elements to harass individuals with whom these youths had personal vendetta. The movement provided the opportunity for many poor youth to interact with the wealthy, which boosted their self-esteem.

The two major components among the cadres were the college students and the tribal. The students of Presidency College of Calcutta were mainly responsible for the Debra-Gopiballavpur uprising, medical and engineering students in Andhra joined the Naxalites in Srikakulam, and some students of St Stephen's College of Delhi played an important role in Bihar and Punjab.

By 1973, in West Bengal alone about 12,000 youth were arrested out of which about 1,400 were below the age of 18. In confinement they were tortured and in several cases were even killed. Women Naxalites were also tortured and sexually abused. By their violent activities the Naxals sought to embolden and inspire the revolutionary classes to take up arms against the class enemies. A section of the Naxalites acted from self-interest rather than from any revolutionary ideology. Naxalite made hardly any attempt to bring the working class and the salaried middle class into the movement.

The Naxalite violence was at a peak from about the middle of 1970 to the middle of, 1971. It is estimated that there were a total of about 4,000 incidents in the country from the middle of 1970 to the middle of 1971. The bulk of these were from West Bengal (3,500) followed by Bihar (220) and Andhra Pradesh (70).<sup>6</sup> Charu Mazumdar was arrested by the Calcutta Police on July 16, 1972. A few days later, he died. Charu's death marked the end of a phase in the Naxalite movement. The period following his

death witnessed divisions and fragmentations in the movement.

It will be interesting to look into as to why the Naxalite ideology and movement did attract bright and idealistic youth and why these enthusiastic and young minds did meet the disastrous consequences. One of the possible reasons appears that many of the young men and women who were attracted were those who were hurt not only by the abounding misery and injustice in Indian society but also by personal tragedies. It was a rebellion against an evil society. Instinct and emotion played pivotal role than intellect and reason.<sup>7</sup> Second, almost all these young men and women come from what is rather loosely called the petty bourgeoisie.<sup>8</sup> Thirdly, the recession signalled the outset of the general crisis of the capitalist path of development that India had been placed upon. The problem of employment and of careers deeply worried the student community.<sup>9</sup>

Many of the young men and women who joined the Naxalites made their passage to it through the CPI (M). United Fronts, utilisation of the system of parliamentary democracy, mass mobilisation on the widest possible scale, and the patient rising of the consciousness of the masses through a combination of education and militant struggle, were all anathema to the CPI (M).<sup>10</sup>

### **Concept of Terrorism and Low Intensity Warfare**

Terrorism needs a top-down approach, while insurgency requires a bottom-up approach. For an insurgent movement to flourish, it must have support of a segment of the population whereas terrorism can be effective with just a few sympathisers and supporters amongst the population. In tackling an insurgency, it is a fight for the 'hearts and minds' of the people. The people have to be addressed and won over. With terrorism the leadership or perpetrators of terrorism need to be targeted.

Insurgency usually has rural roots while terrorism has an urban bias. The terrorists are as well

trained as, and often better equipped than, an army soldier and to pit out paramilitary and police forces against them in an unequal equation. Our approach so far has been to deal with it as a law and order issue, which being a state subject results in different states having different approaches to the problem and complicating the requirement of a countrywide coordinate approach against terrorism. Delays in the judicial process add to the problem.

Term, Low intensity Conflict, which was coined by the British General Edward Kitson based on his experience in fighting the Mau in Kenya, the insurgents in Malaysia and the IRA in Northern Ireland. But on December 1, 2007, the Indian Army became the first force in the world to come out with a doctrine on “sub-conventional warfare” laying down guidelines and strategies for the conduct of counter-insurgency operations in urban and rural areas.

### **The Guiding Ideology**

The CPI (Maoist) accepts Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its guiding ideology and is committed to completing a “new democratic revolution” in India before passing on to achieve its socialist goal. The revolution, says a press statement at the time of founding the new party, will be carried out and completed through an armed agrarian revolutionary war, i.e., protracted people’s war with the armed struggle for seizure of power as its central and principal task. The statement adds that the countryside as well as protracted people’s war will remain as the “centre of gravity” of the party’s work, while urban work will be complementary to it. The revolution will remain directed against imperialism, feudalism and “comprador bureaucratic capitalism.”

The party also supports the “struggle of the nationalities for self-determination, including the right to secession and the fight against social oppression, particularly ‘untouchability’ and ‘casteism’ and will pay special attention to mobilising and organising women as a mighty force of revolution”.

It has been critiqued that the naxals have added Maoism to be a part of their guiding ideology without any convincing argument to justify it. They have heavily borrowed the strategy and aims of the revolution from that of Chinese revolution completed 56 years ago and no serious lessons have been drawn from the great setback to the international communist movement, the collapse of socialism, the big changes in the national and international situation and the specificity of the Indian political system and economy. The CPI (Maoist) documents are keener to highlight the violent nature of its revolution than the revolutionary aims.<sup>11</sup>

They propose to seize power through armed struggle but remain less aware about what they would do after the capture of power. And that only reinforces its prevailing image more as a guerrilla formation with considerable military might rather than a political party with clear-cut short and long term objectives.<sup>12</sup>

Despite its shaky ideological foundation, outdated political programme and a tendency to glorify violence instead of treating it as a necessary evil, the CPI (Maoist) enjoys a large mass following that is not much visible to the outside world beyond its core area. This is because no other political party in the country has taken up the cause of the rural poor with such single-minded zeal and devotion.<sup>13</sup>

Theoretically and in practice, Mao’s Marxism was enriched by overcoming and going beyond Stalin’s mechanical interpretation of Marx’s theory of history. And, Mao constantly applied Marx’s “material dialects” in helping to understand and resolve multiple “contradictions” internal conflicts tending to spilt what is functionally united. ... It is the fusion of all this with the original Marxism and Leninism that constitutes Maoism.<sup>14</sup>

### **Use of Weapons**

Although varieties of weapons were used by the Naxalites in their attacks, they showed a preference for conventional weapons, such as knives, choppers, swords, rods and spears. This

policy of using conventional weapons and not firearms was justified on many grounds. Theoretically it implied more reliance on people and less on arms. The carriers of guns also felt more nervous, and the chances of arrest and detection were greater if one carried these weapons.<sup>15</sup> Another justification for using conventional weapons was that their use involved physical contact with the victims, which intensified the “revolutionary hatred” felt for the exploiters.<sup>16</sup>

The Party, says Charu Mazumdar, is an organisation of the workers to overthrow the class enemy by fighting offensive battles, while the trade union is their organisation to fight defensive battles against the attacks by the class enemy. He said further, “it is not our task either to organise trade unions, or to bring them under our control, or to bother ourselves about the trade union elections. Our task is to build secret party organisation among the workers.” “today, weapons like hartals and strikes have become largely blunted in dealing with the attacks of the organised capitalist class . . . today the struggles can no longer develop peacefully or without bloodshed. To develop, the struggles must take the form of gherao, clash with the police and the capitalists, barricade fights, annihilating the class enemies and their agents etc...”<sup>17</sup>

Charu Mazumdar draws the lesson that “the peasant fought not for land or crops, but for political power”<sup>18</sup> He also believed that war was nothing but politics with bloodshed.<sup>19</sup>

