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- ❖ **Japan-India Relations**
- ❖ **Nehru as a Parliamentarian**
- ❖ **Social Justice in a Welfare State**
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India & Gulf Kerfuffle

The Gulf kerfuffle that has obtained in the wake of Saudi Arabia, along with some other countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) cutting off ties with Qatar on June 5, over Qatar's alleged support to Islamists and Iran; the regional power play in the Arab Gulf region has put India in a spot from geostrategic and geo-economic perspectives. India imports bulk of its oil and gas supplies from the GCC countries and the region is also significant for India from trade and investment aspects. Besides, over 8 million Indians are working the Gulf and their remittances constitute an important part of national economy. In other words, any toward development in the Gulf region entails potential of jeopardizing India's geopolitical and geo-economic stakes in the region.

A whopping 8.16 million Indians, about 72 per cent, of total Indian Diaspora abroad, is present in the GCC region. Among the six GCC countries, Saudi Arabia is counted to have maximum number of NRIs, totalling 2,960,000 to be followed by the UAE with NRIs numbering 2,600,000, and Kuwait is the third largest centre of Indian Diaspora among the GCC countries. The Sultanate of Oman is home to a total of 795,082 of NRIs. After Oman comes Qatar with 630,000 NRIs and Bahrain happens to have 295,504 NRIs and it is the only GCC country where the NRI population has fallen by over 15 per cent from 350,000 in January 2015. The Indian expats in the GCC countries contribute substantially to the consolidation of bilateral relations and their remittances have contributed significantly to India's economic resurgence. The GCC is the second-largest source for remittances for India after North America, accounting for around 35 per cent of the total remittances to India. In 2015, India attracted \$ 69 billion in remittances world wide of which \$ 36.06 billion was from the GCC countries – UAE \$ 12.57 billion, Saudi Arabia \$ 10.51 billion, Kuwait \$ 4.69 billion, Qatar \$ 3.97 billion, Oman \$ 3.07 billion and Bahrain \$ 1.25 billion.

In 2016, India's remittances stood at \$62.7 billion, registering a significant 8.9 per cent drop in remittances as compared to 2015 and this was attributable mainly to the drop in oil prices and fiscal tightening and weak economic growth in the GCC countries. In the wake of ongoing Gulf crisis, India now has to navigate the fault lines in the region. Government has done well by underlining Delhi's non-interfering position and playing down its impact on India, saying that India has good ties with all regional rivals, Saudi Arabia and Iran. Under the given circumstances, especially when New Delhi enjoys cordial relations with the GCC countries, Government has seemingly taken wise decision by describing the situation as an "internal issue" of the GCC countries and concurrently for it the only worry is about Indian nationals who may be caught in between the rival countries, in the wake of travel bans on Qatar.

Although India has deftly engaged the regional players over the last three years, it will be interesting to watch how the Modi government will respond to the emerging challenges in the region. Asserting that India's strategic and security interests are intertwined with its relations with these West Asian countries, some experts opine that it will be difficult for India to choose sides. Besides, India's energy dependence on West Asia is very high both in oil and gas sectors and in this regard it opined that a turmoil in the Gulf, as was witnessed during the Gulf war, Arab Spring, war in Yemen, Libya crisis, has always had the tendency to adversely impact the flow of energy from the region to India. According to some observers, an immediate issue which India will face will be the movement of workers in the region, as Qatar Airways will find itself isolated after the Saudi-led alliance's decision to impose a travel ban. Many Indians use Qatar Airways to travel to Doha and other places in the region, which some experts feel, could pose a big challenge for the Indian government to navigate. Under the prevailing situation, New Delhi needs to tread a cautious path, especially in regard to the conditions affecting the Indian Diaspora in the region. — BK

Japan-India Relations in the 21st Century

Dr. P.Chennakrishnan

[The emerging strategic relationship between India and Japan is significant for the future security and stability of the Indo-Asia-Pacific region. It is also a critical emergent relationship for U.S. security objectives across the Asia-Pacific. India possesses the most latent economic and military potential of any state in the wider Asia-Pacific region. Therefore, India is the state with the greatest potential outside of the United States itself to contribute to the objectives of the “Rebalance to the Pacific” announced by Washington in 2011. This “rebalance” was aimed at fostering a stable, prosperous, and rules-based region where peace, prosperity, and wide respect for human rights are observed and extended. Implicit in the rebalance was a hedge against a China acting to challenge the existing post-Second World War rules-based international and regional order. India and Japan share complementary, but not identical strategic vision. Both seek to manage—and minimize—the potential negative impacts from the rise of China in accord with their own strategic perspectives.]

As of early 2017, Japan perceives China’s growing assertive actions to be a great and rising strategic threat. India is concerned about China’s increasingly worrisome behavior but finds it relatively more dependent upon China for economic growth and less worried about its immediate physical threat than Japan. As a result, India has been, and will continue to be, less vocal in complaints about Chinese behavior, preferring to warn Beijing with subtle signaling and actions.

The Japan-India relationship dates back to centuries, involving both cultural and commercial interaction. Buddhism came to Japan from India in the 6th and 7th centuries. The Asuka Temple in Nara was constructed in 588 and the Great Buddha of Nara was added in 609. Travel of Buddhist scholars from India to Japan and of Japanese students to India can be traced back to the 8th century.

The shared Buddhist tradition spiritually and culturally links the Japanese and Indian people and differentiates Japan from Confucian Asia. The Dutch East India Company established trade routes between Japan and the subcontinent that remained active even during Japan’s seclusion

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period (1638–1858). The first direct economic contact can be traced to the beginning of Japan’s Meiji period (1868), when Japan used raw materials from India to enable its early industrialization.

The focus of this monograph is the 21st-century evolution of the Indo-Japanese strategic relationship. Modern forces are driving this relationship forward—in particular, the rise of China, the promise of India, and the re-emergence of Japan as an active contributor to international peace and stability. The Indo-Japanese strategic relationship shares a clear symmetry, in language and processes, with the historic U.S.-Japan alliance and with the emerging U.S.-India strategic partnership. In this context, the United States has a conspicuous stake in the success of the relationship and seeing that it reaches its full strategic potential.

The monograph was researched over the course of a year from late 2015 to late 2016. It is based upon extensive research into primary Japanese and Indian sources and references. It is leavened by author’s interviews with key political and security officials in New Delhi and in Tokyo during visits to those locations in December 2015 and May 2016, respectively.

Japan and India Relations

Japan-India strategic relations can be conceptualized as having evolved through three major phases since the end of Second World War: 1945–1999, 2000–2005, and 2006 through today.³ In the first phase, Japan and India maintained a harmonious relationship but remained at a political distance due to the geopolitical divide between India's leadership of the nonaligned movement and Tokyo's close alignment with the U.S.-led anti-communist, anti-Soviet Union block. U.S.-India antipathy—and the distance between Tokyo and New Delhi—grew greater after India's treaty of “friendship and cooperation” with Moscow, which was signed in 1971 and was operative through 1990.

At the same time, the harmony beneath the distance was demonstrated in several warm episodes during the last 45 years of the 20th century. In the immediate post-Second World War era, India provided urgent supplies of food and other equipment to Japan. Indo-Japanese warmth was also evident between India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi, who was the first postwar Japanese prime minister to visit India in 1957. This first phase came to a rather frosty end after India's nuclear tests of 1998 and the Japanese decision to join Washington and impose economic sanctions against New Delhi.⁴

The second phase of the relationship began in 2000 and continued through the end of 2005. It followed the historic visit of President Bill Clinton to India in March 2000, the first by a U.S. President in more than 20 years. Taking a cue from the Clinton visit, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori traveled to New Delhi later in August 2000.⁵ Japan's most pressing aim with India was economic. A growing India divested from the Soviet bloc since 1991 and committed to creating a more capitalist, world-oriented economy, was becoming increasingly attractive as a trade and investment partner in Tokyo, as it also was in Washington.

Mori established the Japan-India Global Partnership during his August 2000 visit. In 2001, the then Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Japan. The bilateral relationship has broadened and deepened ever since, enjoying bipartisan support in both countries.⁶ Since August 2000, prime ministers of both the Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Party of Japan have visited India. Beginning with the visit of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to India in 2005, Japanese and Indian prime ministers have held annual summits alternating between New Delhi and Tokyo for more than a decade. On the security front, the Indian and Japanese coast guards began annual joint exercises and leadership exchange visits in 2000.

Japan was a natural partner for India's Look East policy, although relations between the two expanded only slowly at first during the 1990s as Japan took its cues from a cautious United States and India focused most intensely on relationships with Southeast Asian states. During the 1990s, India first focused on the build-out of strong commercial, cultural, and military ties with Singapore, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Thailand. New Delhi signed free trade agreements with a range of East Asian countries, including South Korea and Japan.

India also pursued membership in multiple Asia-Pacific economic and security forums. It became a sectoral dialogue partner with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1992. In 1995 it attained advisory status in ASEAN and became a member of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific. It became a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum in 1996 and a summit-level partner in ASEAN (on par with China, Japan, and Korea) in 2002.

Indian thought leaders today believe that the relationship with Japan is built on a number of complementary dynamics that matter to the Look East policy. Japan is an aging society, while India is a young one. Japan needs to invest its capital offshore successfully to gain and grow, and India offers an attractive, relatively untapped

infrastructure and manufacturing base upon which to grow value.

Japan needs access to educated workers for offshore ventures, and India has such a demographic asset. Japan and India share political values anchored in democracy and diversity of opinion and expression. Japan and India share a common history of religious ideals, namely Buddhism. Indeed, unlike many of Japan's relations across Asia, Tokyo's engagements with India feature tremendous goodwill and "few discordant notes."⁷ By the mid-2000s, Indian policymakers positioned the Japan-India relationship at the top of a growing array of strategically important bilateral relationships evolving across the Indo-Asia-Pacific region.

Japan and India share a vision for the future of order in the Indo-Pacific region that meshes well with the January 2015 U.S.-India Joint Strategic Vision for the Indo-Pacific Region. Much of this bilateral vision is mirrored in the India-Japan Vision 2025 document of late 2015. In turn, the context of the India-Japan partnership aligns strongly with a chief aim of the U.S. "Rebalance to the Pacific" framework: that of encouraging regional partners to do more for themselves and to work more closely in security relationships with other like-minded partners across the region.

Senior officials in India and in Japan credit the critical role of the United States in signaling and encouraging the two nations to pursue their bilateral strategic relationship to its historic heights as of early 2017. It remains important for the United States to continue signaling—and supporting—Japanese and Indian initiatives to more closely advance their relationship in a strategically significant way.

The interest of the Donald Trump administration in seeing U.S. strategic partners and allies do more to assure their own security, including doing more with other regional partners, will benefit greatly from a deeper and stronger India-Japan strategic relationship. Put in another way, the United States has a tremendous role to play in further advancing Japan-India ties. The way

Washington deals with disappointments and challenges in relations with New Delhi can encourage Japanese forbearance in its disappointments with India and set a model for Japan's engagement toward a long-term strategic partnership.

Japan expects India for improving the business environment, including the easing of regulations and the stabilization of the system. India established the "Japan Plus" office in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in October 2014 as a "one-stop" location for resolving problems faced by Japanese companies. Japan and India agreed to set up 11 candidates of Japanese industrial townships around DMIC and CBIC areas in April 2015. Prime Minister Abe requested India's early decision on introducing special incentive packages in Japanese industrial townships in December 2015 and November 2016.

India decided to introduce the Shinkansen system in December 2015, when Prime Minister Abe visited India. The Japan's Shinkansen system is in a highest class of High-Speed Railway systems around the world in terms of its safety and accuracy. Japan and India confirmed that the General Consultant would start its work in December 2016, the construction work would begin in 2018, and the railway's operation would commence in 2023.

India has been the largest recipient of Japanese ODA Loan for the past decades. Delhi Metro is one of the most successful examples of Japanese cooperation through the utilization of ODA. Japan will cooperate on supporting strategic connectivity linking South Asia to Southeast Asia through the synergy between "Act East" policy and "Partnership for Quality Infrastructure."

In terms of human resource development in the manufacturing sector in India, Japan announced its cooperation of training 30,000 Indian people over next 10 years in the Japan-India Institute for Manufacturing (JIM), providing Japanese style manufacturing skills and practices, in an effort to enhance India's manufacturing industry base and contribute to "Make in India" and "Skill India" Initiatives.

JIM and the Japanese Endowed Courses (JEC) in engineering colleges will be designated by Japanese companies in India, and this is a good example of cooperation between the public and private sectors. The first three JIMs would start in summer 2017 in the States of Gujarat. Those institutes are also expected to give more Indian students the ambition to study the Japanese language.

Table -1: Japan-India Trade (Yen: billion)

Year	Trade from India to Japan	Trade from Japan to India
2005	352	388
2006	472	518
2007	491	723
2008	544	819
2009	348	591
2010	499	792
2011	543	882
2012	559	845
2013	690	839
2014	739	861
2015	589	981

Source: Japanese government document

Table -2: Direct Investment from Japan (Yen: billion)

Year	Direct Investment from Japan
2005	29.8
2006	59.7
2007	178
2008	543
2009	344
2010	241
2011	181
2012	223
2013	210
2014	219
2015	289

Source: Japanese government documents

Table -3: Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) Disbursements to India by Fiscal Year (US\$ million)

Year	Loan Aid	Grant Aid	Technical cooperation
2010	462.06	11.5	21.29
2011	2789.04	2.67	33.38
2012	3397.86	1	31.76
2013	3512.88	15.99	41.97
2014	1141.68	2.08	36.33

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

The yearly figures for Loan Aid and Grant Aid are based on the amount of assistance agreed to through exchange of notes during the fiscal year. However, Grant Assistance for Japanese NGOs, Cultural Grassroots and Grassroots Human Security projects within Grant Aid depends on grant contracts (G/C). A yearly figure for Technical Cooperation indicates the amount of fund disbursed from the budget of JICA, relevant ministries and local governments in the fiscal year. 2) The figures for Technical Cooperation up to the fiscal year 2013 indicate the amount of Technical Cooperation carried out by all relevant authorities. Fiscal year 2014 shows the amount of Technical Cooperation implemented by JICA.

Conclusion

Over the past few years, consistent engagement between India and Japan has transformed the bilateral relationship into a significant, broad-based and strategically oriented one. Both the countries have been intent on strengthening ties in both economic and defense domain and work towards influencing the future Asia-Pacific landscape. Abe and Prime Minister Modi are also wary of China's growing presence as well as the vacuum which can be created by a declining US involvement in the region especially given uncertainty over US's future foreign policy. India and Japan also look to complement each other economically with Japan providing India with

capital and technology and finding new markets in the process.

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Remembering Nehru as a Parliamentarian

Dr. Neeru Sharma*

[Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the giants of modern India, who left a lasting impact on the socio-economic and political forces of the day. The core of his political thought was based on his firm adherence to democracy, individual freedom and socialism. Intense nationalism was part of his mental makeup which was abundantly evident in the course of the Indian National Movement. It is impossible to recount Nehru's accomplishments spanning, some sixty momentous years of Indian history, ushering in a free independent India and guiding the destiny of the young nation for 17 years.]

There is hardly any aspect of the people's life-men and women, old and young, the intellectual and the plebian, the rich and the poor which remained untouched by his genuine concern and interest. His speeches on international affairs, Motion of Thanks on President's address, Five-year Plans and other issues of public importance were elaborate, and clearly reflected his perspective and vision.