### **The Spring Thunder**

An editorial in *People's Daily*, the mouthpiece of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, termed the happenings in Naxalbari ‘a peal of spring thunder.’ It further added: ‘Revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under the leadership of a revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, a Red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of tremendous significance for the Indian people’s revolutionary struggle.’<sup>20</sup>

In 1969, on Lenin’s birth anniversary, Charu Mazumdar announced the formation of a new Communist party- the CPI (Marxist- Leninist) or the CPI (ML). Meanwhile, the Congress government led by Indira Gandhi decided to send in the army and tackle the problem militarily. A combined operation called *Operation Steeplechase* was launched jointly by military, paramilitary and state police forces in West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In 72 days, the Naxalbari upsurge was over. Most of the guerrilla leaders were arrested while Charu Mazumdar continued to evade arrest. In North Bihar’s Muzaffarpur district, the Musahiri block saw major disputes between zamindars and peasants over crop sharing. By 1969, Naxalites from West Bengal had arrived here to spread the movement.<sup>21</sup>

### **Mistakes of the Early Maoists**

There are a number of mistakes which were made by the earlier Maoists. Firstly, expressions such as Chairman Mao is our Chairman were wrong and hurtful. While criticising Charu Mazumdar’s policy of class annihilation, Zhou Enlai also pointed out that China’s leader could never motivate the people of India in the same way as a leader from their own soil: they needed to have their own Mao. That was why, he said, the revolution had failed to move Indians in the way it ought to have done.<sup>22</sup>

Secondly, under Charu Mazumdar the line had been to disregard mass organizations. They acknowledged that there were some mistakes. The Self Critical Review was made in 1974, reaffirmed by the Party Andhra Pradesh State Conference in September 1980 that marks the beginning of a new practice. Lastly, Charu Mazumdar developed a theory and practice of a quick victory in igniting the revolution through annihilation of individual members of the class enemy by armed groups working in secret. The Communist Party of India (Maoist) corrected this deviation and defined the annihilation line as not according to the theory and practice of the united front and protracted war.

Today the ideological underpinnings have largely diluted. Maoists are involved in activities involving extortions, ransom, robbery, kidnappings and even killings of innocents. These facts were also lamented by Kanu Sanyal one of the founders of Naxalism in India.

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# Impact of Digitizing Education on Socio-Emotional Skills

Dr. Swaleha Sindhi\*

*[It is argued that to thrive in the 21st century, it is the socio-emotional skills of collaboration, communication and problem-solving that will prepare students to succeed in the swiftly evolving digital economy. Technology in the contemporary times is seen as a tool to complement and extend the learning experience, but the concern is; will technology ever be able to replace teachers and human relationships? Perhaps no, because the teacher not merely transmits knowledge in the classrooms but encourage students to develop critical thinking skills and apply them to life. It is thus apparent that machines cannot take the place of people and hence, technology will never replace teacher.]*

In contemporary times, the entire globe has witnessed revolutionary changes due to digitization of education. Digital education in India is seen as a cure for ills of access, affordability, quality and commercialization of education. It is seen as being capable of giving wide coverage at a low cost. The ICT (Information & Communication Technology) revolution has paved the way to introduce some breakthroughs in education as the students view it as a flexible option and teachers find it convenient to prepare their learning plans well aided by technology. In short it comes as a win-win for all.

The theory here is that the 21st century is characterized by access, networks, digital media, and connectivity, which immediately dates old learning models. It can be said that the modern system of digitized education has brought a shift from Knowledge Transforming Model to Self-Directed Model of Learning, but this shift has brought with itself a serious concern of losing the personal communication and the personal touch between students and teachers.

In coping with the modern technology, we unintentionally forget the importance of social and emotional quotient for students. Though, technology seems to foster personal relationships that are strengthened by digital communication

(e.g. students communicating via face book, texting and other digital media), it can also be isolating if it is used without a teacher or mentor. There is a myth that technology would replace teachers. Even though technology can take same responsibilities as teachers but technology can never replace human relationships.

A teacher does not just transmit knowledge; he or she guides his or her students. Teachers are mentors who encourage students to develop critical thinking skills and apply them to life. Teachers also pass on social skills and develop a moral compass to their students, so transmitting knowledge is just a small part of what a great educator does.

## **Role of Teacher amid Emerging Technology**

The National Policy on Education (1986) expressed concern over “the erosion of essential values and an increasing cynicism in society”. It advocated turning education into a “forceful tool for the cultivation of social and moral values”. The Programme of Action of 1992 tried to integrate the various components of value education into the curriculum at all stages of school education. This is hinting on the presence and personal touch of a teacher/mentor in the classroom. It will help students not to lose the discipline and imbibe the universal human values that are directly linked to physical, intellectual, emotional psyche and spiritual facets of human personality.

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\* Asst. Prof, Dept. of Educational Admin., M.S. University, Baroda.

Thus, development of social and emotional development in the new generation helps to build the ability to understand the feelings of others and controlling their own behaviors as well. Due to the fast pace of change in society and technology, the continuous creation of new knowledge, and an ever-widening access to information, much of learning takes place with students' own initiative. This has led to a shift from traditional knowledge transfer model of education to self-directed model of education.

Knowledge transfer implies students learn from the experiences of others (Kolb, 1984; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Szulanski (2000) acknowledges that knowledge transfer is a process, not an action, and various factors affect the opportunity for knowledge transfer. Barriers to the transfer of knowledge include that knowledge is distributed (the process of gaining knowledge involves multiple inputs such as processes and people), ambiguous (barriers such as syntactic and semantic, need shared understanding) and disruptive (changes which challenge what we consider knowledge is often resisted) (Tsoukas, 1996).

While in the self-directed model of education, learning is an instructional strategy where the students, with guidance from the teacher, decide what and how they will learn. It can be done individually or with group learning, but the overall concept is that students take ownership of their learning. There is need of a progressive learning environment, where the students should constantly be generating original ideas from multiple sources of information and are in pursuit of self-knowledge and self-created meaning and creativity. Students have the primary responsibility for planning, implementing and even evaluating their learning effort.

But the question is whether our students are prepared to face the real world. The major challenge facing the new generation is the socio-cultural changes like transition from joint family to nuclear family system, excessive competition, parental expectations, commercialization of education, negative impact of media, misuse of

information technology, globalization, consumerism etc. This puts immense pressure on them leading to distortion of values. Here teachers have a central role to play in imparting values to the new generation in meeting the challenges of the present times. Promoting social and emotional development for all students in classrooms involves teaching and modeling social and emotional skills, providing opportunities for students to practice and hone those skills, and giving students an opportunity to apply these skills in various situations.

### **Conclusion**

All of the evidence stands on its own, but I will tie them together with a single theory that explains why technology is unable to substitute for good teaching: Qualitative primary and secondary education is a multi-year commitment whose single bottleneck is the sustained motivation of the student to climb an intellectual Everest. Though children are naturally curious, they nevertheless require ongoing guidance and encouragement to persevere in the ascent. Caring supervision from human teachers, parents, and mentors is the only known way of generating motivation for the hours of a school day, to say nothing of eight to twelve school years.

All in all, with the increasing social isolation of the modern world, educators must keep in mind that it takes a person to teach wisdom, socialization and morals to others. Educators are the responsible adults needed to teach these critical life skills inside a classroom as well as the basic academics. Therefore, it is apparent that machines cannot take the place of people and hence, technology will never replace teacher whatever the pace of change in the society may be.

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## NGOs & Teachers' Professional Development in Afghanistan

Noorajan, Atif\*

*[Beyond 2002, as the international community considerably increased its activities in Afghanistan, a substantial progress has been made, especially in the sector of Afghan education. Many practical reforms occurred in different aspects, from education systems to curriculum framework and school textbooks as well as teacher education. First time a modern National Curriculum Framework was developed by Afghan government in partnership with some Non-Governmental Organizations in 2003. Moreover, a new Education Law was also established in 2008. Over the past fifteen years, new school textbooks were distributed to all Afghan schools. An exceptional attention was paid to teacher and school staff training programs. However, besides all this progress, there is a growing dissatisfaction about teaching quality in Afghan schools. According to the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan still about 50 percent of the teachers do not have the required qualifications. So, this article takes a quick look at the role of NGOs in teacher training process, especially the in-service short term professional development in Afghanistan. Some of the key concerns are raised about the impact of these programs on teachers' daily basis practices in Afghan schools.]*

Sixteen years ago in 2002, Afghanistan alongside the international community started to recover from the impact of 25 years of war that had destroyed all its infrastructures including educational substructure. In 2002 there were totally 3,400 schools over the entire country and school

enrollment at the time was less than one million students while only 20,000 teachers were teaching in these schools. Particularly female access to education was absolutely poor. Furthermore, no standard curriculum or school textbooks were there before 2002. Only four Teacher Training Colleges with 400 students were there in the country.

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\* Ph.D. Scholar, Dept. of Education, Paktia University, Afghanistan.

Beyond 2002, as the international community considerably increased its activities in Afghanistan, a substantial progress has been made, especially in the sector of Afghan education. Many practical reforms occurred in different aspects, from education systems to curriculum framework and school textbooks as well as teacher education. First time a modern National Curriculum Framework was developed by Afghan government in partnership with some Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOS) such as U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), UNICEF Afghanistan, UNESCO Afghanistan, Swedish Committee for Afghanistan (SCA), Care International, Children in Crisis, etc. in 2003.

New Education Law was also established in 2008. Over the past fifteen years, new school textbooks were distributed to all Afghan schools. An exceptional attention was paid to teacher and school staff training programs. More new schools have been established and currently there are more than 16,000 schools with more than 186,000 teachers as well as 42 Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) and 89 District Teacher Training Support Centers (DTTSCs). The number of enrollment according to USAID (2017) has dramatically grown up from less than one million in 2002 up to 9.2 million of which 39 percent are girls.

### **Major Issues of Teacher Education**

However, besides all this progress, there is a growing dissatisfaction about teaching quality in Afghan schools. According to the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan, still about 50 percent of the teachers do not have the required qualifications. The minimum requirement for a qualified teacher is at least 14 grades. Both the Ministries of Education and Higher Education are responsible for teacher training in cooperation with international organizations and NGOs. As more than every other time, the operational role of schools is changing now. Therefore, education systems should provide

continuous in-service professional development opportunities for the teachers to attain their development timely and update their individual skills that enable them to be more functional in schools.

Teachers are required to be prepared for their effective performance in schools. Teachers need to be equipped with multiple skills and qualifications to deal efficiently with students' special learning needs, to make sure the effective use of information technology in their classrooms, to be engaged in a successful evaluating process and be able to involve community and parents in school (UNESCO, 1991; OECD, 2009).

It is thought that the teachers who possess TTC diploma in Afghanistan still fail to teach as they are required to do. This is what even in the developed countries believed that pre-service training cannot be expected to prepare teachers to deal successfully with all the challenges they face with in their career. About pre-service teacher education, one cannot say that whether the curriculum taught in Afghan TTCs really provides trainees with the required qualification and skills or not as this curriculum has not been revised yet and heavily focused on theory (War Child Canada, 2013).

Some academic studies conducted on teacher education, especially TTCs' programs in Afghanistan, also concluded that the quality of these programs is low (Saif, 2013). Hence, the international organizations working in the sector of education in Afghanistan have been supporting Afghan government to provide short term capacity building programs for all Afghan teachers and school staff (USAID, 2014). Accordingly, the non-governmental agencies and NGOs such as USAID, DFID, the World Bank, the UN Agencies and the Embassies of Sweden, Canada, Germany, Australia, Japan, Norway, Finland and Denmark have been assisting Afghan government in the sector of education, especially in capacity building programs.

The Afghan government, with the support of USAID and other donor agencies, has built 13,000 school buildings, recruited and trained more than 186,000 teachers so far (USAID, 2014). Also, the above mentioned agencies and NGOs have been fully involved in the planning process for National Education Strategic Plan 2017-2021 (NESP, 2016).

But, to what extent these short-term trainings have really helped Afghan school teachers to improve the quality of their teaching? Due to the lack of academic studies in this regard, one cannot claim that how much these short-term professional trainings help Afghan teachers to advance their teaching practice in schools. But, the low quality of education is certainly always a matter of concern to all educators and pedagogues at this time in Afghanistan.

One of the main reasons for this problem is being described as the lack of professional teachers (Afghanistan National Education for All (EFA) Review Report, 2015; National Education Strategic Plan (NESP, 2015); Education Sector Analysis Report, 2010 & Mansory, 2010). Accordingly, National Academy of Education (2005) emphasized that effective teacher training programs are supposed to connect theoretical courses to the real daily-basis practice in the classroom.

Particularly in-service professional development programs have to foster teacher's practical competence, and, furthermore, improve his/her current teaching philosophy (Crowther et al, as quoted by Quattlebaum, 2012). There is no doubt that the short-term programs conducted by the above-mentioned NGOs in Afghanistan are influential to some extent in teacher professional development as is pointed out (Mistry of Education of Afghanistan, 2015 and Mansory, 2010). Meanwhile, the study conducted by Atif (2017) has found that most of the teachers,

who have constantly attained short-term professional trainings, still prefer to employ teacher-centered method in their classrooms.

Principals interviewed in this study have explained that lack of continuous follow-up evaluation and feedback caused to decline the influence of these programs on teachers' actual teaching practice in schools. Continuous assessment and feedback have a robust positive impact on teachers' teaching practice in school (OECD, 2009). But, the Afghan teachers and school administrators are thought to lack the skills of effective evaluation, especially following the short term professional trainings (WCC, 2013).

Moreover, lack of the teaching/learning facilities at schools, lack of self-efficacy, inadequate connection between the materials taught in these short-term trainings and classroom teaching/learning activities, poor support from school administrations and low wages of the teachers etc., are the other involving factors that undermine the efficiency of these in-service teacher training programs in Afghanistan. Also, the recruiting of trainers for these programs, as it is pointed out by (War Child Canada, 2013), is a critical issue to be addressed in the arrangement of these short time professional trainings for Afghan teachers.

## **Conclusion**

Teaching is a continuous multifaceted function, especially in this ever-changing era. Therefore, teachers' responsibilities in the classroom require them to be wised up to the challenges they face with in their profession. Pre service education as it was said earlier cannot assure the overall professional development of the teachers. An effective professional development, as described by Kedzior and Fifield (2004), is to be integrated, logical, continuous, and to include teacher's real-life experiences, aligned with standards, assessment, other reforming

creativities as well as based on the best research evidence.