Jawaharlal Nehru's contribution to the development of parliamentary democracy in India forces us to recall the glorious beginning of our parliamentary democracy where healthy debates and discussions were order of the day. It is significant to note that, independent India's first Parliament had the distinction of having spent the maximum time on legislation. During Nehru era Parliament discharged its function of charting out the path of social engineering with the utmost sense of responsibility.

A democrat by temperament, Nehru endeavored to nurture parliamentary institutions in this country. He held Parliament in high esteem because in his view it was through Parliament alone that people's will could be truly reflected. In keeping with the spirit of the Constitution, Nehru gave due respect to both Houses of Parliament. On all important matters, Nehru kept members of both the Houses of Parliament informed. Nehru accorded equal status to both

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Houses of Parliament. He made it a point to speak on all important matters in both Houses.

Question Hour was something which Nehru found most interesting. Whenever the Prime Minister saw that there was scathing attack on a minister by the members, he would go to his rescue. Nehru also did not hesitate to correct his erring colleagues even on the floor of the House. If he perceived that there was a lapse or impropriety on his part or on the part of his colleague, he would express regrets for it. Such were his norms of parliamentary behavior as were highly admired and acclaimed even by his political opponents.

Nehru used to attend question hour regularly even on days when his ministry was not involved in the day's interpellations. He used to watch young members struggling to put their questions, with sympathy and encouragement. He wanted the ministers to be fully informed of their charge and frowned upon ministers trying to evade answers. Nehru used to hear the debates in his room through the microphone. Whenever there was any interesting debate or some hot exchanges, he would quietly walk into the House and without disturbing the proceedings take his seat in the back bench. Whenever policies had to be started or clarifications to be offered, Nehru intervened in the debate and raised the level of discussions.

Commenting once the utility of the Question Hour he observed in Rajya Sabha, "Personally, I think

one of the most valuable practices of our parliamentary system is the Question Hour- I think it is highly important – as well as the right of all members to raise debate on a particular question. I think those things will have to continue. We shall have to face this question of how to use our time to the best advantage”.

He would not only answer questions and supplementary pertaining to his Ministry addressed to him, but would also intervene in the answers given by his junior colleagues in reply to question addressed to them. We can take the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha on 10th August 1959 as a typical example. Starred question No. 3 on that day related to an Indian Canberra shot down by Pakistan Air Force; question No.6 concerned International Commission for Supervision and Control of Laos; question No. 10 was on entry of Chinese nationals into India from Tibet and question No. 21 was regarding Dalai Lama's Press Conference. These were answered by Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, but supplementaries to all these questions were answered by Prime Minister Nehru.

He seemed to possess detailed information on almost all subjects on his finger tips. The confidence and composure with which he answered these questions, his complete grip over the minutest details in spite of the fact that he was not directly dealing with the subject matter of these questions and the masterly way in which he replied gave ample proof that he was a seasoned parliamentarian. Whether he was discussing planning, politics, science, technology culture or diplomacy, Nehru always gave an excellent exposition of the subject under discussion. One could hardly believe how a single person could have the ability to speak with such authority, knowledge and conviction on so many subjects during a single speech.

During sessions of Parliament, Nehru used to keep himself in constant touch with the proceedings of both the Houses of Parliament. He attended the Rajya Sabha not only on the days earmarked for Prime Minister's Business but

paid several unscheduled visits on other days as well. On many occasions, he voluntarily participated in debates on matters which did not come strictly within his departmental responsibility.

He never functioned as leader of the majority party in the House; on the contrary he tried as far as possible, to carry the opposition with him in all important matters under consideration of the House. He welcomed criticism not only from the opposition but gave even his own party members the right to seek clarification and at times the right to offer constructive criticism of government policies. Nehru spoke, almost always, entirely extempore, with a natural fluency occasionally injecting a dramatic touch. He never tried to hedge or dodge in any way and was always ready to admit errors with grace.

Jawaharlal Nehru's attitude *vis-à-vis* criticism in a parliamentary democracy provides a telling illustration of his democratic spirit. He valued criticism. He hoped to gain grains of truth from criticism. In a speech on January 28, 1957, he had said: "I believe completely in any government, whatever it might be, having stout critics, having an opposition to face. Without criticism, people and governments become complacent. The whole parliamentary system of government is based on such criticism". Once Shri R. Venkataram wrote, "I should like to underline the fact that parliamentary democracy is one of the most exacting applied sciences. If you as a whole do not rise up to reach the levels of Nehru, democracy could be a hollow system, a mockery of what it should be".

He had a vision in his mind for India, having concern for public welfare and democratic values. Jawaharlal Nehru, as President of the Indian National Congress, declared in 1936 that India's ultimate objective was the establishment of a "democratic state" a sovereign state which would promote and foster "full democracy" and usher in a new social and economic order. While replying to the debate on the 'Objective Resolution' He made clear: "The first task of this Assembly is to free India through a new

Constitution, to feed the starving people and clothe the naked masses, and to give every Indian fullest opportunity to develop himself according to his capacity. The greatest and most important to solve the problem, all our paper constitutions will become useless and purposeless”.

Putting forward the social objectives of planning before the Parliament in 1954, as India’s first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had said: “we are starting planning for 360 million human beings in India. What do the 360 million people want? It is obvious enough that they want food. It is obvious enough that they want clothing, that they want shelter, they want wealth. I suggest that only policy that we should have in mind is that we have to work for 360 million people; not for a few, not for a group but the whole lot and to bring them up on an equal basis”.

In Nehru’s words, “Parliamentary democracy demands many virtues. It demands, of course, ability. It demands certain devotion to work. It also demands large measure of co-operation, of self discipline, of restraint. Parliamentary democracy is not something which can be created in a country by some magic wand”. He felt that the parliamentary democracy was essential for integrating all the religions, linguistic, regional and other social groups. It could give them a share in the power structure. He preferred parliamentary system to the presidential system of government as it provides for a pluralistic executive in which various groups can be accommodated. He felt that the Parliamentary Government would provide not only political stability but also flexibility.

Nehru was a one man institution, combining in himself not only the qualities of leadership but also of self-appraisal and self assessment. Nehru was a democrat par excellence, a compassionate judge of others but a critic of his own actions if he found them wanting in one respect or the other. As a Parliamentarian, Nehru was unique leader. He could hear a contrary view with patience, see the merit, if any, in a criticism and readjust and revise his views where necessary.

These are the hall-marks of a true democrat, a true Parliamentarian, a true statesman, who perceived the problems of growth and development, of modernization and progress, from the angle of the large majority of people. Always receptive of new ideas he would listen sympathetically to the humblest of the humble in India and elsewhere. A friendly adversary, devoid of rancor of malice, of pettiness and deception, he kept an open mind on the problems of the day. Not surprisingly, he stood out as one of the greatest parliamentarians in free India.

Readers of India’s rich history of Parliament proceedings have much to be proud of. The Parliament is the supreme forum of India’s democracy, and represents the will of the people and their different identities. Successive governments have also been sensitive to the views of the Parliament on issues of high national policy, foreign affairs, and defence. While all this is true, below the surface, in recent years, there has been a subtle change in the role of the Parliament which is not evident at first glance. All citizens who follow the news in the media or who watch Parliamentary proceedings are aware of it, and perhaps disappointed by the frequent disruptions that now occur in the Parliament.

Nowadays people view political parties and leaders from a perspective of the corporate world. This is natural in age of capitalism riding on LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation), wherein commerce has gained precedence over political and other social processes. Now the catchword is ‘marketing’ in place of ‘mobilizations’. Economic activity which is the most important rather fundamental aspect of human life is controlled not by people themselves but by parasitic elements. So distortions at large scale are bound to occur ultimately resulting into decline of ethical values.

On a visit to any village, one is shocked to see school dropouts loitering around without work or working in temporary unskilled jobs. The problem is that the government’s involvement at the state level is very different from the grandiose

announcements by the Finance Minister in Parliament in New Delhi. In every budget more and more money is doled out for primary health care and for preventive medical care but it has not made a dent on the rural population as is evident from the crowds that crave for the attention of doctors at public hospitals every day.

Most people do not need to crowd city hospitals if primary health care was available in the villages or small towns. Similarly, despite huge sums being pumped into primary education, basic facilities in most village schools are lacking and absenteeism among teachers forces children to dropout and become farmers. Where should one priority lie in selecting the areas of focus for a huge country like ours? Unfortunately priorities seem clear but policies are clouded by politics.

Parliament is the nerve centre of national activities. It is through the Parliament that elected representatives of the people ventilate people's grievances and opinions on various issues; scrutinize the functioning of the executive both on the floor of the House and through special committees constituted for the purpose; and enact laws. On the floor of the House members are given ample opportunity to probe into the functioning of the government through questions, calling attention motions, adjournment motions, no-confidence motions etc.

However, despite these wide powers conferred on members of Parliament to discharge their obligations as elected representatives of the people we hear simmering of discontent from different quarters on the functioning of Parliament and its members. On 31st May 2012 the Indian Parliament celebrated its 60th anniversary. It is good that MPs vow to perform better and both Houses resolved to uphold the supremacy of the national legislature. The resolution voiced MPs' commitment to strengthening democratic values and enhancing government's accountability to the people.

The malaise needs to be controlled if parliamentary democracy is to be run in the spirit in which it was intended by founding fathers of

the Constitution. It is sad that rot has also set in state legislature where too serious business is transacted on a diminishing scale. It is not as though there are no well meaning Parliamentarians and state legislatures. But they need to assert themselves within party fora and shame those who have made it their business to disrupt proceedings. The leaders of various political parties must also introspect in the right spirit so that Parliament is restored to its old glory in the eyes of people. This can be the real tribute to Nehru.

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Is Common Sense a Relic of the Past?

Tomislav Jakić*

[Once upon a time, this is how fairy tales usually begin. This is not a fairy tale, but once upon a time people used to talk about common sense and to think on subjects based on common sense. It was never an ideal time, but always when it seemed that the lack of common sense and the evil in us would draw the world in the abyss of self-destruction, common sense woke up and rebelled; most usually in combination with pragmatism.]

Mankind paid dearly in the ensuing battle, it went through unbelievable horrors, but eventually common sense would prevail. And so it went until the year 1990, when the Cold War ended. It was an extremely dangerous confrontation between the two superpowers, not only ideologically different blocs. The world peace was saved only due to the fragile, but at the same time efficient balance of fear, namely on the knowledge that an open armed confrontation would end without anybody being victorious.

But, as from the beginning of the last decade of the 20th century, when East – West confrontation ended, due to the fact that the Soviet bloc disintegrated, when the “dawn of democracy” had begun shining on countries, previously ruled with iron hand from one centre and by one and only party and its repressive system, we are witnessing a constant and steady downgrading in all sectors of life. Because of this and despite democracy as a system, despite democratic forms and despite the multiparty system, it is unavoidable that we put to ourselves the question: does common sense belongs to the past, is it a relic of the past?

All indications point towards a positive answer.

In international relations we are experiencing the revival of the Cold War, a new and with every day passing more dangerous confrontation between the United States and the Russian Federation. In fact it is nothing more than the almost desperate striving of neoliberal capitalism to “rule the world”. In order to be able to achieve this goal, to gain the support (of previously manipulated citizens, but – alas – in the best democratic form) for the policy of

expansionism, regardless of anything, neoliberal capitalism needs an enemy. Because having an enemy is the best way to homogenize one’s own flock.

And the enemy was found, better to say it was projected in the picture of Russia, although – and this is ironic indeed – it is the democratic West that is today practicing the policy of hegemony, once a trade mark of the Soviet Union. All basic principles upon which the architecture of international relations was build, are abandoned. Nobody even thinks of speaking about the principle of equality, or the principle of not meddling in internal affairs of other states, not to mention the right of every country and nation to develop as they think it suits them best.

In a globalised world, and we were made to believe that only such a world could exist, everything must be “cooked following the same recipe”. If this is not the case, with or without the blessing of the UN and under the disguise of the war for democracy and for human rights, bombers start their deadly missions, mercilessly killing those whose human rights they are supposed to protect.

Whole states are pushed into chaos and internal fighting, whole regions are destabilized and heads of states are killed (just remember Hillary Clinton and her words, when she received the news that colonel Ghadafi was killed: “We came, we saw and he is dead!”). At the same time, modern arms worth billions of dollars are being sold to states whose record in the field of democracy and human rights is – to put it mildly – very poor. But they are “ours”.

With growing speed the world is being divided between the ever smaller part of privileged and rich,

those who are governing not because they were democratically elected to do so, but because they have the power to do so and the ever bigger part of oppressed – in every sense – and poor, those who are being governed. While thousands and thousands of people are dying from hunger in the under-developed countries, Europeans waste in one year so much food that every hungry human being on this planet Earth could be fed. And the American President says that climate changes and their evident results are just a hoax. Is there any common sense in all this? No, there is none!

So, what can we expect, what is to be expected? Let us put forward just two scenarios. The first is the armed confrontation between East and West, be it direct, be it as a consequence of some action of the unpredictable US President – amateur (for example a missile attack on North Korea). In both cases the consequences would be disastrous, not to say suicidal. The second scenario is slightly “milder”. It is based on the presumption that the oppressed, the hungry and the poor would conclude that they have nothing to lose, but their lives, and a tornado of revolution would hit the entire world with a highly uncertain result.

Indications that are pointing towards this scenario we can detect in attacks whose perpetrators are more and more often terrorizing the countries of the West. While it is true that these attacks are – at least – disguised as being religiously motivated, it is not less true that there is no religion that could motivate suicide attackers, were it not for the basic and deeply rooted feeling of being pushed to the margins of the society, of being deprived of some basic rights, such as the right to be educated, the right to be medically cared for, in short the right to live, as a human being, a decent life.

There too we confront the results of a policy without any common sense, a policy that recruited the oppressed, the poor, but pathological killers too, trying to use them as an instrument for achieving its goals, only to meet now the murderers it produced as its own enemies. There can be no doubt about it – they, the terrorists, were produced by the policy of the West, they were armed and supported thanks to this policy – either directly, or through smaller

countries, satellites of the “big Brother” from the other side of the Atlantic.

And now this same policy is being confronted by them – globally. Still it will not, or cannot accept the fact that the terrorists are the greatest danger for the world as we knew it and that the fight against them should be the prime – and common – target of our civilization. It will not, or cannot accept Russia as an ally in this war; on the contrary it is continuing to present Russia as an enemy (adversary), adding – if it seems to be suitable – Iran, North Korea and sometimes China. Is there any common sense in all this? None whatsoever!

And is there some common sense in the policy of the so-called transition countries? Absolutely not! Former Soviet satellites only changed their master; they became champions in the battle against the (non-existing) communism, because it suits the neoliberal capitalism for which the very idea of communism is the worst imaginable enemy. At the same time these countries are deeply engulfed in historic revisionism, “writing” the new history of the Second World War and the anti-Fascists struggle, while “forgetting” their collaboration with Nazi-fascism.

Republic of Croatia, to name one example, invented the formula about “all totalitarian regimes being equal evil”, thus putting on the same level antifascism (labeled for this purpose as communism) and fascism, while Republic of Serbia – just another example – rehabilitates in court procedures the leaders of the Chetnik movement which collaborated with the occupying forces during the Second World War and fought against Marshal Tito’s partisans.

The prevailing atmosphere in the world is one of fear for the future, of growing intolerance, of hate not only towards those who are in any way different, but towards those who dare to think differently and to voice their opinion. In the creation of such an atmosphere the once respected journalistic profession played a shameful role. Not only the mainstream media, but social networks too are transformed into a snake’s pit of intrigues, lies and disinformation servicing the policy that forgot what common sense is. The rest is silence.