Hence, the gaps mentioned above in the process of short term teacher professional development programs have to be addressed by the international organizations and Afghan government for the betterment of these programs in Afghanistan. A shared policy is required to be formed for how to assess the practical influence of these programs on daily basis classroom teaching/learning activities. A follow up academic and technical support is needed to be provided for Afghan school teachers which can strengthen their self-efficacy and commitment for a considerable change in their beliefs towards their teaching strategies and teaching practice in the classrooms.

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# Appraising Job Satisfaction among Women Police

Gayathri\* & Dr. C. Esther Buvana\*\*

*[The term police has been derived from the Latin word “Politia” which means the condition of a Polis or State. The term broadly refers to the maintenance of law and order, prevention and detection of crime. In a democratic society preservation of peace and protection of life are the basic needs in a democratic society. In order to fulfill these needs, the government has employed the police forces to protect and preserve the rights and properties of the citizens. The police mostly deal with problems related with cases of abandonment, destitution, robbery, murder. The police come across many children and women while dealing with these kinds of problems. This paves the way to involve women police in the investigation of crimes regarding women and children as they understand that women can handle with endurance and they can be more suitable than their male counterparts.]*

India is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic country. Maintaining law and order in world’s largest democratic country is a strenuous task. Tamil Nadu is the fifth largest state in terms of police force in India. Tamil Nadu Police is the primary law enforcement agency of the state of Tamil Nadu, India. Representation of women in various fields has been a widely discussed issue. Women are often underrepresented in several fields in India: whether in politics, senior corporate leadership or even the bureaucracy.

## Women police

In India, the police system can be traced back to the periods of *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, Kautilya’s *Arthashastra* etc. The *Ramayana* gives a description of how Sita was put under surveillance of police women. Kautilya, the most perfect Raj Guru, in the “*Arthashastra*” stated that the king must employ women for policing and spying. In the early years of post-independence, the introduction of women in the police force in all states was highly objected to; however, the movement for liberation of women paved way for opening new avenues for women in different fields.

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\* Research Scholar, Dept. of Pub. Admin., Govt Arts College, Coimbatore.

\*\* Asst. Prof., Dept. of Pub. Admin. Govt Arts College, Coimbatore.

Today women play a vital role in all domains of work and are performing with dynamism, courage, integrity and with a great caliber and so in the police as well force. In India, the need for women police was first felt during the labor strike, which took place in Kanpur, in the year 1938. The state of Travancore appointed women as special police constables, in the year 1933. According to Article 246 of the Indian Constitution, the police force is designated as a state subject and every state and union territory can have its own police force and the respective governments should frame their policies, rules and regulations. Initially, the women police were recruited to deal with the cases related to women and children which was once handled exclusively by men. With their strong commitment, the women have contributed most of the policing activities on par with men.

## Functions of Women Police

The rising involvement of women in various riots, agitations, political strikes etc., created more responsibility for the state in handling the enforcement of law, particularly keeping women in mind. Increasing agitations created the need for the development of women police with a proper training to deal with some of the sensitive problems of women accused, criminals and victims of crime. According to a Bureau of Police

Research and Development report (1975), some of the principal duties to be performed by women police in India are as follows:

- Helping in the investigation of crimes involving women and children.
- Providing assistance to the local police in tracing missing women and children.
- Recovering minor girls from brothels and escorting them to rescue homes, courts and hospitals.
- Recovery of women and girls involved in abduction and kidnapping cases; collection of intelligence, interrogation of juveniles, women offenders, under trails and witnesses.
- Search and escort women offenders.
- VIP and security duties.
- Work relating to women passengers at airports and search of their persons and belongings.
- Providing assistance to the local police in evacuating women and children from disturbed areas during emergencies.
- Further women police can perform duties in maintaining order in women's meetings and processions.
- Dealing with women agitators, satyagrahis and labor troubles in which women are involved.
- Looking after women and children at fairs and in places of pilgrimage during festivals.
- Guiding women passengers at big railway stations and important bus stands in large towns and cities and
- Helping children to cross roads near schools.

### **Job Satisfaction**

Job satisfaction is a hazy concept. Generally human life is a search for satisfaction. Job as a social aspect is a vital part of human life. It plays a major role in the day-to-day life of each and every citizen. Different authors have defined job

satisfaction with different point of view. Few of their definitions are as follows:

The concept of job satisfaction has been developed in many ways by many different researchers and practitioners. One of the most widely used definitions in organizational research is that of Locke (1976), who defines job satisfaction as “a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences”.

A most recent definition on the concept of job satisfaction is from Hulin and Judge (2003), who have noted that job satisfaction includes multidimensional psychological responses to an individual's job and that these personal responses have cognitive (evaluative), affective (or emotional), and behavioral components.

### **Job Satisfaction of Women Police**

Job satisfaction is very important because it is directly or indirectly involved with personal and organizational / departmental well-being. It is simply realized all over the world that job satisfaction reflects what an employee or official feels about his or her job. The police force is involved in the day-to-day life of public. However, there very little or no effort has been made to appraise the job satisfaction of police officials in particular about women police. This is a significant problem to be taken into account by the police department as well as the government. Assessment should be carried out because vital results of dissatisfaction among police officials may cause a jeopardizing situation among the public and police department.

Employment of women in the police was initially viewed with skepticism and disfavor. There were many conflicts all over the world as women had to struggle hard to make a step forward in the police service. At first, they were entrusted with limited roles in cases related to women and children. After realizing the improvement of the system, they were given proper police training and powers.

There was a practice that work of women police tended to be restricted to cases involving women

and children and for clerical duties in earlier days, and in most of the police departments there was a belief that women were not fit for regular police work. But this fact has been totally turned upside down in the present situation.

### **Review of Literature**

Review of literature relating to the field study is vital to gain the background knowledge of the research topic. The research is carried out by referring to books, journals, magazines, research articles and newspaper articles. The review of literature depicts the work done by various researchers in the area of the present study.

### **Literature relating to job satisfaction**

From the job satisfaction perspective, the study by Ercikti S. (2011) reveals that police officers are generally satisfied with their jobs. The police officers' years of experience were the major variable that determines job satisfaction.

It is revealed from study by Randy H. (1989) that differences exist in the determinants of job satisfaction between male and female, women express equal or more job satisfaction than their counterparts. Married women employed outside are found to have better mental health. Women who work in female-oriented occupations were comparatively satisfied than with the bi-gendered occupations. It is also discernible from the study that women express slightly more job dissatisfaction than men if they have children under six.

Empirical studies on job satisfaction among police personnel is limited (Zhao, Thurman & He, 1999; Bennett 1997; Buzawa, 1984). The effective functioning of police organization is directly related to job satisfaction and its effect on higher productivity, lowered stress, absenteeism and turnover of an employee has been amply shown (Hoath, Schneider & Starr, 1998; Denhart, 1984; Sheley & Nock, 1979).

Dissatisfied police personnel adversely affect the quality of services and damage their image in the public (Yim & Schafer, 2009; Buzwa,

Austin & Bannon, 1994). It is suggested that job satisfaction among police officers is multidimensional and independent of one another (Johnson, 2012; Slovak, 1978). Police officers have been found to be more satisfied with their job when they get support from their immediate supervisor and less satisfied with their pay and access to in-service training ( Dantzker & Surette, 1996).

Dantzker et al. (1998) conducted a study on "Job satisfaction: the gender perspective among Police officers". The study examined the effect of gender on job satisfaction among police officers. Data were obtained from questionnaires completed by 2,390 male and female officers in 7 states of the United States of America. In general, the study concluded that female officers had similar levels of job satisfaction as male officers.