Social Justice in a Welfare State

Jinka Nagaraj* & Dr G Sreeramulu **

[The term social justice implies a political and cultural balance of the diverse interests in society. Pluralism or democracy is the only means by which indeed human societies can have higher goals to attain. Social justice is an integral part of the society. Social injustice cannot be tolerated for a long period and can damage society through revolts. Therefore, the deprived class should be made capable to live with dignity.]

Social justice is a principle that lays down the foundation of a society based on equality, liberty and fraternity. The basic aim and objective of society is the growth of individual and development of his personality. The concept of social justice is a revolutionary concept which provides meaning and significance to life and makes the rule of law dynamic.

When Indian society seeks to meet the challenge of socio-economic inequality by its legislation and with the assistance of the rule of law, it seeks to achieve economic justice without any violent conflict. The ideal of a welfare state postulates unceasing pursuit of the doctrine of social justice. That is the significance and importance of the concept of social justice in India's present context.

The persistence of social disabilities such as the caste system, untouchability, religion and discrimination against women, the development and socio-economic changes calls for a right-based approach to development. Human development is based upon the principles of equality and justice for all. The Constitution reflects an uncompromising respect for human dignity, an unquestioning emphasis on equality and an overriding concern for the poorest and weakest in the society.

The concept of basic human needs involves drawing a list of fundamental needs, both

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physiological and social. It arrives at a list of the minimum social needs- right to food, housing, health, education and livelihood, which provides a foundation through which human development can occur and human freedom can flourish. These basic social rights should be conceptualized in terms of an entitlement both to be equal as humans and to be equal as members of the society. Naom Chomsky once said, "In this terminal phase of human existence, democracy and equality are more than just ideals to be valued, they may be essential to survive."

Social Justice is ideally justice in terms of the distribution of wealth, opportunities, and privileges within a society. Here, the justice assigns rights and duties in the institutions of society, which enables people to receive the basic benefits and burdens of cooperation. The pertinent entitlements can include education, healthcare, social security, labour rights, as well as a broader system of public services, progressive taxation and regulation of markets, etc. which are needed to ensure fair distribution of wealth, equal opportunity, equality of outcome, in short a just society. The concept of social justice thus has a specific, tangible and dynamic content with an inherent potency to bring about equality in an unequal society.

Fortunately or unfortunately, the definition of social justice seems to have changed colloquially. It is now identified solely with 'reservation' in India which incidentally has become a political necessity as well. No political party can afford to initiate any debate on the relevance of

reservation policy; leave aside revising the policy. Although the judiciary, in such a scenario, has often been forced to take up a stand against the politicisation of reservations, the caste-based reservation policy is a sensitive issue and there are arguments on the both sides.

Welfare State

A 'welfare state' is a concept of government where the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. It is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life. The general term may cover a variety of forms of economic and social organization.

There are two main interpretations of the idea of a welfare state:

1. A model in which the state assumes primary responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. This responsibility in theory ought to be comprehensive, because all aspects of welfare are considered and universally applied to citizens as a "right"
2. Welfare state can also mean the creation of a "social safety net" of minimum standards of varying forms of welfare.

The welfare state provides education, housing, sustenance, healthcare, pensions, unemployment insurance, sick leave or time off due to injury, supplemental income in some cases, and equal wages through price and wage controls. It also provides for public transportation, childcare, social amenities such as public parks and libraries, as well as many other goods and services. Some of these items are paid for *via* government insurance programs while others are paid for by taxes.

Democracy and Social Justice

Democracy seeks to do justice to all the citizens of the state. A democratic system has to ensure that the social development is in tune with democratic values and norms reflecting equality

of social status and opportunities for development, social security and social welfare. The caste system acts against the roots of democracy in India. The democratic facilities like fundamental rights relating to equality, freedom of speech, expression & association, participation in the electoral process, and legislative forums are misused for maintaining caste identity.

It is true that India has been an unequal society from times immemorial. There are enormous inequalities in our society which are posing serious challenges to Indian democracy. Democracy, therefore, must not show excess of valour by imposing unnecessary legislative regulations and prohibitions, in the same way as they must not show timidity in attacking the problem of inequality by refusing the past necessary and reasonable regulatory measures at all. Constant endeavour has to be made to sustain individual freedom and liberty and subject them to reasonable regulation and control as to achieve socio-economic justice.

Social justice must be achieved by adopting necessary and reasonable measures. That, shortly stated, is the concept of social justice and its implications. The basic aim of social justice is to remove the imbalances in the social, political and economic life of the people to create a just society. The established social structure in the Indian society immensely caused the creation of discriminations and exploitations and thus there is need for social justice based on human dignity

Indian Constitution and Social Justice

The Constitution of India was adopted on November 26, 1949. Some provision of the Constitution came into force on same day but the remaining provisions of the Constitution came into force on January 26, 1950. This day is referred to as the "date of its commencement", and is celebrated as the Republic Day.

The Indian Constitution is unique in its contents and spirit. Though borrowed from almost every constitution of the world, the Constitution of India has several salient features that distinguish it from the constitutions of other countries.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, was chairman of the drafting committee. He was the first Law Minister of India. He continued the crusade for social revaluation until the end of his life on December 6, 1956. He was honoured with the highest national honour, ' Bharat Ratna ' in April 1990. B.R. Ambedkar is affectionately called Baba Saheb Ambedkar.

Dr. Ambedkar is the man of millennium for social justice, since he was the first man in history to successfully lead a mission of securing social justice to the vast sections of Indian people, with the help of law. Dr. Ambedkar was the man who tried to turn the Wheel of the Law toward social justice for all. He had strong fervor to attain social justice for the underprivileged communities and for this purpose he began his vocation.

At the time of independence, the Constitution makers were highly influenced by the notions of social equality and social justice and for the same reason, they incorporated such provisions in the Constitution of India. The words, "socialist", "secular", "democratic" and "republic" have been inserted in the Preamble of the Constitution, which reflects it's from of a "social welfare state." The expression "socialist" was intentionally introduced in the Preamble.

The term 'equality' means the absence of special privileges to any section of the society, and provision of adequate opportunities for all individuals without any discrimination. The Preamble secures for all citizens of India equality of status and opportunity. This provision embraces three dimensions of equality- civic, political and economic.

The following provisions of the chapter on Fundamental Rights ensure civic equality:

- a. Equality before the Law (Article 14).
- b. Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth (Article 15).
- c. Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment (Article 16).
- d. Abolition of untouchability (Article 17).

- e. Abolition of titles (Article 18).

There are two provisions in the Constitution that seek to achieve political equality. One, no person is to be declared ineligible for inclusion in electoral rolls on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex (Article 325). Two, elections to the Lok Sabha and the state assemblies are to be held on the basis of adult suffrage (Article 326)

Article 36 to 51 incorporate certain directive principles of State policy which the State must keep in view while governing the nation, but by Article 37 these principle have been expressly made non-justiciable in a court of law. Although these principles are not judicially enforceable, yet they are not without purpose. The report of the Sub- Committee said:

"The principles of Policy set forth in this part are intended for the guidance of the State. While these principles shall not be cognizable by any Court they are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and their application in the making of laws shall be the duty of the State."

Thus, the concept of social justice still occupies great importance in the process of administration.

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Paris, Pittsburgh & pesticides in Indonesia

Julia Suryakusuma*

Donald Trump famously said, “I was elected to represent the people of Pittsburgh, not Paris,” when he announced the withdrawal by the United States from the Paris Climate Agreement (PCA). Pittsburgh is a city in the Rust Belt, which suffered from economic decline due to deindustrialization. It was purportedly the Rust Belt that paved Trump’s path to the presidency.

But what was the Pittsburgh mayor’s reaction? “We’re actually with Paris on this.” In fact, the majority of Rust Belt states are also. It just goes to show, climate change and global warming goes beyond politics (although *pssst!* For your information, Pittsburgh *did* vote for Clinton!).

Well, that’s the way it should be. If there’s one thing that people have in common, it is that we all live on this one fragile, precious planet.

Another thing we have in common is that we all eat. In the past 50 years, the number of people in the world has doubled, and so obviously has food production. Modern agriculture has relied even more on pesticides to get rid of pests and vermin which damage crops, but like anything, too much of a “good thing” can be bad.

Pesticides are for crops like chemotherapy is for cancer: in the same way that chemo kills the good cells in addition to the bad ones; pesticides tend to kill organisms that weren’t intended to be killed. Pesticides also affect the whole ecological system, leeching into the soil and water, and poisoning birds, fish and other small animals.

And the effect of pesticides on humans? An entry in Toxipedia says it has “neurological health effects such as memory loss, loss of coordination, reduced speed of response to stimuli, reduced visual ability, altered or uncontrollable mood and

general behavior, and reduced motor skills.” Thanks, but no thanks!

Recently I came across a book called *KrisisPangandan ‘Sesat Pikir’: Mengapa Masih Berlanjut?* (Food Crisis and ‘Misguided Thinking’: Why does it still continue?”), published last year, which addresses a very important issue: food production in Indonesia.

Edited by Yunita T. Winarto, professor of anthropology at the University of Indonesia (U.I.), the anthology has eight chapters by six experts on topics ranging from climate, insects, marginalized farmers and, yes, pesticides.

There were two chapters on pesticides, one of them written by James J. Fox, professor emeritus from the Australian National University (ANU) and Professor Yunita from UI.

Jim, as he is usually called, is an old friend of mine from the 1980s. When I knew him then he was working among others to get rid of pesticides. He was lucky. He got help from none other than President Soeharto himself. *Pak Harto* issued a presidential decree (Inpres No. 3/1986) on Nov. 5, 1985 banning the use of 57 varieties of pesticides in response to a serious outbreak of brown planthopper infestation. At the time Indonesia had just achieved rice self-sufficiency – a source of great national pride.

According to Jim, the Inpres had the immediate effect of reducing the brown critters and more. The reduction of pesticides for rice cultivation

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resulted in annual rice increases for 17 years from 1987 to 2002. Impressive!

As the lowest user of pesticides in any developing country, Indonesia was a shining example of effective biological control of pests for other countries. In any typical *sawah* (paddy field) there are 100 natural predators of threatening pests, especially of brown planthoppers who breed like rabbits.

Unfortunately, all good things come to an end. In 2002, there was a dramatic change in the pesticide industry. Hundreds of local companies were established relying heavily on supplies from China. Pesticides were promoted as *obat* (medicine) for growing crops, distributed by local agents to village kiosks throughout Java.

Stunningly, in one decade, from being one of the world's lowest users of pesticides, Indonesia became one of the highest. Brown grasshopper infestation became endemic on Java. According to Jim and Yunita, "Twice in five years (2011 and 2014) national rice production declined because of significant crop losses in Java."

What? Aren't pesticides supposed to get rid of the brown planthoppers? Here's the irony: The overuse of pesticides actually induces the population increase of planthoppers by killing their natural predators. Oh no! Then there's also resistance: With each generation of pesticide, the planthoppers become more resistant to the pesticides.

There were also rice varieties that were resistant to brown planthoppers, but by 2011, Indonesia had none. Shifting infestations became endemic.

Jim and Yunita did a UI-ANU pesticide survey in the village of Indramayu in West Java to obtain comprehensive data on farmers' utilization of a range of pesticides. The study is replete with scientific names of various types of pesticides, fungicides and herbicides, which the farmers can't distinguish. Given the lack of control in the form of government licensing systems, for

example, the farmers are like kids in a candy shop, choosing between striking labels and the existence of "new products," which could actually be old products with new labels. Does this sound like a familiar marketing ploy?

Other problems that the UI-ANU study identifies are spraying intensity and pesticide cocktails. The farmers believe that the more, the better, and just to be on the "safe side," why not mix all the different products into a cocktail? Sounds yummy right? In a disastrous way.

What's the politics behind it all? Political reformation in 1998, which led to regional autonomy. Inpres No. 3/1986 still exists and could be invoked, but it isn't. The existence of a variety of incentive schemes from the pesticide companies certainly helped, in the same way that the 22 senators who urged Trump to withdraw from the PCA over the past five years collectively received US\$10 million in campaign contributions from oil, gas and coal industries.

Rice is a "political commodity" and government's ability to guarantee rice production and supply earns them the people's trust. In fact, raising the target of rice production is a main program of the Jokowi administration in 2014-2019. But the reality is that the *sawah* ecosystem in Java has now become very vulnerable. This trend cannot be reversed until the "misguided thinking" of the farmers and various interested parties is also reversed.

Given the recognized global dangers of pesticides, two United Nations experts have called for a comprehensive global treaty to regulate and phase out toxic pesticides. The movement for organic sustainable farming is in fact growing.

Could this be an opportunity for Indonesia to reclaim the Queen Bee status it once had for 17 years to lead this movement?



Claims for Social Justice in India

Deepika*

All societies are characterized by their unequal and hierarchical stratification based on class, social status, gender inequalities, religious and cultural affiliations etc. Like secularism, social justice is also exclusively related to the functioning of the modern state. The aspect of social justice represents many facts like representation in legislative, reservation of seats in public sector, special quota in various state institutions, distribution of land to the poor, special economic drive for the empowerment of socially and economically backward, etc.

Social justice in India is begun as an institutional model during the British raj for securing representation of religious minorities. The agenda of representation comes across diverse interpretations and consequently developed into a massive policy framework known as agenda for social justice.

The benefits of social justice policies in India are now extended to three specified communities: first there are those caste designated as Scheduled Castes (16.20 percent according to the 2001 Census) defined as the victims of untouchability, second there are Scheduled Tribes (7 percent of the population) specially designated because of their ecological isolation and regional specification and third, the Other Backward Classes (OBC) is an heterogeneous category, varying from state to state, also includes members of non-Hindu religions and women in general.

In the past few years it has been extended to newer communities and groups and more groups and communities are mobilizing their efforts to become the part of this regime. This article undertakes the study of the emergence of the idea of social justice against the abstract notion of liberal justice. The abstract liberal values which undermine the rationality of local identities as petty and as another counter voice of passionate but irrational beings.

Historical background

The idea of social justice has dominated the discourses of Western political philosophy from

Plato to Karl Marx. To a very large extent, this tradition revolves round the idea of economic justice or the redistribution of materialistic assets. Especially the liberal tradition, which is rooted as an ideological assault against feudalism and monarchial system, locates individual liberty and property rights as its basic concerns while constructing the idea of justice.

The social contract theoreticians emphasize on the universality of justice principles like security of life, liberty and equality in the realm of political and economic spheres as their primary motives. Justice is also understood as a moral endeavor of the governing authority. Liberal traditions locate justice to escape from the narrow communal compartments in order to achieve common welfare of all its citizens.

One of the most influential thinkers on justice in the contemporary period, John Rawls also imagined abstract neutrality as the basic prerequisite value while formulating his theory of justice.¹ However; the classical Marxist approach proclaimed that achieving economics egalitarianism will be the moral goal of struggling masses who wished to establish a society based on justice in a true sense. It developed a hyper sensitivity to the issue of economic inequality and ending of all class distinctions became the main motive of their political theory and activism.

In the postcolonial, postmodern studies, the modern approaches of nation building, modernization and secularization developed by the liberal traditions are heavily criticized and a legitimized space is demanded for numerous

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approaches which represent particularistic view points. The universal “foundation list” of moral liberal citizen and Marxist Revolutionary Class is clinically examined to understand its applicability to the diverse, disembodied human individuals.