Simpson (1977), Fagerstrom (1970) and Sherman (1973) conducted similar studies and concluded that the police departments throughout the United States of America had policies that discouraged the hiring of women, including quotas, usually one percent or less. The work of policewomen tended to be restricted to cases involving women and children and for clerical duties. In most police departments, the prevailing feeling was that women were not fit for regular police work.

### **Objectives of the study**

- To describe the functions of women police in India.
- To study the level of job satisfaction among women police.

### **Methodology**

The study is descriptive and analytical. The data are collected from various books, magazines, newspapers, research articles and few websites.

### **Conclusion**

Though number of women in the Indian Police has recorded a significant rise over the times of yore. Women officers are still screened from vanguard policing. This should be changed in

future, the intrinsic worth of women police should be exposed to light instead of suppressing them. This is one among the reasons that women hesitate to join the police force and another noted reason is lack of job satisfaction. If there is no job satisfaction, there crop up dilemmas for working women. They will be satisfied if they get what they need like proper recognition in their field.

More opportunities should be given to women police in order to prove their talents, they should be appraised for their work. Most importantly the working condition must be safe. Safety measures for women police who are on their night duties, level of good working condition, proper work schedule and prior planning in handling emergency situations can be improvised with a view to enhance the level of job satisfaction among women police.

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# Women's Sexual Harassment at Workplace

Shivani Seth\*

**S**exual harassment of a woman at her workplace is an attack on her dignity and equality. Every woman should be guaranteed a safe work place enabling her to lead a dignified life of her choice and equality at her workplace. Issue of sexual harassment at the workplace has been a burning topic for the last two decades. The term 'sexual harassment' as a descriptor for this conduct has been coined in the 1970s. Since then the issue has become a recognized phenomenon throughout the world in all cultural and occupational contexts. Time has witnessed legal and other actions initiated by National & Local Governments and by International Organizations like the European Communities, the International Labor Organization, Food & Agriculture Organisation of U.N.O., the World Bank and the United Nations. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), "sexual harassment is a clear form of gender discrimination based on sex, a manifestation of unequal power relations between men and women".<sup>1</sup> It is not that the problem is new, only that it has aggravated and been exposed at large, as increasing numbers of women have entered the workforce, enhancement of awareness and advancement of means of communication.

## Meaning of Sexual Harassment

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment. According to former Chief Justice of India, J. Verma, as he has laid down in the case before Hon'ble Court, of Vishakha & Ors. Versus State of Rajasthan & Ors. — "Sexual harassment includes such unwelcome sexually determined

behavior as physical contacts and advances, sexually colored remarks, showing pornography and sexual demands, whether by words or actions. Such conduct can be humiliating and may constitute a health and safety problem."<sup>2</sup>

## Understanding the Sexual Harassment at Workplace

The sexual harassment of women at work place is a form of sex discrimination projected through unwelcome sexual advance, request for sexual favours and other verbal or physical conduct with sexual overtones, whether directly or by implication, particularly when submission to or rejection of such a conduct by the female employee and unreasonably interfering with her work performance and had the effect of creating an intimidating or hostile working environment for her. In the workplace, harassers are usually in senior positions, wield decision-making authority or other influences that can affect career outcomes, and/or desire to assert or exhibit power and control vis-à-vis the victim.

## Forms of Sexual Harassment at Workplace

The following forms, or examples, of sexual harassment which are most commonly referred to:

- Receiving career threats such as indications that you will be fired or withheld promotion
- if you did not accede to requests for a date, or sexual favours
- Sexual assault and rape at the workplace
- Verbal sexual harassment – being addressed by unwelcome and offensive terms such as 'bitch', 'dick', 'darling', 'bimbo', 'ah kua', etc.;

\* Research Scholar, Dayalbagh Educational Institute, Dayalbagh, Agra, Uttar Pradesh.

- Receiving unwelcome comments or being asked intrusive questions about appearance, body parts, sex life, menstruation etc.;
  - Being made to repeatedly and intentionally listen to dirty jokes, crude stories that are unwelcome and discomforting;
  - Being pestered for dates or receiving unwelcome sexual suggestions or invitations;
  - Being repeatedly subjected to sexually suggestive, obscene or insulting sounds, which are unwelcome and offensive;
  - Visual sexual harassment – repeatedly receiving e-mails, instant messages, SMSs, MMSs, which contain unwelcome language of a sexually-explicit nature; having someone expose their private parts, or repeatedly stare at body parts in a way that is unwelcome and discomforting;
  - being made to repeatedly look at sexually explicit images or pictures, or being shown obscene sexual gestures, that are offensive and unwelcome;
  - Physical sexual harassment – being brushed against or touched in any way that was unwelcome and discomforting;
1. being stood very close to or cornered in a way that was unwelcome and discomforting;
  2. being forcibly kissed or hugged;
  3. being forcibly made to touch someone;

### **Causes of Sexual Harassment at the Workplace**

*Following are the major causes of sexual harassment at the workplace:*

1. Working environment of the organization, where senior is seen as a very powerful person;
2. Stereotype thinking patterns about women, that she is of weak nature;
3. Offensive Remarks about Appearance of Female Colleagues;

4. Reporting of harassment issues;
5. Lack of Organisation's Policies and Practices to prevent Sexual Harassment.

### **International Conventions to Eradicate Sexual Harassment at Work Place**

The United Nation Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, adopted by UN General Assembly in 1979 (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration, which directs all State parties to take appropriate measures to prevent discrimination of all forms against women besides taking steps to protect the honour and dignity of women is loud and clear. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights contains several provisions particularly important for women. As early as in 1993 at the International Labor Organization (ILO) Seminar held at Manila, it was recognized that sexual harassment of woman at the work place was a form of gender discrimination against woman and it is the women's right to fair conditions of work and reflects that women shall not be subjected to sexual harassment at the place of work which may vitiate working environment. India is signatory to Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted by UN General Assembly in 1979.<sup>3</sup>

### **Indian Constitution on Sexual Harassment of Women**

Sexual harassment has been termed as a violation of Fundamental Rights of Women under Article 14 and 15(3) that guarantee Right to Equality and that State shall not be prevented to make any special provision related to Women and Children respectively. Article 21 of the Constitution of India guarantees Right to life and to Live with Dignity. Sexual Harassment is also considered as violation of the Right to Practice Any Profession or to carry on Any Trade, Occupation or Business under Article 19(1) (g) of the Constitution of India.

### **Legal Provisions in India to Dissuade the Sexual Harassment of Women at Work Place**

### **Provisions of Indian Penal Code, 1860 (IPC):**

Section 294: Obscene acts and songs:  
“Whoever, to the annoyance of others-

- (a) does any obscene act in any public place or
- (b) sings, recites or utters any obscene song, ballad or words in or near any public place, shall be punishment with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to 3 months or with fine, or both.

Section 354: Assault or use of criminal force to woman with intent to outrage her modesty:

“Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any woman, intending to outrage or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby outrage her modesty, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than one year but which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine.”

Section 354-A.: Sexual Harassment and Punishment for Sexual Harassment: \* (inserted by Act 13 of 2013)

- 1. A man committing any of the following acts-
  - i. Physical contact and advances involving unwelcome and explicit sexual overtures; or
  - ii. A demand or request for sexual favours, or
  - iii. Showing pornography against the will of a woman, or
  - iv. Making sexually colored remarks,

Shall be guilty of the offence of sexual harassment.

- 2. Any man who commits the offence specified in clause (I) or clause (ii) or clause (iii) of sub-section (I) shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.
- 3. Any man who commits the offence specified in clause (iv) of sub-section (I) shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

### **Section 354B. Assault or use of criminal force to woman with intent to disrobe**

“Any man who assaults or uses criminal force to any woman or abets such act with the intention of disrobing or compelling her to be naked, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than three years but which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.”

### **Section 354C. Voyeurism**

“Any man who watches, or captures the image of a woman engaging in a private act in circumstances where she would usually have the expectation of not being observed either by the perpetrator or by any other person at the behest of the perpetrator or disseminates such image shall be punished on first conviction with imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than one year, but which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine, and be punished on a second or subsequent conviction, with imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than three years, but which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Explanation 1.— For the purpose of this section, “private act” includes an act of watching carried out in a place which, in the circumstances, would reasonably be expected to provide privacy and where the victim’s genitals, posterior or breasts are exposed or covered only in underwear; or the victim is using a lavatory; or the victim is doing a sexual act that is not of a kind ordinarily done in public.

Explanation 2. — Where the victim consents to the capture of the images or any act, but not to their dissemination to third persons and where such image or act is disseminated, such dissemination shall be considered an offence under this section.

- i. Section 354D. Stalking. —(1) Any man who—
  - i. follows a woman and contacts, or attempts, to contact such woman to foster personal

interaction repeatedly despite a clear indication of disinterest by woman; or

- ii. monitors the use by a woman of the internet, email or any other form of electronic communication, commits the offence of stalking:

Provided that such conduct shall not amount to stalking if the man who pursued it proves that—

- i. it was pursued for the purpose of preventing or detecting crime and the man accused of stalking had been entrusted with the responsibility of prevention and detection of crime by the State; or
- ii. it was pursued under any law or to comply with any condition or requirement imposed by any person under any law; or
- iii. in the particular circumstances such conduct was reasonable and justified.

2. Whoever commits the offence of stalking shall be punished on first conviction with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine; and be punished on a second or subsequent conviction, with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine.

By Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013, following new Sections dealing with the offence of Rape have been substituted in Indian Penal Code:-

Section 375. Rape: This section defines rape and the circumstances that can be treated as rape.

Section 376. Punishment for rape.

1. Punishment—rigorous imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than seven years, but which may extend to imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine.

2. Whoever,—

- a. being a police officer, commits rape—

- i. within the limits of the police station to which such police officer is appointed; or

- ii. in the premises of any station house; or

- iii. on a woman in such police officer's custody or in the custody of a police officer subordinate to such police officer; or

- b. being a public servant, commits rape on a woman in such public servant's custody or in the custody of a public servant subordinate to such public servant; or

- c. being a member of the armed forces deployed in an area by the Central or a State Government commits rape in such area; or

- d. being on the management or on the staff of a jail, remand home or other place of custody established by or under any law for the time being in force or of a women's or children's institution, commits rape on any inmate of such jail, remand home, place or institution; or

- e. being on the management or on the staff of a hospital, commits rape on a woman in that hospital; or

- f. being a relative, guardian or teacher of, or a person in a position of trust or authority towards the woman, commits rape on such woman; or

- g. commits rape during communal or sectarian violence; or

- h. commits rape on a woman knowing her to be pregnant; or

- i. commits rape on a woman when she is under sixteen years of age; or

- j. commits rape, on a woman incapable of giving consent; or

- k. being in a position of control or dominance over a woman, commits rape on such woman; or

- l. commits rape on a woman suffering from mental or physical disability; or
- m. while committing rape causes grievous bodily harm or maims or disfigures or endangers the life of a woman; or
- n. commits rape repeatedly on the same woman, shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than ten years, but which may extend to imprisonment for life, which shall mean imprisonment for the remainder of that person's natural life, and shall also be liable to fine.

Section 376A.: Punishment for causing death or resulting in persistent vegetative state of victim.

\*\*\*\* rigorous imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than twenty years, but which may extend to imprisonment for life, which shall mean imprisonment for the remainder of that person's natural life, or with death.”

Section 376C. Sexual intercourse by person in authority.

“Whoever, being—

- a. in a position of authority or in a fiduciary relationship; or
- b. a public servant; or
- c. superintendent or manager of a jail, Remand Home or other place of custody established by or under any law for the time being in force, or a women's or children's institution; or
- d. on the management of a hospital or being on the staff of a hospital, —Punishment— with rigorous imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than six years, but which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Section 376D. Gang rape. Punishment with rigorous imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than twenty years, but which may extend to life which shall mean imprisonment for the remainder of that person's natural life, and with fine:

Section 376E. Punishment for repeat offenders: Imprisonment for life which shall mean imprisonment for the remainder of that person's natural life, or with death.”

Section 509. Word, gesture or act intended to insult the modesty of a woman: Punishment — simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.”

The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013:

It was in 1997, when Hon'ble Supreme Court of India has laid down formal guidelines for dealing with sexual harassment at the workplace following the gang rape of a social worker, Bhanwari Devi from Bhatner in Rajasthan. The incident reveals the hazards to which a working woman may be exposed and the depravity to which sexual harassment can degenerate; and the urgency for safeguards by an alternative mechanism in the absence of legislative measures and the need to find effective alternative mechanism to fulfill this felt and urgent social need.

The above Act has been passed by the Government of India in 2013, following the mandate of Hon'ble Supreme Court of India in the case of Vishakha & Others Vs. State of Rajasthan & Others, and the guidelines enunciated by the Hon'ble Apex Court in that case. Hon'ble Court had further directed to constitute appropriate mechanism at central and state levels for prevention of such incidents.

### **Key Features of the Act of 2013**

- The Act defines sexual harassment at the workplace and creates a mechanism for redressal of complaints. It also provides safeguards against false or malicious charges.
- The Act also covers concepts of 'quid pro quo harassment' and 'hostile work environment' as forms of sexual harassment if it occurs in

connection with an act or behaviour of sexual harassment.

- The definition of “aggrieved woman”, who will get protection under the Act is extremely wide to cover all women, irrespective of her age or employment status, whether in the organised or unorganized sectors, public or private and covers clients, customers and domestic workers as well.
- While the “workplace” in the Vishakha Guidelines is confined to the traditional office set-up where there is a clear employer-employee relationship, the Act goes much further to include organisations, department, office, branch unit etc. in the public and private sector, organized and unorganized, hospitals, nursing homes, educational institutions, sports institutes, stadiums, sports complex and any place visited by the employee during the course of employment including the transportation. Even non-traditional workplaces which involve tele-commuting will get covered under this law.
- The Committee is required to complete the inquiry within a time period of 90 days. On completion of the inquiry, the report will be sent to the employer or the District Officer, as the case may be, they mandated to take action on the report within 60 days.
- Every employer is required to constitute an Internal Complaints Committee at each office or branch with 10 or more employees. The District Officer is required to constitute a Local Complaints Committee at each district, and if required at the block level.
- The Complaints Committees have the powers of civil courts for gathering evidence.
- The Complaints Committees are required to provide for conciliation before initiating an inquiry, if requested by the complainant.
- The inquiry process under the Act should be confidential and the Act lays down a penalty

of Rs 5000 on the person who has breached confidentiality.