Feminism, psychoanalysis, multiculturalism, communitarianism and racialism are some prominent popular concerns of the alienated masses in the modern world which have demonstrated the limitations of liberal and Marxist political theory in addressing their specific issues and concerns. Apart from the celebrated valorization of class as a principle preposition to understand the structures of history, they consciously negate to provide space to other related elements like race, patriarchy and caste as determining factors in studying the conflicting relationship between the people.

The ‘difference blind’ attitude of classical liberals and Marxists nurtures and legalizes multiple modes of discriminatory and inhuman practices internally attached to the familial, social and religious domains. However, the utopia created by these grand theories was unable to restrict the rising voices of deprived communities and cultures. Nevertheless, in the new order of social theory it has generated new autonomous capacities capable of directing and determining the actions of community. Under this new development the abstract value of justice is transformed into a new fabric known as social justice.

This construction is dynamic and socially sensitive as it wishes to address the never touched issues like cultural security, human dignity and respect, social status and building human capabilities. The rise of particular perspectives has created a new universe, having its own methodology, human concerns, secular values and ideals about the future world, different from the dominance of Western political thought.

In India, the movement of social justice had the same potentials which challenged the mainstream dominant socio- political ideologies represented

by the classical Marxism, the liberal reformist state, secular nationalism and conservative hegemonic Hindutva. The social justice perspective in India constructs different norms for justice based on contextual morality, secular self- determination and commitment to democratic order. The theme of liberal and Marxist traditions in India has to confront a unique kind of society and its social philosophy, which in most of the aspects of demography, religious and cultural values, social and class conditions and political institutions, differed at the very basic level from the European and American societies.

History of social justice in India

The Indian context of social justice is rooted in the specific historical trajectory in which the subalterns (Dalits, shudhras, women, peasants and religious minorities) contested the dominant elitist notion of socio- religious ideals in order to restructure it into a society based on egalitarian principles. The social elites have constructed the image of the subalterns as someone who are lesser, degraded, docile and impure one. In order to resolve these contestations, the subalterns look upon the state authority as the responsible agency which on the behalf of the struggling people will prepare the agenda of social justice.

The state (mostly the modern constitutional welfare state), because of heightened directive principles, formulates policies, implements laws and intervenes into the socio- religious domain in order to achieve the objective of the social justice agenda, not in a sudden or radical manner but in a democratic and progressive way. Thus in India, the social justice agenda is the direct outcome of the struggles which the subaltern masses had built in the past in order to restructure the society with certain modernist values.

Before the advent of liberal thought in India, the general order and stratification of the society was based mostly on community’s values having very little resource for the individual to explore his rational with freedom. The Hindu brahmanical social system was based on hierarchical manner,

giving maximum opportunity to the Brahmin castes to use this principle of divide and rule to exploit the majority of the masses.²

The first modern era of social reformist movements criticized such social order and appealed for an egalitarian social relationship based on equal rights and self-respect and put the Hindu society on the path of liberal transformation. Even earlier in the British India, some of the princely states, under the influence of non-Brahmin movements, realized the overarching domination of the Brahmins over the institutions of state and introduced educational and employment rights for the socially backwards sections, paving path to the social justice agenda in India.³

Importantly, the British started involving over the issue of social justice by introducing common and universal laws and policies for all the sections of the society, including the untouchables. However, the state further took deep interest in acknowledging the fact that the different communities and groups within the national society had plural aspirations and interests, which cannot be resolved by formulating inclusive political measures.

The idea of special representations for minority religious communities (Muslims, Sikhs Indian Christians and Europeans) was an approval to the fact that the religious communities were formally distinct from each other on various parameters and therefore, needed special protection and representation in decision-making bodies. In the later period, Ambedkar's contribution in constructing the agenda of social justice became important as he developed a concrete policy framework what later came to known as the reservation policy or quota system in India.

The phenomenon of social justice got its first impetus from the notion of collective rights and self-determination of the community. These rights were granted by the state in order to preserve the cultural autonomy against potential threat from other cultural communities and were

supplementary to the notions of individual rights. Indian context adopts a different brand of liberalism which is sensitive towards the claims of collective groups and regards individual identity as necessary component of communitarian system and not as independent by its own.

The political history of India, which is responsible for drafting such a unique variant of social justice, has provided equal space to the fundamental rights of the individual and also to the distinct autonomy to the community and groups to assert its presence in all democratic spaces.

Broadly, the stratification of Indian society represents four compartments: the social elites (mostly upper caste Hindus), Shudhras (OBCs), Dalits (SC/STs) and religious minorities (non-Hindu religious groups). The history of social justice movement represents the contest of majority of the people to secure and assert their cultural, social and economic rights from the domination of social elites.

Minority rights in India

The British had developed a realistic understanding regarding the socio-religious demography of India which was utilized to administer this terrain in a different way. The British understood the communal problem as intrinsic to the character of India affecting majority of the population.⁴ However, such commonsensical formulation based on communal representation is required by the state in order to structure policies and to regulate the distinct interest of its subject. Most importantly, the social elites of the religious communities were also towed away with such simplified generalization and consciously demanded exclusive political and religious rights for respective communities.

The British Era

In 1906, the British Parliament could take additional measures to democratize the Indian polity by introducing new reforms. Under this agenda, small steps were forwarded to enlarge

the representation of the locals in the legislative affairs. A committee under Lord Minto and Lord Morley was appointed by the government of India to propose a scheme of reforms. The main feature of this reform was the allotment of special rights of representation to the Muslims in different legislative bodies through separate electorate.

The Act of 1909 was an important milestone in the history of social justice movement in India as this Act advanced the beginning of new kind of politics based on the demands of separate representation of religious minorities. The other ascriptive groups got legitimate impetus to make claims for their demands with an argument that their socio-economic status is similar to the Muslims and different from the majority Hindus.

The second step was forwarded during the Government of India Act of 1919 (Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms) which extended separate electorates to newer communities of Punjab Sikh, Indian Christians, Anglo – Indians and Europeans.⁵ The third important step was the Indian Act of 1935, which continued with separate electorate and further new communities were added making it a total of thirteen communal and functional groups to whom special representation was granted.

The Hindu nationalist leadership adopted the British vocabulary (communalism and religious representation) with a rationalist- liberal framework and sought its solution by adopting normative procedural democracy. Under such influence, the Nehru report was presented in 1928 which met immediate resistance from the Muslim leadership. In order to concede the Hindu communalists the report rejected the separate communal electorate and demand for proportionate reserved seats for Muslims at the Central and provincial level was made.⁶

The report brought unconceivable ruptures in the relationship between the Congress and Muslims, as Jinnah felt that the Muslims were estranged by the report and therefore he withdrew support of Muslims League to the Report.⁷ This breakage culminated into the adoption of radical separatist

position by the Muslim League in its political activism. The failure of Congress to systematically and sensitively address the issue of communal representation moved the Muslim leadership to take stern political positions which ended into the partition of India.

Post – Partition India

The first Draft of the Constitution which was submitted on February 1948 had represented the concerns and interests of the religious minorities in a substantive way. Proportionate reservation of the seats in the legislative Assemblies was offered to the religious minorities including representations in the Cabinets. It was also noted that various safeguards for the minorities at the central and provincial levels must be regulated under Special Minority Officer. CA members like K.M. Pannikar, S.P Mukherjee, D.H. Chandrasekhariya, Sardar Hukum Singh, K.T. Shah and Kazi Sayed Karimuddin advocated proportionate representation for the minorities.

Many Congress members, who otherwise were against the idea of separate electorate, were in agreement that representation of vital communities of the nation in democracy would be required to make it more robust therefore proportionate representation was necessary.⁸ However, a comprehensive U-turn was taken on all these issues and religious minorities were bestowed only with safeguards related to religious, cultural and educational rights, stripping them of their important rights related to representation and reservation in the state institutions.

The post – Partition debates in the Assembly changed the whole vocabulary of minority rights and their issues were discussed under moralistic appeal of national integrity and liberal democracy. The issues of minority rights were discussed under two distinct influences: First, was represented by Lari and others that stood for the protection of extensive minority rights and the second dominated by Nehru and Patel who categorically rejected special status to the religious minorities under the over-expressive value of nationalist universality.

Within the Assembly there were very few members who categorically argued for special rights and recognition for the minorities. Speeches made by the powerful Congress members like Patel, Pant, S. Radhakrishnan and Vijayalaxmi Pandit effectively paralyzed the arguments for minority rights by prioritizing the ethics of national unity over the communal aspirations of the minorities.

Especially after the partition, the debate took univocal affirmations for creating nationalist bonds among the dispersed communities and any claim for special communication protection was seen as a challenge to the grand narratives of nation building and secularism. The ascriptive caste, religious, ethnic and regional groups and their claims for recognition, in a traditional liberal discourse are treated with contempt as they looked upon these identities as the barriers towards achieving a common universal identity.

Religious minorities

The religious minorities, especially the Muslims and the Christians, are facing three important problems in the post- colonial India. First problem is related to the social marginalization of the community by communal politics. With the rise of right wing fundamentalist forces the general public psyche has been influenced with anti- Muslim feelings and contempt. The Muslims in general have to face humiliation, violence and persistent threats of communal backlash.

The Christians have also faced the similar kind of attacks in recent times especially in the states like Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka. Secularism as a doctrine to protect the cultural and religious autonomy of the minorities has gone tremendously wrong in its way as large numbers of people are actively participating in communal war mongering against the religious minorities. However, the intellectual and political leadership still locates the remedy of the communal conflicts only in strengthening the secular socio-political forces by enlarging democratic processes.

The second issue is of the apathy of the state in regards to the questions of minorities. The Muslims are the worst represented community in central and state public services and majority of them are self-employed professionals. In the political spheres, mainly the Parliament, the Muslims' representation is the lowest and has always remained below average in most of the state Assemblies. On many indicators of development, the Muslims lag behind even to the SCs/STs.

The third issue is related to internal problems of the religious minorities which has been termed as 'minorities within minorities' in the social science discourse. All the religious communities face internal inequalities pertinent to women, caste, linguistic and class status. Among the religious minorities the question of internal injustice has not been addressed in an adequate way. However, in recent times, deprived sections among the religious minorities have raised their voices against the perpetual caste discrimination and domination of social elites on various spheres of the daily life.

The OBC and pasmanda Muslims have demanded special constitutional rights and protection to overcome their depraved conditions. The Christian Dalits also have a similar argument. These three broad fragmentations of the contemporary issues describe the general condition of the religious minorities in India today.

Three important reports by National Commission have already established these facts that the socio-economic conditions of the religious minorities has been worsened since independence and therefore these groups need extra protection and support from the government. Even the secular political parties and civil society groups have been reluctant in taking concrete stand, especially on the socio-economic issues of the minorities.

The principles of social justice in India

In India the social justice perspective is an essential component of the liberal social

democracy doctrine and of the welfare state agenda. It is based on the universal civil norms of liberty, equality and communal harmony. To achieve this grand vision, identification of the socially deprived and economically backward sections and formulating necessary remedial mechanism for their empowerment becomes the main directive of the newly formed state in India. However, there is an ideological precision to the social justice perspective which is antithetical to the classical liberal notions of secular identities because of its communitarian values.

It is dependent extensively on the historical experiences and judges the contemporary situation in reference to its historical trajectory. The social justice perspective in India, because of its historic location and specific audience generates a normative procedure to specify its guiding principles. First, it avoids and also questions the imposed abstract liberal categories like individual, citizen or national as these nomenclatures obscure the pertinent social and religious confrontations beneath such ideals. It counters the outsourced categories to construct an independent and organic theory of justice.

Second, it rejects the Marxist economic determinism and its given political nomenclatures (proletariat, peasants, subaltern) because of its historic negligence to the question of social and cultural discrimination. Third, it opposes the traditional sensitivities of the communication (represented by the right wing forces like Hindutva parties) for its open valorization of religious past. It locates religion as a symbol of oppression and subjugation and therefore, bringing radical democratic reforms in the socio-religious order is among the primary conditions of a just society. Fourth, it principally supplements the universal human rights approach.

Conclusion

Five important principles can be identified here based on previously made analysis:

- Social justice promotes the notion of differentiated citizenship based on social communitarian identities.

- Social justice perspective identifies the nature of dominant man – made inequalities which control the natural liberty of any individual in actuating her/his choices.
- Positive intervention of the state is necessitated in order to bring concrete reforms in the lives of those who suffer by equal relationships.
- Social justice perspectives demand guarantee for their civil rights, protection against discrimination and proportionate representation in democratic bodies.
- Principles of social justice must promote the ethics of inclusive social order by prioritizing equal liberty to individuals in all spheres of social organizations.

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Access and Acceptance of Rural Healthcare Services

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[Access to high quality healthcare services plays a significant role in the accomplishment of health equity and enhancing and improving the health conditions of the population. Access refers to entry into or use of the healthcare system, while to others it characterises factors influencing entry or use. Access is presented here as a set of more specific dimensions describing the fit between the patient and the healthcare system. The specific dimensions are availability, accessibility, affordability and acceptability (Penchansky R, and Thomas JW, 1981). Analysing health care system within these dimensions can help in identification of gaps and challenges currently faced by India.]

The healthcare infrastructure is not able to keep velocity with the demands of the population. An increasing number of people choose private healthcare facilities over the government ones due to the availability of specialist doctors, diagnostic services and drugs thereby incurring more expenses and increasing the affordability challenge. The Government has taken a few steps in this direction by taking initiatives such as RSBY scheme to improve and enhance healthcare insurance coverage and mounting availability of cheaper medicines in government healthcare centres.

India needs to address the issues surrounding healthcare factors to provide access to larger masses. Healthcare delivery systems in India are mainly classified under three categories primary, secondary and tertiary care. All these three levels need to work in a cohesive manner to help delivery of healthcare in all the four dimensions of access e.g. availability, accessibility, affordability and acceptability.

Accessing Healthcare Services and its Barriers

The access to high quality, equitable and affordable healthcare service is one of the significant challenges facing the rural and semi-urban population in the country. While looking

at the accessibility of healthcare services, an attempt has been made to highlight the problems pertaining to the role of government in Indian rural healthcare services. It was observed from various research findings that about 75 per cent of health infrastructure, health personnel, and other health resources are concentrated in urban areas where about 27 per cent of the population live.

To reduce this double burden of diseases, public health need to focus on health promotion and disease prevention and control while taking into consideration the social determinant of health. The focus of public health is to bring about change at the policy level through organized action at social level.

Many studies suggest that low socio-economic status of rural communities affect poor health due to barriers in accessing healthcare services. Lack of Information, Education and Communication (IEC) concerning health, which impacts on community people and ability to understand health information and instructions from the doctors and paramedical staff, is also an obstacle in accessing healthcare services. India would need a combination of innovation and regulatory reforms in order to address these challenges. There is an urgent need for the government to work towards strengthening the public health care system in order to make healthcare available to the masses.

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Aims and Objectives

The aim is to analyse issues of community people regarding accessing healthcare services and to determine the barriers affecting healthcare access in the community. Accessibility can be analysed in terms of the nearest distance to the facility and second, the accessible distance during healthcare emergency.

Materials and Methods

The present research study relates to the major facet of healthcare access in selected villages (Adaridehat, Alinagar, RatsarKalan and Garwar) of Mau and Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh, India. Stratified simple random sampling technique was used to draw the representative sample. Data about health care services has been collected from 400 households. Keeping in view the aims,

objectives and the nature of data required under the study, the questionnaire, interview schedule, case study methods for data collection is used and secondary data collected from various books, journals and websites. The data have been statistically analysed in the form of tables, percentages and statistical methods and techniques were used.

Results

The analysis of the study explores the rural health care issues in the country in general and to know the issues and barriers in accessing rural health care services with respect to the government health schemes, infrastructure, manpower and the acceptance level of the different health care facilities in some selected rural areas of Uttar Pradesh, India.

Table 1
Issues facing Community in accessing Health care Services

Items	To greater extent	To some extent	Neutral	To little extent	Not at all	Total
Poor Infrastructural Facilities	53 (13.25)	97 (24)	34 (8.5)	137 (34.25)	80 (20)	400 (100)
Distance from home to Health Centre	90 (22.5)	122 (30.5)	30 (7.5)	100 (25)	58 (14.5)	400 (100)
Overcrowding in the Health Centre	55 (13.75)	115 (28.75)	38 (9.5)	109 (27.25)	83 (20.75)	400 (100)

Source: Filed Survey, (Figure in brackets indicates %)

Health infrastructure plays a key role in sustaining the public health delivery system. There are significant numbers of respondents who claim that health centre not providing high quality of services due to lack of trained paramedical staff, lack of health personnel and no facility of safe drinking water. The Unsatisfactory behaviour of paramedical staff is also a barrier in accessing health care services and health centre did not show sincerity in the better treatment of the patients.

It was observed from the field survey that distance is one of the major reasons for not availing public health services. Accessibility is very significant for utilization of healthcare services. Distance from home to the Health Centre had appeared as a key concern of the community. To greater extent 22.5 percent respondents agree that distance matters, to some extent 30.5 percent agree that they had faced distance issue. Distance was a problem even for villages considered to be comparatively near a health facility because of the gap in other services like public transportation facilities.

The table revealed that sampled household of the community was also facing overcrowding as a barrier in accessing health care services. To greater extent 13.75 percent, some extent 28.75 per cent and up to little extent 27.25 per cent respondents agree that overcrowding hindering in access to health care services.

Conclusion

The study reveals that community people are facing barriers in accessing health care services due to inadequate infrastructure, lack of trained health staff, lack of paramedical staff, their social status and poor quality hindering access to the health care provided by government by limiting the supply of available service. Furthermore, low income, lack of education and dearth of awareness, particularly amongst disadvantaged and marginalised people, make them face more health related problems.

To ensure the availability of access to healthcare services, there is a need to strengthen public health systems, institutions and capacity. It is government's responsibility to ensure the delivery of high-quality healthcare services on equitable, affordable price to all its populace, including the deprived and vulnerable segments of the population.

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Perspectives on Tribal Development Administration in J&K

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[Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) has a significant scheduled tribe population and they constitute 11.9 per cent of the total population of the state. The total population of J&K is 12,541,302 and its scheduled tribe population is 1,493,299 as per census of 2011. This population is distributed across various districts of the state and every district has ST population.]

The state of J&K constitutes three regions- Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. All the three regions have significant scheduled tribe population. Jammu Division has a total population of 5,378,538 and its ST population is 810,800 that constitute 15.07 per cent of its total population. Total population of Kashmir Division is 6,888,475 and the ST population is 464,306 which constitute 6.74 of the total population. Ladakh region includes the two districts of Kargil and Leh has the total population of 274,289 and out of that total population ST population is 218,193 which constitute 79.54 of the total population.

Ladakh region is a tribal majority region. Kargil has 86.88 per cent of the population as the ST population and Leh district has the ST population of 71.80 per cent. In Jammu division, there are several districts where the ST population is more than 11.9 per cent i.e. percentage of the STs at the state level and these districts are Poonch (36.93), Rajouri (36.24), Reasi (28.08), Kishtwar (16.53), Ramban (14.01) and Udhampur (10.14).

Similarly there are several districts in Kashmir division that have ST population of more than 11.9 per cent and these districts are Ganderbal (20.53), Bandipora (19.21) and Anantnag (10.75). There are only five districts out of the total 22 districts where the ST population is below 5 per

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cent. These districts are Budgam, Baramulla, Jammu, Pulwama and Srinagar. The lowest percentage of STs is in Srinagar and all other districts have population at least more than 3 per cent.

Tribal development administration in Jammu and Kashmir started in October 1989 when the Union government through a constitutional order declared eight communities in state as the Scheduled Tribes. These eight communities are Balti, Beda; Bot, Boto; Brokpa, Drokpa, Dard, Shin; Changpa; Garra; Mon and Purigpa. These communities which were declared as STs were geographically based in Ladakh region.

In Leh district there was actually a demand for union territory status and the demand had resulted in serious protests around 1988-89. It is around the same time that militancy in Kashmir valley was emerging as a serious challenge. The ST status was granted to these communities to control situation in Ladakh region. Though, the welfare and development of these communities was also an objective behind granting the ST status to them. The process of granting the ST status didn't stop there.

Four other communities in the state were subsequently granted the ST status in J&K. Gujjars, Bakerwals, Gaddis and Sippis were granted the Scheduled Tribes' status in 1991. It was the beginning of tribal development administration in Jammu and Kashmir. These twelve tribes had now constitutionally guaranteed political, socio-economic and cultural rights. They were now eligible for availing of various tribal policies, programmes and schemes implemented by the Union government for welfare and development of tribal people in India.

Issues in Tribal Development Administration

There are various issues in the tribal development administration in Jammu and Kashmir, which have adversely affected the socio-economic and cultural development of tribals in the state. Tribals are among the most backward communities in the state. Gujjars have

population of more than 9 lakh in the state and they constitute 7.81 per cent of the total tribal population of the state but their literacy rate is only 36.87 per cent.

It is even worse among Bakerwals, the second largest tribal community in the state. Their literacy rate is only 25.31 per cent. Education is not the only reason where they figure low but it is just a reflection of various issues that are facing tribals in J&K. The major issues in tribal development administration in the state are structural problems in administration, lack of political rights, lack of forest rights and reservation and unemployment.

Structural Problems

Tribal development has greatly suffered as a result of inefficient and underdeveloped tribal administrative structure. The overall responsibility of planning, implementation, monitoring, coordination and evaluation of various policies, programmes and schemes for tribal development is the role of state level Department of Tribal Affairs. In J&K, there was no such department until 2015 when the state government created an independent department to look after tribal affairs. It is yet to become fully functional suffering from both organizational and personnel problems.

Before 2015 tribal affairs were under the administrative charge of Department of Social Welfare and within this department there was no specialized directorate to manage tribal affairs till 2008 when a separate Directorate of Tribal Affairs was created. Directorate of Tribal Affairs, which is now under Department of Tribal Affairs, has the responsibility of implementing policies like Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) and Grants for states under the Article 275(1). It is also responsible for implementing important schemes for educational development of the Scheduled Tribes such as Post-Matric scholarship for ST students, Book Bank Scheme for ST students, construction of hostels for ST Boys/Girls, and Eklavaya Model Residential School.

However, there is a major structural problem in the working of the Directorate of Tribal Affairs. It doesn't have its own offices at the district and block levels, the levels where the actual implementation of policies and programmes takes place. It is entirely dependent upon various nodal officers who are allotted the responsibility of implementing these schemes but they remain accountable to their own parent departments/directorates at the state level. Thus, tribal administration in Jammu and Kashmir is working without a fully functional Department at a state level and without any field level offices to work efficiently.

Lack of Political Rights

Political development is one of the important ways to ensure tribal development. The Constitution of India has fully recognized this fact. Article 330 of the Constitution of India provides for the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha and the Article 332 provides for the reservation of the seats for the Scheduled Tribes in the state legislative assemblies. This reservation has not been provided in J&K and this has meant underrepresentation of the STs in political institutions.

This lack of political representation has adversely affected rights and development of tribals in the state. They are not able to highlight their issues and fight for their rights. All major political parties promise these rights as a part of their election promises but lack of political will is the main reason for non-implementation of these two important Articles in the state.

A proposal was made in the 2007 to introduce a bill in the Assembly to ensure these rights but nothing materialized. It is a fact that the tribal vote share is a major deciding factor in almost 26 assembly constituencies in the state. Lack of political rights affects Gujjars, Bakerwals, Gaddis and Sippis more than other tribals.

The tribals in Ladakh region at least have a regional autonomy through Ladakh Autonomous

Hill Development Councils constituted in Leh and Kargil in 1995 and 2003 respectively. But even these councils lack financial autonomy though they are provided with political and administrative autonomy. This financial autonomy has affected their working and development in the region.

Lack of Forest Rights

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act passed in 2006 has been a landmark legislation in the tribal development history of India. Since, J&K has a special status under Article 370, this law is not directly applicable to it. It has not been extended to the state. The State has not even enacted its own law to ensure all those forest right that tribals in the state need and are enjoyed by tribals in other parts of India.

Tribals in J&K lack access and ownership rights, forest-based livelihood rights, and minor forest produce rights. Tribals especially nomads are mostly landless and often face evictions from the state forest department. There are neither land rights nor rehabilitation rights available to the tribals in the state. Lack of forests right affects tribals who mostly depend upon animal rearing for their livelihood.

There are neither grazing rights nor any proper development of pastoralist routes. Lack of forest rights is the one of the main reasons for underdevelopment of tribals in Jammu and Kashmir. Just like political rights, forest rights have been by promised by all major political parties in the state, but so far it hasn't seen the light of the day. Conflict and political instability has often diverted attention from governance and livelihood issues to those of security and law and order issues. Forest rights are an integral part of tribal development and there can be no tribal development without forest rights.

Reservation Issues

The reservation policy of the state is another important issue in the tribal development administration in Jammu and Kashmir. There is

a uniform reservation of 10% in government jobs for the scheduled tribes in the State. The population of tribals, on the other hand, varies from one district to another. It is as high as 36.24 per cent in Rajouri district and as low as 0.72 per cent in Srinagar. In many districts, where the population is more than 10 per cent, the reservation quota of 10% is too little and causes high unemployment among educated tribals. And in districts with very low tribal population, many ST seats remain vacant due to lack of eligible ST candidates.

This problem is not only due to reservation policy but also due to the Inter District Recruitment Act, 2010 which allows candidates to apply only in their home districts. Even though there may be ST seats vacant in Srinagar due to lack of candidates but candidates from highly populated tribal districts such as Ganderbal, Bandipora and Rajouri, etc. can't apply for these jobs as a result of the Inter District Recruitment Act, 2010.

The end result is unemployment among STs as well as vacant ST posts in several districts of the State. This further discourages ST students to seek education as education doesn't necessarily ensure jobs, especially in a State where there is no significant private sector. This is problematic in a State where the literacy rate among STs is abysmal.

Conclusion

These are the various important issues in tribal development administration in Jammu and Kashmir. There is a need to address these issues to ensure socio-economic and cultural development of STs in J&K. The Department of Tribal Affairs has to become fully functional to ensure better management and coordination of tribal affairs and policies in the State. There is a need to improve institutional capacity of Directorate of Tribal Affairs. It has to establish its organizational base at the district and block levels to ensure effective implementation of tribal policies, programmes and schemes.

There is a need to provide political reservation for tribals in the State. It is only when Article

330 and 332 are implemented that development of tribal would become meaningful. Without political development, there could be no tribal development. There is also an urgent need for Forest Rights Act in J&K to ensure some important rights such as land rights, grazing rights and livelihood rights, etc.

It may be politically difficult in J&K to extend the Union Forest Rights Act of 2006 but the state government should enact its own legislation to provide these various forest rights to the tribals. There is a need to relook at the reservation policy and the Inter District Recruitment Act, 2010. The reservation for STs should be proportional to their population so that it reflects exact ground realities. STs may be excluded from Inter District Recruitment Act, 2010 or a provision may be made in the act to remove the ban on recruitment outside home districts. It would allow the STs to apply for jobs in other districts, where the ST posts have been vacant for a long time. It would provide employment opportunities to ST candidates.

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Issues in Financial Assistance to Women Entrepreneurs

Dr. J. Shanthi*

[Women form a nation's significant human resource. Their constructive potential can be harnessed for the growth and development of economy of each and every state. Women, on the other hand, are willing to take up business and lend their contributions to the growth of the nation. Women are now ready to do all business and enter all professions like trade, industry, engineering etc.]

The role and participation of women are recognized and steps are being taken for the promotion of women entrepreneurship, women must be shaped up properly with other entrepreneurial traits and skills to face the challenges of world markets, meet the changes in the trends, be competent enough to sustain and strive for excellence in the entrepreneurial field. A complete entrepreneurial development in a nation can be achieved by the participation of women and therefore, the growth and development of women entrepreneurs must be accelerated.

Objectives

- To identify the challenges and issues faced by women.

- Women entrepreneurs' problems, with special reference to financial assistance.
- To find the awareness of various schemes for financial aids provided by banks.
- To understand the attitude of banks towards women entrepreneurs in need of financial aids.

Review of Literature

Research by Viju Mathew (2010) reveals that the involvement of women in the economic development of Middle East through micro enterprises was very less due to the socio-cultural restrictions in Middle East countries. The region has lately recognized the importance of entrepreneurship for the economic development and creating competitive advantage.

A study by Mic Paton (2006) (global entrepreneurship Monitor), examines more than

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1 lakh people in 35 countries and has found that while women entrepreneurs often exhibit patterns of behaviour similar to those of men, a gender gap nonetheless exists for entrepreneurial activity across the globe. Women entrepreneurs are just men seeking out new opportunities, take risk and network with other entrepreneurs, but find themselves lagging behind their male counterparts when it comes to entrepreneurial activity.

Problems Faced By Women Entrepreneur

The educated women do not like limitations on their lives within the narrow boundary of the house. They want equal opportunity and respect from their partners as well as from the society. However, in India some women have reached good positions in the business world. Yet, most of the women are either illiterate or semi-literate in rural India. They haven't got a proper idea of self-esteem and self-respect. The question that arises immediately is how they can attain self-respect and have a definite agenda to reach a good position in the society.

Women in general are concerned about family duties. They show no equal concern for the duties in career. Women in India dedicate much of their lives for the welfare and care of their family members. But they fail to use their talent to create extra income source for their families, which entails the potential of making them self-reliant. Some women have no least idea of self-reliance and can never think of it. But women need the support of the family members to succeed in business and extend their business and management.

There is very poor financial freedom for women in Indian families, especially in uneducated and rural families. Women in these families can't take any decision on their own to take up entrepreneurship without the family members' consideration. They have to consider also social ethics and traditions for women. A woman can't commence any business or any economic activity to become independent even if she is financially dependent. Thus the dependency has become a vicious one for women in India.

There is no doubt that the right of property is given as a legal provision in India. But the right to property for women is still a question mark. A very few women have on paper the right of property, but they are actually not aware of this right. They become aware of it when there are problems in the family due to family disputes. Most of the women do not enjoy their right of property and they have been treated just as mere relatives to the family. It is a cause which keeps them in a 'pervasive cycle of poverty'.

Women from both the economically poor and rich families suffer from the paradox of "have and haven't" skills of entrepreneurship. Women from economically rich families have the capital to invest, but they may lack good entrepreneurial skills. On the other side, women from economically poor family have good entrepreneurial skills, but they haven't got any financial support from their family members or relatives. Thus the problems of women entrepreneurship are in a state of paradox.

Awareness about individuals' capacity should be created through increasing the level of education. It is very unfortunate that the educational system in India is facing a failure in creating awareness of ability and capacity of women and their hidden talent and power for handling economic activities. There is an increase in the level of education for women and social awareness to the role that women play in society, but it applies only to women in urban India and not in rural India.

Environment in the urban area is favorable for identifying and creating awareness about women's capacity and capability for doing many things. On the contrary, the atmospheres in the rural areas are unfavorable for identifying and developing the capacity and ability of women.