- The Act requires employers to conduct education and sensitization programmes and develop policies against sexual harassment, among other obligations.
- Penalties have been prescribed for employers. Non-compliance with the provisions the Act shall be punishable with a fine of up to <sup>1</sup> 50,000. Repeated violations may lead to higher penalties and cancellation of license or registration to conduct business.
- Government can order an officer to inspect workplace and records related to sexual harassment in any organisation.

### **Practical Reality Pertaining To Implementation of Act of 2013:**

It is pertinent to describe that despite the existence of the cited Act, the demarcated objectives could not be achieved in practical. And the entire mechanism remains dormant and continues to work in a mechanical way rather than following a practical and active approach. In 2018, in a PIL before it, Hon’ble Supreme Court has on 04 January 2018 has expressed its concern over the subject and issued notice to States in pursuance of the PIL filed before it for proper implementation of the Sexual Harassment of women at Work Place (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. In the case, the Petitioner, “Initiatives for Inclusion Foundation” has alleged that the States were not implementing the impugned Act in its true spirit and that even the Local District Officers and Complaints Committees as provided for in the Act, were not being appointed.<sup>4</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Though various legal and legislative steps have been introduced by the Indian Judiciary and the Government of India to eradicate the evil of Sexual Harassment of Women at Work Place, yet

its effective implementation is need of the hour. However, the provisions contained in Indian Penal Code are providing much more fast remedies to the victims within meaning of provision contained in it, as have been described hereinabove, since the mechanism directly involved in the process is Law Enforcing Agencies like Police and Legal Relief Providing Judicial Courts, in the matters reported. In view of increasing participation of the Women in social, economic and political spheres and Public-Private Sector, it is need of the time for the Governments to be much more vigilant and to ensure the safety of women at workplaces in larger interest of justice, for speedy progress of the country in all spheres and for welfare of the mankind.

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# European Companies and Commercial Intelligence in the 17th Century India

Ram Shankar Sah\*

*[Indian commercial environment attracted foreign merchants and companies for making huge profits by participating in commercial activities. The Mughal emperor granted the European Companies permission to trade and set up factories following which there was an increase in the trading activities and an enormous demand for commercial information. With the help of this intelligence, the companies could decide the quantity of commodities to procure, dispatch commodities to other places, ascertain the price of goods, to decide their preferred routes for safety. European trade increased the flow of information.]*

Commercial intelligence can be understood as secret or open information related to commercial activities. This included the state of the market, prices of goods, exchange rate of currencies, demand for goods in next year, risks, customs rates, and information about the activities of competitors.

The European companies, in the beginning, relied heavily on the information provided by the locals. They appointed persons already in the service of Indian political elite or business classes. As Farooque rightly points out- merchants, travellers and foreign factors normally hired messengers known as *bazar-qasid*, *harkara* or '*pattamar*'. The *pattamar* [*pathmar*!] was not only a runner, but he also circulated information like a spy about the price and stock of the goods on a particular place (Farooque, 1977: 153).

Effective commercial transactions needed speedy and regular contacts with their factors in different centers of trade and commerce. M. A. Nayeem points out that the Europeans maintained *pattamars* for getting daily news from their

trading agencies and factories in the Deccan. It continued until 1668, when the English East India Company directed its officers at Madras and Bombay to establish post office for the convenience of merchants and for increasing the company's services (Nayeem, 1974: 467).

The Portuguese traders coming to India maintained the system of communication through which they were getting information about the various commercial activities from Europe as well as other places.

Pius Malekandathil has pointed that, "When the Portuguese developed the Cape route for their commerce, information used to travel frequently between India and eastern Mediterranean through the medium of traders and *haj* pilgrims going to Mecca. Eventually, the traders through the caravan route also acted as carriers of information between the two. Later by the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the German traders developed a well-structured information networking system for the purpose of gathering information about the market conditions of the Mediterranean countries, which was also eventually used for collecting news about the nature and size of the

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\* Ph. D. candidate, Centre for Historical Studies, JNU, New Delhi.

Dutch vessels moving to the Indian Ocean from the Atlantic” (Malekandathil, 2010: 151).

The Portuguese maintained a communication channel between the Levant and India. In this communication channel, they got information in an informal way through the caravan traders and travelers who regularly coming from one place to another. However, the informal way of collecting information was changed after the 1570s because of the establishment of the updated communication system and postal networking.

Jorge Flores points out that how the *Estado da India* used missionaries as informer for the news of the court. He says that, ‘Portuguese decision makers insisted on the presence of Jesuit priests in the Imperial capital so that these could inform of everything pertaining to that king, as they actually do.’ It also informs us the method of communication by the Portuguese. He says that these missionaries first sent information to Goa and from Goa, it was further sent to Europe ((Flores, 2016: 9).

The method and vast networks of the communication of German business houses for gathering information in the sixteenth century can be seen from the below passage:

‘Detailed information about this communication networking is obtained from the writings of Ferdinand Cron, who was the former trade agent of the Fuggers and the Welsers [German business houses] in India and who started his own business at Goa when the latter terminated their Indian contract in 1591. Cron took over this news-service and extended to Malacca and Macao, which formed the eastern terminus of his commercial networks. Through the overland communication system via Venice-Aleppo-

Baghdad-Ormuz, he used to get news about the political and economic developments of Europe, which he managed to make use of for his commercial advantage or passed on to the Portuguese authorities to get acceptability before them and thus ensure mercantile privileges and legitimacy for his enterprises’ (Pius, 2010: 156).

The Portuguese traders also developed overland courier services between India and Europe via Hormuz and Mediterranean. Pius Malekandathil pointed out that this was done principally through the Augustinian monks, who established their houses at Muscat, Kung and Tebriz. It was Archbishop Alexis de Menezes who took up initiative to dispatch Augustinian monks from Goa to the court of Shah Abbas I. They were connected from India to Europe via Iran, where they had their houses in the different parts of the empire which was used for the transmission of messages. (Ibid)

The English East India Company’s effective and reliable information helped in sustaining viable commercial operations. In 1633 English factor received intelligence from an agent that the quality of the goods was not good and that the trade was not so profitable. At the same time, this agent also conveyed that the quality of the goods on the west coast of Sumatra was profitable even despite the high price because the quality was good and it met the demand for European countries and other markets as well (EFI, 1630-33, 1906: 318).

There is also another example that shows how the information that was collected about the market was useful. In 1636, a letter came to the English Company from their agents that ‘markets were bad in the Philippines, the Spanish fleet not going that year to the West Indies. This

intelligence helped many of the merchants to send their goods to Goa instead and led to some grumbling at English purchases' (EFI, 1634-36:31).

Again in 1708, news came from Jidda to Mokha that due to conflict the condition of the market was very poor. It still suffered from a scarcity of cash and merchants were not able to sell their commodities in Jidda which were exported from Mokha (Gupta, 1994: 158).

Information was necessary for commercial activities. In 1631 intelligence reached to English factor at Surat that owing to famine in India there is a lack of commodities in India; therefore, the English factor directed to the master of the ships the James and others which were at Iran 'to procure all the rice and other grains procurable,' 'not only for our own stores, but for the markets in India' (EFI, 1630-33: 178). Therefore, here we come to know that through the intelligence the English factor got to know and decided to make a profit by purchasing goods from Iran for Indian market.

The role of information in commercial activities can be understood with the below passage. Merchants of Alexandria and Venice received information via Red Sea. It mentions about the prices of commodities, which helped him in making more profit.

'The price of pepper at Venice shot up from 56 *ducats* per quintal (in 1498) to 100 *ducats* in February 1500, when the pepper price was to be actually low because of immense supply of cargo following the harvest in the months of December and January. In Cairo, the price rose from 78 *ducats* in 1498 to 90-102 *ducats* in 1500. The impact of the news of Portuguese discovery of sea-route to India was such that the leading

merchants of Europe like the Fuggers and the Welsers who were conducting trade in Venice for a long period of time closed their business establishments of Venice and moved to Lisbon in 1501.' (Pius, 2010: 152).

The above passage shows that after receiving intelligence about the chance of making more profit the leading merchants closed their business at Venice and moved to Lisbon for making more profit. This became possible only because of the networks of information.

In mercantile operations, it was common to appoint a factor and send him on a mission to go and come back with the intelligence as their principal wanted. As Bayly pointed out that there was a wider practice of written communication among merchants. They collected information about the prices and local events that might impinge on trade (Bayly, 1993: 8).

The English Factory record mentions that small vessels were sent on commercial voyages collected and brought back information (EFI, 1618-21: xxvi, 25). In 1636, when ship the *William* came from Goa to Ahmadabad without any pepper, it brought intelligence that whatever quantity was formerly promised not more than half was to be expected for delivery (EFI 1634-36: 153). Nicholas Withington, a seventeenth-century traveller, mentions that he hired a *pattamar* and sent him to Lahari-bandar to find out the commercial environment:

'wee had certayne intelligence by divers that there were English ships arrived in Syndra at Lowrybander, Whereupon yt was thought fit by our Agente (myself there to consulting) that I should instantly take my journey thether to them, to inform them of our settle factorye and to advise them of other things convenient for our and their

trading. Whereupon I prepared all things necessarye, and the next daye departed on my journey' (Foster, 1921: 2208).

The English factory record also shows that the Company procured intelligence about the rival trading company of the Dutch merchants from a person specifically appointed for this purpose (EFI 1651-54: xiii). They also used diverse channels to source commercial information.

In 1621 a letter of the English shows that the Company got information regarding the prices of spices in Jakarta from the ship known as *Schiedam* which came from Jakarta. However, at the same time 'Company will have received full information from other sources' about the prices of spices (EFI 1616-21: 298-99). They also sent information to their headquarters in London for permission and guidance. On 8 April 1651, the Company sent a letter from Surat:

'the Ahmadabad factors are purchasing indigo and negotiating for a large quantity of saltpeter; but it is doubtful whether any good sugar can be had either there or here. Hope, however, to procure sufficient cargo to lade home two ships next season. Further investments at Ahmadabad for Mocha and Basra will be made before the rains, "when cloth is cheapest". Goods intended to be purchased at Surat. Markets here are so dull at present that an additional quantity of broadcloth has been sent to Persia for sale. The investments made in Sind this year are as large as, as larger than, those of last year. The markets at Gombroon have of late been exceedingly dull; but the factors have managed to sell a good quantity of cotton cloths some at a loss some at a fair profit; the real yield is obscured in the Persia' (EFI 1651-54: 58).

The Anglo-Dutch war created additional demand for commercial cum military intelligence. A

private letter which came from Aleppo to the President of English Company at Surat on 23 March 1653 contained information regarding the war and the military capabilities of the Dutch on the sea (EFI 1651-54: 168). In 1637, a letter came to the President of the English East India Company at Surat which contained news from England and certain information about the Dutch Company.

It was mentioned in this letter that 'the Dutch, who are at present outside the bar with eleven vessels large and small have prepared six galleons including a new one of seventy guns in addition to the two ships from Europe and with this fleet it is intended to give battle' (EFI 1637-41: 31).

The European merchants appointed brokers for procuring intelligence. As Qaisar rightly points out that 'the brokers held the most strategic position, as they were in communication with the artisans and merchants and also had advance information about the departure of ships' (Qaisar, 1974: 237).

Tavernier mentions the selection of brokers, the power of the brokers and to what extent the brokers helped him in the making profit by using his services:

'[A]lthough the temptation is great for these two officers (brokers), on account of their power, the frequent opportunities, and the absence of their superiors from whom it is easy to conceal the truth, a Company is able to remedy this evil, by making a careful selection of these two officers, and by removing the pretext which the Dutch Commanders and brokers urge, which is that they are constrained to sell quickly to the merchants, wholesale, to avoid the costs of deal' (Tavernier, 1925: 1,7).

The brokers also passed the information about safety on roads. Ashin Das Gupta mentions that

bed spreads from the neighborhood of Lucknow (*dariabadi chadar*) and the indigo of Bayana (best quality grown in Agra) could not be procured because there was a lack of security (Gupta, 1970: 189). This information came to the Dutch factors at Surat in 1720 through a letter. Even the English factory record highlights this kind of information where he also received this kind of information.

Letters were the main source of communication in those days. In 1693, of the two ships of Abdul Ghafur known as *Faiz Rasan* and the *Fatehi*; the *Fez Resan* were attacked by the pirates. The *nakhuda* of the *Fatehi* reported to his master that how he and the writer of the ship had been tortured' by the pirates (Gupta, 1994: 98). Therefore, here we get the reference of a writer on a ship. So, there is a possibility that writer was appointed for the record of incidences and he was also appointed to maintain a regular contact with the ship and their owner.

It has been seen that some letters of the English factors contain political information along with commercial. Therefore, there is a possibility of instruction which was given to the agents for collecting other information along with the commercial information. A letter from Bengal mentions the departure of ships from Hugly on 1 December 1659 along with the information which says 'Shah Shuja again taken the field, with the intention of crushing Mir Jumla before reinforcements could reach him. The Nawabi forces were posted at Beliaghata, about eight miles south of Suti, and there on 15 December they were attacked by Shuja' (EFI 1655-60: 298).

The European Companies were also interested in acquiring information on rival merchants. It can be seen from the factory records of both the

English and the Dutch that they were interested in each other's activities. The Dutch factory record mentions that the Company received news about a Portuguese ship (Prakash, 1984: 85). They also sent local commercial as well as political information to their factor.

In 1619, letters written by Van Ravesteyn (head at Surat) and Goeree (merchant) at Surat to the governor-general at Bantam mentions about the fine imposed by the *mutasaddi* of Surat on the English Company's brokers (Ibid, 95-96). The English factory records also mention that they were acquiring the information about the Dutch and the Portuguese (EFI, 1630-33: 10, 19, 100, 105, 109; EFI, 1637-41: 41, 194, 209, 215).

The Dutch East India Company also maintained organizational networks for the proper communication system. Bernier observed that the Dutch had sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Qasimbazar (Bernier, 1916: 440). The Dutch Company used the services of these natives in the information gathering along with the other works which were assigned to them.

The above study also shows that the *Estado da India* [Portuguese], the English East India Company and the Dutch company's commercial activities were mainly based on the circulation of information. Information played a decisive role in the development of commercial activities. Therefore, it was necessary for all to maintain an effective communication system. This period was a period of contention and collaboration both in terms of information. Therefore, it is possible to argue that intelligence played a crucial role in the shaping of the European Companies commercial activities.

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**Date of Publication : 5 - 2 - 2018**

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