Women lead a protected life in India. The women in India are taught naturally by several things to depend on the male members of their family from their girlhood period. They are prevented from taking any risk even if they are ready to take any risk and have the ability to bear it. But despite the restriction put on women, some women have

proved that they have the capacity to face and bear risks in entrepreneurial activities. They have identified their rights; capacities potentials as well as they have become aware of the potential situations.

As a result, they have entered various types of business and professions. However, entrepreneurial activities are not performed by the women in large scale because of their lack of capacity. Therefore, the government should try through conducting many awareness programmes for women to make them identify and develop their risk-bearing capacities.

It is true that many women have skills for doing business, but they hesitate to work with male workers and sometimes male workers are not ready to work with women entrepreneurs. Most of women entrepreneurs are of the opinion that semi-educated or uneducated class of workers cannot visualize and accept a “female boss” in their work-field.

Banks and financial institutions play an important role of financiers to entrepreneurs in the developing countries for small and medium size firm operators that don't borrow from the capital market. But, these banks and financial institutions underestimate the women entrepreneurs and are reluctant to provide credit to them because of their traditional mind-set about women.

Women have a strong mental outlook and an optimistic attitude which creates fear in them of committing mistakes while working. Women's potential for entrepreneurial development cannot be accepted by the family members and the society, which always look down upon them. Women must face boldly such situation and develop their self-confidence to break such barriers, but women in India feel that they need a well-secured life for developing their self-confidence. Thus they are not both mentally and economically self-reliant.

The main causes for the low rate of women entrepreneurship in our country are poverty and illiteracy. Parents are unwilling to send their

daughters for studying professional education. Sometimes, many women lack their entrepreneurial bent of mind even though they take training through attending the entrepreneurial development programme.

One of the major problems for women's entrepreneurial under-development is mobility. They never like to leave their place for business activities and prefer to stay and do business in their residential areas. Mobility is an important quality for an entrepreneur. As women entrepreneurs tend to do business in their local area of living and are seen disproportionately in their areas of birth or living.

Lack of interaction with successful entrepreneurs is also one of the problems in women entrepreneurship in India. Successful entrepreneurs become the role model in the society for women with the ability of entrepreneurial activities and who undertake economic activities to prove their ability. But, there is no enough provision for such interaction to inculcate knowledge and make them aware of the experiences of successful women entrepreneurs.

Challenge: A Practical Picture

Undoubtedly, there exist a number of credit schemes for women; nonetheless, there are bottlenecks as well. The major problem is that there is a lot of discussion on empowering women and promoting women entrepreneurs, yet the bank schemes only provide a minor relief in terms of interest rate and at times on collateral and other conditions of the policy and practice. The higher the loan amount, the more difficult is it to get loans.

One of the problems is that it may be easy for bank official to give loan to a man compared to smaller loans to a woman because many smaller loans mean more paperwork. A woman mostly starts on a small scale. So at the level, she faces difficulty while accessing loans. It again happens at the growth level, where a woman wants to expand and is in need of a loan, at that stage,

they give you only 10% more of their previous years' turnover.

Neeta Kumar, 41 year old entrepreneur from Lucknow, decided to set up an artificial village in the city, it took her a year-and-a-half to manage funds for her project. Her ordeal finally came to an end in the spring of 2006 when she threw open gates of Kala-Gaon supported by an Rs 60-lakh loan from Punjab National Bank. Today the theme village is a major tourist attraction in Lucknow and has given a platform to several rural artisans and sculptors. Almost all public sector banks have special loan schemes for women entrepreneurs. But low awareness and a passive mindset ensure that there are very few takers.

Sarojben, who is 48 years old with two children, is an entrepreneur who has struggled hard to reach where she is now. She stays in Bharwada, an area known as Khumbharwada, where most of the people are a Khumbars (potters) who make post and diya of various type and design and supply the across Mumbai. This is their seasonal business. Sarojben has same kind of work where she uses to bring the Diyas (lamp) colours them, decorates them and sell to shops, but this business could not generate enough money to sustain the life.

Kavita Singhal, a jewellery designer, belongs to a family that has been in jewelry designing for years. Though her family was supportive of her decision to enter this trade, she was in need of funds to start her own venture. Singhal initially found it difficult to convince banks that she would be able to market her products and run a profitable venture. Eventually, she managed to convince Canada Bank, where she has a saving bank account for many years, to grant her a loan Rs 1 lakh. Today she manages to sell jewelry worth Rs. 30,000 to 35,000 per month through her own outlet that she plans to expand in near future.

Bank Funding: Schemes and Advantages

Some Schemes for Women Entrepreneurs

Bank	Schemes
Bank of India	Priyadharshini Yojana
Canara Bank	Can Mahila
Central bank of India	Cent Kalyani
Dena Bank	Dena Shakti
Oriental Bank of Commerce	Orient Mahila Vikas Yojana
Punjab National Bank	Mahila Udyam Nidhi Scheme
Punjab & Sind Bank	Udyagini Scheme
State Bank of India	Stree Shakti Scheme
State Bank of Mysore	Stree Shakti Scheme
SIDBI	Mahila Udyam Nidhi
Tamil Nadu Mercantile Bank	Mahalir

Sources: *The Hindu*, 12 December 2014

Several nationalized banks in India have special schemes for promoting entrepreneurship, especially entrepreneurship owned by women. For a woman to benefit under such a scheme, she should have a minimum of 50% ownership in the company. According to the bankers, "when a woman opts for the bank funding route, the assessment is made in the same way as other loans, but the terms and conditions are much favorable." Most of the nationalized banks in India have such schemes and also sometimes called as the single - window coordination facility wherein one department will handle all the linkages required for getting loans.

The schemes mostly give concession on interest rate of approximately 0.25 to 1%, depending on the loan amount. The procedure for applying is similar to other loans, the benefits of such schemes being that preference is given to women.

Major Finding

- Some women need the support from the financial institution.

- Gender specific training is must to the women entrepreneurs to suit socio-economic and demographic conditions.
- Public speaking scheme should also be provided by the Government to the women entrepreneur.
- Need for pre-entrepreneurial training to the women entrepreneur

Conclusion

Women entrepreneurs face so many problem in aspects of financial, marketing, health, family and problems. The government and the financial institutions should give some guidelines to the women entrepreneur from time to time. What women need for enterprises are little training, some financial support and motivation at all levels- home, the society and the government. It is hoped that suggestions made here will help

women entrepreneurs in particular to tackle problems faced by them and the Government should develop better schemes of extending financial assistance to female entrepreneurs.

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Policies and Programmes for Rural Women

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[Women comprise nearly half of the national population of a country. Of course, the globalization provided opportunities of education and employment to urban women and helped them to develop and possess all the rights on par with men, but the problem is that the women in rural areas are still backward in education, social status, economic background, political matters, etc. Hence, the development of the country is inescapably linked with the status of development of rural women. Economic empowerment is one approach to enable women to realize their inherent knowledge, skills and competence for creation of small business enterprises.]

There are shining examples from the developing countries to illustrate women entrepreneurs who started small and grew to large enterprises. Women are considered as a focal point and the unifying force in the family. While their contribution to the family and society is considerable, they are subjected to numerous constraints undermining their potentials. They receive only small share in development

opportunities and are often excluded from education, better jobs, participation in political system and better healthcare, decision-making, etc.

Besides, they suffer from physiological, psychological, social and cultural barriers, which hinder their empowerment. In rural areas, women are preoccupied with mostly household work including the bearing and rearing of children.

Accordingly, the opportunities for improving their conditions are limited. The Government of India and state governments have already formulated social welfare, women empowerment and rural

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development policies for the betterment of women, backward classes and vulnerable groups.

Objectives

1. To assess the awareness of women welfare Schemes
2. To know whether these schemes are beneficial to the rural women; and
3. To collect the feedback from the rural women on the social welfare programmes.

Methodology

The present study was conducted in rural areas of Thiruchirappalli district. It is noted that majority of the rural development programmes are aimed at women empowerment. Hence, rural women were selected to collect the information. The information was collected through interview schedule. There are 45 villages in Lagudi Taluk. The data were collected only from 9 villages out of 45 villages. The number of sample female respondents is 200 in Lagudi Taluk.

Welfare Schemes of Government

The Directorate of Social Welfare implements a number of programmes for the welfare of women including the Marriage Assistance Schemes. The Directorate also runs Service Homes where the destitute and deserted women can stay with security and at the same time, pursue education and vocational training. Working Women's Hostels where women can stay at affordable rates are also run by the Directorate of Social Welfare.

Training and self-employment of women are thrust areas and the large number of Women Co-operative Societies run by the Directorate provides avenues for women to be self-reliant. The welfare of the vulnerable group of trans-genders and programmes especially designed for them are also under the purview of the Directorate of Social Welfare

1. **AnjugamAmmaiyarNinaivu (Memorial) Inter-Caste Marriage Assistance Scheme:** In order to abolish discrimination along caste lines and to eliminate dowry harassment, the Government of Tamil Nadu introduced a scheme

to encourage inter-caste marriage by providing financial assistance, which was launched on 1 July 1967 and it is now being implemented as AnjugamAmmaiyarNinaivu Inter-Caste Marriage Assistance Scheme. There is no income limit for availing of this assistance under this scheme.

This scheme is implemented under two categories viz., Scheme-I and scheme-II Under Scheme-I, a sum of Rs.20000 (Rs.10000 in the form of Demand Draft/Cheque for marriage expenses and Rs.10000 in the form of National Savings Certificate) is provided with effect from second October 1997 to the newly married couple among whom one spouse should be from Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe and the other from a different community.

2. **Dr. DharmambalAmmaiyarNinaivu Poor Widow Remarriage Assistance Scheme:** This scheme was started in the year 1975 with an intention to rehabilitate the widows as well as to encourage the remarriage of widows. The financial assistance is provided only to widows with minimum age of 20 years. There is no income ceiling to avail of this assistance. This scheme was initiated with the financial assistance of Rs.5000 in the form of National Savings Certificate. This amount has been increased gradually, and Rs.20,000 (Cheque for Rs.10,000 and National Savings Certificate for Rs.10,000) is provided from 20 November 2008 onwards.
3. **E.V.R. ManiammaiyyarNinaivu Marriage Assistance Scheme for Daughters of Poor Widows:** This scheme was started in the year 1981 with an intention to help the poor mothers (who are widows) by providing financial assistance of Rs.1000 for marriage of their daughters. This assistance has been enhanced gradually, and from 20 November 2008 onwards, financial assistance of Rs.20,000 is provided under the scheme. Under this scheme, the daughters of poor widows in the age group of 18 to 30 years and whose annual income is below Rs.24000/- are provided financial assistance for their marriage.

4. **AnnaiTherasaNinaivu Marriage Assistance Scheme for Orphan Girls:** The Government launched a marriage assistance scheme during the year 1984-1985 to help the orphan girls to get married. This scheme was named as AnnaiTherasaNinaivu Marriage Assistance Scheme for orphan girls in the year 1999. The financial assistance of Rs.1000 which was provided at the commencement of the scheme has been increased gradually, and the financial assistance of Rs.20,000 is given to the beneficiary from 20 November 2008 onwards. The annual income of the guardian or orphan girls should be below Rs.24000. The girls should be above 18 years of age and not above 30 years of age An amount of Rs.41 lakh was provided in the budget estimate for the year 2008-2009 to benefit 285 orphan girls.
5. **MoovalurRamamirthamAmmaiyarNinaivu Marriage Assistance Scheme:** This scheme was named after the renowned Social Reformer Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyar. It was launched on 3 June 1989 to help poor parents in getting their daughters married and also to promote the educational status of poor girls. The scheme was initially applicable to girls who studied up to eighth standard and attained the age of 18 years. Subsequently, the educational

qualification for availing of this assistance was raised to tenth standard, so as to improve the educational status of the girls. The annual income ceiling limit for availing of the benefit is below Rs.24,000.

Tiruchirappalli District

Tiruchirappalli lies in the heart of Tamil Nadu. The district has an area of 4403.83 sq. kms. It is bound by Perambalur district on the north, Thanjavur district on the east, Pudukkottai and Dindigul districts on the south and Karur district on the west. The district lies between 11" 00' and 12" 00' degrees of the northern latitude and between 77" 28' and 78" 50' degrees of the eastern longitude. The total population of the district is 272 thousand persons. The district has a population density of 604 people per sq.km. The district has an urbanization rate of 49% and an average literacy rate of the district was 83.23%.

Knowledge about Social welfare Schemes

There are many social welfare schemes for women and also women marriage assistance schemes, which helped women in rural areas to engage themselves and improve the standard of living.. The awareness of respondents on social welfare schemes was collected and presented in the following table.

Table No.1 Knowledge about Social welfare Schemes

Welfare schemes	Frequency	Percentage
MoovalurRamamirthamAmmaiyarNinaivu Marriage Assistance Scheme	73	36.5
Dr. DharmambalAmmaiyarNinaivu Widow Remarriage Assistance Scheme	25	12.5
E.V.R ManiammaiyyarNinaivu Marriage Assistance Scheme For Daughter's of Poor Widows	17	8.5
Annai Theresa Ninaivu Marriage Assistance Scheme For Orphan Girls	32	16
Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy NinaivuIntercasteMarriage Assistance Scheme	53	26.5
Total	200	100

Source: Compiled from primary data

As the respondents are rural women, as such, MoovalurRamamirthamAmmaiyarNinaivu

Marriage Assistance Scheme is the most popular and NREGS is a less popular scheme

Greater and Regular Benefit to Rural Women from Government Employment Schemes:

It has been discussed above that majority of the employment schemes of the government are known to the rural women covered under the present study. Further, even though there are many schemes, there is need to know on whether the rural people are really benefited from these schemes or not. On a question to respondents about whether they feel that is greater and regular benefit to rural people from these government schemes, the collected responses are tabulated as under.

Table No.2 Greater and Regular Benefit to Rural Women

From Government Employment Schemes

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	168	84
No	32	16
Total	200	100

Source: Compiled from primary data

It is surprising to note that even though there are innumerable number of schemes aiming towards rural development, employment and rural women empowerment, more than one third of the respondents have not agreed that there are no regular and greater benefits from these schemes

Government is Formulating Policies to solve problems of Rural Areas and

Rural Women

Of course, government formulated many policies and schemes to promote employment of the rural people in general and rural women in particular. But still many of the women in rural areas are not aware about these programmes and schemes. Being panchayat members, whether the respondents agreed to that government is formulating policies to solve problems of rural areas in general and rural women in particular and the data thus collected are shown as under.

Table No. 3 Government is Formulating Policies to solve Problems of Rural Areas and Rural Women

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	143	71.5
No	39	19.5
Don't know/can't say	18	9
Total	200	100

Source: Compiled from primary data

It is satisfactory to note that as agreed by majority of the respondents, government is formulating policies to solve the problems of rural areas and rural women.

Suggestions

1. Need to increase awareness about self-employment, rural development and women empowerment programmes among rural women.
2. It is suggested to increase the financial outlay for encouraging employment opportunities in rural areas.
3. It is highly recommended to encourage the small-scale and cottage industries in the rural areas for the betterment and welfare of rural women.

Conclusion

Even though women constitute half of the population, they have no adequate representation in education and employment, especially in rural areas. The rural development, women welfare and employment generation policies discussed above are of immense help for the rural women so as to start income generating activities independently or give at least 100 days of employment for the rural women. But it is emphasized that still there is no or less awareness about the government policies among the rural people and particularly among rural women. Hence, the voluntary organization and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have to act to increase the awareness among the rural women on the government policies.

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Issues in Sustainable Agriculture

Dr. R.Malathi*

[The issue of sustainable development has drawn worldwide attention in recent year. The growth and development models, pursued by both developed and developing countries based on the principle of maximization of production, consumption and material wealth have only turned this beautiful planet earth into a place of mass destruction and deprivation. The mankind is now faced with a very serious crisis of ecological balance and its consequential diverse efforts, e.g., reflected in global warming, thinning of ozone layer, vast changes in climatic pattern, melting of glaciers, loss of biodiversity, soil degradation, air and water pollution, acid rain, siltation of lakes and river beds, extinction of species, depletion of other known natural resources, different kinds of pests of plants and animals, genetic disorder and various kinds of diseases.]

It is alarming that more than 80 thousand square kilometers of forests are being stripped- off their green cover every day, natural habitats are being lost at the global rate of 20 hectares per minute, green house gases affect the environment at an all time high, and the number of people living on less than a dollar per day has risen to above 1.1 billion. Fundamentally, environmental problems can be classified into three categories viz., resource depletion problems, pollution problems and other social problems.

Though the issue of sustainable development is crucial for the survival of mankind, yet a sense of urgency is lacking among countries, both developed and developing. It is shocking that while 84 countries had agreed to sign the Kyoto protocol on 31 May 2006, to control green house

gases, but some countries refused to sign it. It is unfortunate that we never learn from history.

Reckless exploitation of nature in the past has been one of the major causes of the fall of many civilizations. Mahatma Gandhi very aptly described nature in its manifestation: “we may utilize gift of nature as we choose, but in her books, the Debits are always equal to credit”. Man is disrupting what the nature has built up over billions of years. Man’s quest for riches has really rendered the mother Earth very poor.

The current scenario which is quite dismal warrants the urgent need on the part of the governments, world organization and all other stake-holders to come together to take stock of the grim situation and to act collectively to protect the environment in the interest of present and future generation. If we don’t act swiftly at this critical juncture, their future cost of inaction

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would be very high, perhaps beyond the means of developing countries.

Deprivation of Rural People

Poverty inequality and unemployment –this triumvirate, pose a serious challenge towards sustainable development in rural India. Even after 70 years of independence and development planning, these three problems have continued to be pervasive. The incidence of poverty in the country is 26 percent as per estimate of 2004-2008, as per the human poverty index for India as evaluated by Development Report 2005.

The incidence of poverty and the index of poverty in rural area, for obvious reasons, would still reveal a worse picture. Poverty and inequality go side by side. Unchecked population expansion, pressure on land, limited success of the various rural programmes, limited and weak effect of “Trickle down theory” and unemployment are some of the more identified reasons for the poverty and inequality in countryside.

Real India lives in its villages in rural areas where 70% of its population lives for its livelihood. Whereas the urban population of India is concentrated in 3200 cities and towns, the rural population is scattered over 5,76, 000 villages. Statistics show that out of the 5,76,000 villages, only 6,300 villages have a population of more than 5000 persons each.

The priorities for sustainable development are:

1. Conservation of resources for future generation and judicious utilization of resources:
2. Minimum disturbance of ecological processes and maintaining bio-diversity:
3. Sustaining the potential in all types of resources and
4. Not compromising with economic quality while craving for economic quantity.

The precise causes of farmers’ distress are many and varied. All the social scientists, and policy makers, are aware about the reasons for the spate of suicides by the farmers in Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere, in the country where most of the suicides are by small and marginal farmers and tenants. At every level of the livelihood security system, there is a tendency to make profit out of poverty, something is terribly wrong in the countryside, as revealed by the verdict of the general election of 2008.

The farmers’ distress has its roots in many aspects of the rural economy and also in macro- economic policies of the country, the deficiencies in institutional factors, those related to credit insurance, supply of inputs such as seeds, fertilizers (including bio-fertilizers) and pesticides and marketing are becoming serious.

Present Study

The present study is an attempt for studying the causes of farmers’ distress and collapse of the rural economy due to agrarian crisis in a more detailed way in a single village of SeethalaThanda Chilkur Mandal of Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh during the period of ten years i.e., from 1990 to 2008.

The major objectives of the present study are:

1. To examine the precise causes of farmers’ distress in the selected village of SeethalaThanda, Chilkur Mandal of Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh; and
2. To examine the important causes among many and varied causes, responsible for farmers’ suicide.

Methodology and Source of Data

To study the problem with these two objectives, one village of SeethalaThanda of Chilkur Mandal of Nalgonda district in Andhra Pradesh state has been chosen for study. All 450 land holding households are taken for study. All households are grouped under four broad categories (caste groups) like forward caste, Backward caste, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (includes

the caste like Lambadis Banjara). The Malas and Madigas are Categorized as Scheduled Caste

For the collection of data, different questionnaires are served to educated farmers of different land- holdings of different caste groups of the selected village. Among 450 households, STs are 350, SCs are 20, BCs are 30, and FCs are 10, and totally 450 households are taken as sample for study.

Main Findings of the study of Seethala Thanda Village

The data and information regarding caste-wise analysis and reasons for borrowing during the period 1990-2008 in this Seethala Thanda village reveals that among the forward caste group farmers and also backward caste group farmers nobody has borrowed for the purpose of non-employment and food requirement and their percentage is nil, while percentage of the farmers from the Scheduled Caste group are 10.00 per cent (5 farmers out of 50 Scheduled Caste farmers) and Scheduled Tribe group are 8.00 percentage (20 farmers out of 250 Scheduled Tribe farmers) of our study.

This shows that the farmers of caste group like scheduled tribe borrowed in large number (20 farmers) than SC farmers. It is also shown that respondents also borrowed for performing rituals and other traditional customary practices, which has been in-vague since long i.e., from their ancestors' period. 24 per cent respondents from forward caste group fall under this category.

Similarly, from backward community farmers, and also from SC farmers, no body borrowed for this purpose. Nearly 2.8 per cent of ST farmers borrowed money for these kind of ceremonies which are compulsory to perform at their home.

The details also reveal that still 20 per cent farmers belonging to forward community borrow to meet the expenses of their children, who are pursuing higher studies. Among backward caste farmers the percentage is 6 per cent and among SC farmers the percentages stands at 2 per cent, which is lesser comparatively to forward caste

and backward caste farmers. The SC farmers did not venture for borrowing for their children's higher education as their inclination is their children's education expenses will be taken care by the government only.

When reason for borrowing and number of households borrowed (caste-wise) during the period 1990-2008, is analysed, it is found that (out of total farmers 50,) from forward caste groups, or 24 per cent borrowed to meet the expenditures occurred due to their addiction to liquor and other drugs. The percentage of farmers who borrowed for meeting the expenses incurred due to addiction to liquor and other drugs, from backward caste is 16 per cent, of SC farmers 36 per cent and scheduled tribe, 10 per cent.

Most of the farmers from forward caste group borrow for meeting legal expenses. For the construction of houses and cattle-sheds scheduled tribe farmers borrowed more. The number of farmers is higher (60) from scheduled tribe community, who borrowed for the sake of purchasing electric motor and to get electric connection for their well. 70 scheduled tribe farmers borrowed for digging/sinking the well and bore well. The percentage of scheduled tribe farmers are more, comparatively than other caste group.

In this way, for the purchase of seeds and fertilizers, more number of scheduled tribes and for purchase of tractors more SC and BC farmers ventured to borrow from different government and private financial institutions.

In the rural economy, the amount of money or loan borrowed and expended on agricultural activities like sinking the wells, purchase of electric motors, seeds and fertilizers, is one type of investment for development of farmers' infrastructural facilities. The purchase of electric motor, getting electric connection of the motors, construction of houses, rooms, represents for infrastructure development of farmers, through which in future they will go for irrigating more lands utilizing more water from wells and bore-wells.

The commission on farmers welfare appointed by the state government of Andhra Pradesh, under the chairmanship of the professor (Mrs.) Jayati Ghosh, professor from Jawaharlal Nehru university, New Delhi, had gone into the reasons for resulting in a large number of suicide deaths. Having visited Anantapur, Warangal Mahabubnagar, Guntur, Chittoor and Srikakulam districts between July, 2008 and October, 2008, the commission recommended that:

1. Unless quality inputs were given to the farm community, improving the productivity levels would not be possible;
2. Extension services were the key to the health of the farm sector and this area would be given special attention;
3. Clubbing the allied sectors activity with the farm sector was one of the key aspect;
4. Improving the farm productivity level was the key in improving the lot of farmers.

This study suggests to take following measures and also to frame the following policies through which village economy can prosper:

1. The Panchayat Raj system should be empowered at grassroots level i.e., at Gram panchayat level.
2. Large- scale public investments in rural infrastructure and in the growth of rural non-farm enterprises are required.
3. There should be coordination among various government departments dealing with different components of farmers' welfare.
4. At every level of the livelihood, security system should be provided to all the poor peasants.
5. All the inputs required by farmers should be subsidized and other incentives should be extended through financial institution.

Policies Should Be Framed and Implemented

1. In the rural economy a system approach is missing in dealing with the problems such as more educational, health, transport, communication facilities etc and there is need for formulating such policies;

2. In allocation of resources more priority should be given to the rural economy to absorb all unemployed youth of the village.
3. All type of linkages should be established and extended between rural and urban areas, so that rural to urban migration should be avoided.
4. In the spectrum of globalization, privatization and liberalization the village economy should be protected and all infrastructure required for village development will facilitate ensuring sustainable development.

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Tribal Development via Education in Kerala (Part-II)

Dr. P. Stanly Joseph* & Raimol Pappachan**

The table shows that the literacy rates of tribal men are higher than that of tribal women during 1991, 2001 and 2011 years. In India the literacy rates of ST women are lower by 22.46 per cent, 24.41 per cent, and 19.1 per cent as compared to the literacy rates of ST men in 1991, 2001 and 2011 years. The gaps in the literacy rates of ST women and ST men in Kerala in 1991, 2001 and 2011 are 12.4 per cent, 12.7 per cent and 9.68 per cent respectively. Data show that the gaps between the literacy rates of ST women and ST men are becoming narrow during the subsequent years. Reduction of the gender gap in the literacy levels and empowerment of the tribals by the implementation of several educational programmes would be the focus points of the government authorities.

In Kerala, the literacy rate among ST women is increased to 71.08 per cent in 2011 from 51 per cent in 1991. At the same time, in India the literacy rates among ST women is increased to 49.4 per cent in 2011 from 18.19 per cent in 1991. While in India the literacy gap of ST women between 1991 to 2011 is 31.21 percentage points, Kerala shows a literacy gap of 20.08 percentage points. A vast illiteracy continues to be existed among ST females compared to other females.

In Kerala the literacy gap among ST females is higher than that of India. The incidence of drop outs among girls in tribal areas seems to be high. Rigid traditional, social and cultural norms, preference of boy child over girl child, early marriage, poverty etc. are some hindrances for education of girl child in tribal areas. In many

families the girl children play the role of second mother by shouldering the responsibilities of household work such as looking after the siblings, fetching water, collecting firewood, bringing fodder for cattle, cleaning, cooking etc. Effective steps should be taken by the department for the improvement of literacy among the tribals as a major objective.

Thus the gap in literacy levels, both for tribal men and women, has not declined significantly despite the fact that the largest proportion of centrally sponsored programmes for tribal development are related to the single sector of education.

Issues in Tribal Education in Kerala

The following issues are to be concentrated in order to improve the literacy level of tribals of Kerala:

1. As the scheduled tribes have traditionally been concentrated mainly in forests, hills, inaccessible areas, it is difficult to deliver educational services to them. Similarly due to long geographical distances the students from these areas cannot attend the neighbouring school regularly.
2. The economic backwardness and abject poverty in the tribal families prefer them to send their children for employment rather than to schools. They opine that this activity will supplement the family income and strengthen the economy of the family.
3. The illiteracy of the parents does not allow them to understand the long term values and benefits of education.
4. Joint family system and small sized houses without proper security, electrification, and

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sanitation facilities will hinder the children's education.

5. Early marriage and superstitions in the family are the major hindrances of girls for acquiring education.
6. The household works especially collection of water and fetching firewood are major issues for the education of tribal girls.
7. The STs speak a language typically different from that of the state and this hampers their ability to do well in the educational system.
8. Apathy towards irrelevant curriculum by the tribal students acts as an important element for dropping out.
9. The existing curriculum is not suited and has little relevance to the tribal people.
10. Lack of adequate infrastructure and teachers are the hindrances for tribal education especially among ST girls.
11. Though the government provides numerous financial assistances for tribal education, in the modern era of technological development the tribal parents cannot afford the huge expenses for education.
12. Inefficient use of grants and scholarships by the tribal parents acts as a major hindrance for the tribal development.
13. The alcoholism of the parents and constant quarrels in the family will negatively affect the education of the children.
14. Though the government is providing numerous employment opportunities to the tribal people, very little of the benefits actually reach tribals due to lack of adequate and eligible candidates for the jobs created.
15. The funds issued through Special Central Assistance (SCA) and Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) in many states are not fully and effectively utilized.

Suggestions

In spite of the sincere efforts made so far by the governments the perpetuation of educational backwardness among STs in Kerala presents a challenge demanding effective and result-oriented steps for educational development. The suggestions on the basis of above findings are given below.

1. Free transportation facilities to ST students from remote areas should be provided. Gothrasaradhi programme in Kerala should be extended to all tribal areas.
2. Provision of pre-matric scholarships to all ST children for education in classes I – X will reduce the number of drop outs, especially in transition from elementary to the secondary stage.
3. There is the need for tribe-specific programmes as the ethnographic features and cultures of different tribes are different.
4. Expand the scheme for hostels for ST boys and girls focusing the remote areas especially girls hostels.
5. Teaching is to be imparted in tribals' own mother tongue at least up to the primary level. Curriculum should include the aspects of skill upgradation of the tribal children.
6. Teachers must have proper knowledge about cultural and behavioural strengths of the children.
7. Qualified teachers belonging to the local tribal communities should be trained and placed in position as teachers in Ashram schools. The understanding of the tribal language and culture will increase the schooling participation.
8. The rates of scholarships, grants and stipend and income ceiling should be revised at regular intervals in line with the price index

each year. The income ceiling of the parents should be enhanced from time to time.

9. Vocational training including women's training should be an important complementary part of the elementary and secondary stages.
10. Literacy campaigns should be organised for providing awareness about the importance of education.
11. Provision of awareness programmes about the ill effects of alcoholism, tobacco chewing and smoking and communicable diseases.
12. Higher level officials should monitor the functioning of the schools.
13. More efficient utilisation and monitoring mechanism and planning and supervision of Special Central Assistance (SCA) and Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) funds should be made on regular basis.

Conclusion

Tribal development should include their empowerment in education as it is a primary engine for transforming a community. Education is a critical factor in all round human development. The standard of living of the community must not be measured by its income levels alone but by the level of literacy and education. Our development plans have to be

community specific. The agenda must respect the alternative cultures and values of the tribal people. There is an urgency to evolve a tribal-friendly, nature-centred and culture-bound type of education.

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Appraising Economic Justice in India

Dr. Jayanta K. Dab*

[Classical moral philosophy, since the time of the Greek philosopher Plato, talked of four 'cardinal virtues' considered to be the basic essential for a virtuous life. These are 'Prudence' defining our ability to judge amongst actions and identifying appropriate actions to be implemented at a given time. 'Justice' implying 'fairness' that renders amongst individuals, his/her rights in a perpetual and constant manner. 'Temperance' or 'restraint' defining the practice of self-control, abstention, and moderation amongst all individuals and finally 'Courage' meaning fortitude, strength, forbearance, endurance, and the ability to confront fear, uncertainty, and intimidation. It is noted that virtues or 'good habits' help individuals to develop fully their human potentials, thus enabling them to serve their own self-interests as well as work in harmony with others for their common good. The ultimate purpose of all the virtues is to elevate the dignity and sovereignty of the human person.]

Amongst these four virtues, that of justice has been the most frequently praised and quoted one in the Sacred Scriptures. All the Ten Commandments are concerned with justice. Moreover, the popularity of 'justice' stems from its ubiquitous presence in all the classes and divisions of society, unlike the others each of which is specified for a particular class. Looking at justice from a practical and present day perspective, one can define it as a set of universal principles providing guidance to people in their judgement for what is right and what is wrong, irrespective of the culture and society they live in. Again, for justice to prevail, the moral principles that guide the economic institutions, considered indispensable for sustenance of the basic minimum subsistence of a human being have to be ensured. These moral principles form the crux of economic justice.

Economic justice, which touches the individual person as well as the social order, encompasses the moral principles which guide us in designing our economic institutions. These institutions determine how each person earns a living, enters into contracts, exchanges goods and services with others and otherwise produces and

independent material foundation for his or her economic sustenance. Economic justice denotes non-discrimination between people with regard to economic factors. It involves the elimination of glaring inequalities in wealth, income and property. The ultimate purpose of economic justice is to free each person to engage creatively in the unlimited work beyond economics, that of the mind and the spirit.

In India, 'Economic Justice' has been one of the foremost objectives of the Indian Constitution with the Preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy frame-working its domain. While the Preamble talks of securing economic justice for all the citizens of India, the means or the tools for securing the same lie with the Directive Principle of State Policy. In common parlance, what is brought out by the Constitution through economic justice is to ensure equality of status and making life worth living at its best besides removing inequality of opportunities and of status – social, economic and political. However, over the years, the provisioning of economic justice to the people of India *vis-à-vis* the nations of equivalent stature has not been up to the mark.

Section – I

Economic Justice : Theoretical Perspective and Basic Principles

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From a theoretical perspective, Economic Justice encompasses both a set of values and the policies utilized for furthering those values. Hence, the sole focus of economic justice is to enhance the welfare of individuals, groups and nations within the realm of national, international apart from intra and inter-generational contexts. However, in such activities, the domain of economic justice is liable to get narrowed down to conceptualizing of an intuition or of an issue of distribution of resources, including endowments.

From a functional perspective, the system of economic justice comprises input and output, with a feedback mechanism for restoring harmony or balance between input and output. For effectuation of such a system, therequisite framework or interdependent principles within the system of economic justice as defined by Louis Kelso and Mortimer Adler, are primarily of three types : Participative Justice (the input principle), Distributive Justice (the output principle), and Social Justice (the feedback principle). Like the legs of a three-legged stool, if any of these principles is weakened or missing , the system of economic justice will collapse.

Participative Justice

Through ‘Participative Justice’, the process of provisioning ‘input’ to the economic process in order to make a living is ensured. It requires equal opportunity in gaining access to private property in productive assets as well as equality of opportunity to engage in productive work. Though the principle of participation does not guarantee equal results, it ensures for each individual within the society, equality of human rights so as to make a productive contribution to the economy, both through one’s labour (as a worker) and one’s productive capital (as an owner). Thus, this principle rejects monopolies, special privileges, and other exclusionary social barriers to economic self-reliance.

Distributive Justice

Distributive Justice ensures the distribution of ‘output’ of an economic system in accordance

with the labour and capital inputs of every person. The principle of distributive justice ensures the sanctity of property and contracts. However, in doing so, the free and open marketplace, not government, is given credence for determining the just price, the just wage and the just profit. In ensuring the distributive justice of private property within a free and open marketplace, its lineage with participative justice gets established. Many confuse the distributive principles of justice with those of charity. Charity involves the concept “to each according to his needs”, whereas distributive justice is based on the idea “to each according to his contribution”. However, the system of distributive justice breaks down when all persons are not given equal opportunity to acquire and enjoy the fruits of income-producing property.

Social Justice

Social Justice is the ‘feedback’ principle for detecting any distortions of the input and/or output and guiding the corrective stance needed to restore a just and balanced economic order for all. This principle is violated by unjust barriers to participation, by monopolies or by some using their property to harm or exploit others. Moreover, social justice offers guidelines for controlling monopolies, building check and balances within social institutions. It is noted that the first two principles of economic justice flow from the eternal human search for justice in general, which automatically requires a balance between input and outtake, i.e. “to each according to what he is due”. Social Justice , on the other hand, reflects the human striving for other universal values such as Truth, Love and Beauty . It compels people to look beyond what is, to what ought to be, and continually repair and improve their systems for the good of every person.

In Indian context, Social Justice means availability of equal social opportunities for the development of all the people in society, without any discrimination on the basis of caste, sex or race. No one should be deprived, by these differences, those social conditions that are

essential for social development. The issue of social justice is associated with social equality and at the time of independence, our Constitution makers were highly influenced by the ideas of social equality and social justice. For the same reason, they incorporated the words Socialist, Secular, Democratic, and Republic in the Preamble.

However, Social Justice denotes the equal treatment of all citizens without any social distinction. It means absence of privilege being extended to any particular section of society, and improvement in the conditions of backward classes (SCs, STs and OBCs) and women. A combination of Social Justice and economic justice constitutes what is known as distributive justice. Thus, all three forms of justice guarantee the system of economic justice. Hence, collapse of one leads to total breakdown of the entire system.

Section – II

Economic Justice: The Indian Perspective

Ensuring 'Economic Justice' to the citizens of India has been one of the foremost objectives of the Indian Constitution with the Preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy framing its domain. When Indian society seeks to meet the challenge of socio-economic inequality by its legislation and with the assistance of the rule of law, it seeks to achieve economic justice without any violent conflict. It also means that if any group in society has suffered from structural inequalities inherent in the social system, special care should be taken to remove such structural inequalities.

The preamble and various provisions of the Constitution of India ensure to all citizens justice – social, economic and political. But, in today's India, policies and politics of economic justice have reached a dead end. However, examination of the impact of equality in contemporary India revealed gross and astonishingly 'long' preserved inequalities than in any other parts of the world. A look at inequality from different angles validates the point.

Prevalence of Stark Income Inequality

India is a well-established middle-income country in terms of its gross GDP at US \$ 1.95 trillion in 2012, India is the tenth richest country in the world. According to a 2011 report published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), income inequality has doubled in India since the early 1990s. The richest 10 per cent of Indians earn approximately 12 times as much money as the poorest 10 per cent, compared to roughly six times in 1990. Interestingly, India's economy is one of the fastest growing emerging economies of any newly industrialized nation in the world, but other countries have made significantly more progress in addressing income inequality.

While Brazil, Indonesia and Argentina have recorded significant decline in inequality over the past 20 years, India along with China, the Russian Federation and South Africa failed to keep up with the momentum. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in a 15 years span, there had been a 12 fold-rise in the net worth of India's billionaire community. The statistics is significant taking the fact that if such rise in wealth of the billionaires were allowed to allocate, a complete elimination of absolute poverty could have occurred.

In 2013, comparison of data on household spending patterns for 1999-2000 and 2011-12 collected by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) showed that income disparity is growing and at a rapid pace. Spending and consumption by the richest 5% zoomed up by over 60% between 2000 and 2012 in rural areas while the poorest 5% saw an increase of just 30%. In urban areas, the spending of the richest segment increased by 63% while the poorest saw an increase of 33%. The effect of inflation was removed while making these comparisons. As a result of such income disparity, India's Gini coefficient, the official measure of income inequality, rose from 0.32 to 0.38, with 0 being the ideal score during the same period.

According to the Forbes list of billionaires, 55 Indians figure in the list. Amongst them, the estimated net worth of the top ten amounts to \$102.1 billion which is equivalent to 5.5 per cent of India's gross domestic product. Paradoxically, every third poor person and every second malnourished child in the world is also an Indian.

Skyrocketing Incidence of Poverty

India is the world's largest democracy, with a population of more than 1.2 billion people. India's income per capita ranks at 149 in the world, and the country is home to the largest number of poor in the world. Using the most parsimonious definition of the poverty line, there are at least 300 million extreme poor in India (living on less than a dollar a day), and more than 500 million if a broader definition of the poverty line is used. Despite making substantial financial gains since the introduction of market-based economic reforms in the early 1990s, India continues to struggle with poverty, poor infrastructure and economic inequality. However, as a result of widening income inequality, the ability of the poorest to come out of the vortex of poverty declined significantly.

Thus, for the major section of the population in the lower economic strata, the concept of a 'meaningful life' worth living, as inscribed in the Constitution remained a distant dream. As on 2010, an estimated 29.8% of Indians lived below the poverty line as per the world Bank's standard of survival on less than \$ 1.25 a day (Rs. 56 a day or Rs. 1,680 a month). As per the World Bank and McKinsey Global Institute analysis on the trend in the incidence of poverty of 'poverty stricken' nations, over a period from 1981 to 2010, Indian population surviving on less than \$ 1.25 a day declined by a meagre 35 million (8%) against 678 million (81%) for China. Such a decline is considered insignificant given the fact that between the same period, the population growth of India had not at all been moderate.

Between 1981 and 1991, the average annual exponential rate of population growth was estimated at about 2.16 per cent that fell slightly

to 1.97 per cent in the next decade (1991 to 2001) and thereafter, to 1.64 per cent in the decade 2001-2011. A primary manifestation of the insignificant decline in the incidence of poverty is reflected in the rising level of under-nourishment, child under-weight and child-mortality rate. Global Hunger Index (GHI) by International Food Policy Research Institute combines these three equally weighted indicators into one index. In 2011, India was placed 73 rd out of 88 countries listed in the annual Global Hunger Index, twenty one places down from 2009 and six places down from 2010, indicating decline in all the three mentioned parameters.

Another index, Multi-dimensional Poverty Index (MPI) developed for the Human Development Report of the United Nations measures the multiple deprivations that a poor person faces with respect to education, health and living standards, as a result of poverty. The Multi-dimensional Poverty Index (MPI) for 2013 places India uncomfortably above 29 nations, most considered dwarfs *vis-à-vis* India, from an economic angle. It also put India's poverty headcount ratio at 54%, higher than that of Bangladesh and Nepal.

The downswing of the mentioned parameters assumes weight, taken the fact that in the same phase, the economic parameters of India moved upward. India and China doubled output per capita in less than 20 years, at a scale the UNDP said was 'unprecedented in speed and scale' and 'never in history have the living conditions and prospects of so many people changed so dramatically as so fast'. A country-wise comparison showed Britain to have taken 150 years to achieve the same growth from the time, when the seeds were sown during the industrial Revolution and United States taking 50 years.

Section –III

Inequality and Social Development

A glimpse of the inequality prevalent in Indian society can be had from the Social Progress Index (SPI). It measures the social progress made by

countries on the basis of three aspects – basic human needs, foundations of well-being, and opportunity. In 2014, India's rank was 102nd among 132 countries on the SPI scale. Furthermore, all the three aspects of SPI showed low grades over a 100 point scale. On basic human needs dimension, e.g., shelter, India's count was 39.77, on access to information in the foundations of well-being dimension, India's score is 39.87 while in tolerance and inclusion in the opportunity dimension, it is 21.54.

Examination of specific parameters of social progress revealed the same trend. A primary indicator, development of health care status in India and its level of accessibility brought forth a dismal state. Analyzing healthcare data between the period 1995 – 2000, the Human Development Report 2002 brought out by UNDP found that lower than 50% of the population has access to essential drugs, 31% do not have access to adequate sanitation facilities. According to data from UNICEF, 28% of Indian children born between 2006 and 2010 were under-weight at birth, and approximately 48% of our children under the age of 5 were affected by moderate to severe growth stunting as a result of malnutrition.

Recent available data for 2015 showed that India's worst performing states regarding malnutrition among children are UP (35%), Bihar(37%), Jharkhand(42%),Odisha (34%), Chhattisgarh(34%), Gujarat (34%), and Madhya Pradesh (36%). Surprisingly, malnutrition in the state of Gujarat, one of the richest states, is worse than the average level of malnutrition in sub-Saharan Africa. And, infant mortality as a result of malnutrition in the state of Madhya Pradesh, one of the poorest states, is higher than in Senegal or Eritrea. The total proportion of under-weight children in India is 29.4%. On the other hand, stunting among children in the states are UP(51%), Bihar(49%), Jharkhand(47%), Assam(41%), Gujarat(42%), Chhattisgarh(43%) and Madhya Pradesh(42%). The total proportion of stunted children in India is 38.7%.

According to the health minister's figures, every second child in the country is stunted. These

deficiencies arose as a result of declining expenditure on healthcare facilities by the government coupled with extremely low medical insurance penetration (around 11%). In 2007-08, public medical expenditure was 0.9% of India's GDP. Five years later (2011-12), combined expenditure on health had doubled in absolute terms, but as a share of GDP it remained at 1% of GDP. These deficiencies get manifested in the recent World Health Organisation(WHO) report that states that India as a whole accounts for almost 21% of the world's global burden of diseases.

As almost 75 per cent of the Indian population, still live in rural areas, the incidences of diseases are very high in rural areas leading to high mortality rate, a major portion of which could have been averted, if correctly diagnosed and given access to proper treatment. Data for 2008 showed that approximately 2 million expired, due to preventable causes, such as diarrhea, dengue, measles, typhoid and malaria. Data for 2009 showed that more than 70% of children under the age of 5 suffer from anaemia and 80% of them don't get vitamin supplements. According to the report, the proportion of anaemic children has actually increased by 6% in the past six years with 11 out of 19 states having more than 80% of its children suffering from anaemia.

Besides, a skewed healthcare system prevailing in India, another vital social parameter where gross inequality occurred, is in the education sector. Extreme disparities spreading across geographic regions, gender and socio-economic religious groups characterize accessibility of education in India. From a geographical perspective, the southern and northern Indian states offer better educational opportunities than the rest of the country. Coupled with it, deregulation of the education system entailed high cost negatively affecting the quality, thus, causing a majority to opt out of the same.

Thus, every third illiterate person in the world comprises an Indian. Out of an approximately 200 million children in the age-group of 6-14, only about 120 million get enrolled in school. Those opting-out cite inadequate budget

allocation, dismal school infrastructure in rural area, high dropout rates, caste-bias, gender-bias etc. Moreover, budgetary allocations for education have not only been unplanned but consistently regressive. As a result of such unplanned allocation in education, real per capita allocation declined from a meagre INR 15.40 to INR 14.68 between 2002 and 2003 with vital educational schemes like the National Programme for Women's Education being scrapped.

In the field of higher education also, India's declining trend remained. India's Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of 16% was much below the world average of 27% as well as that of other emerging countries such as China (26%) and Brazil (36%) in 2010. Also, there exists wide disparity in Gross Attendance Ratio (GAR) terms of rural-urban, gender and across communities. Available data for 2007-08 showed the GAR in urban areas was almost three times that in rural areas. In the same period, male to female GAR was 19% and 15.2% respectively.

A primary reason for the declining trends envisaged in education expenditure is the acute shortage of government funds. Data showed that education expenditure went down from 4% in 1991/1992 to 3% in 1996/1997. The alarming fact is the 'less than half of the total' amount being spent on primary education, considered ubiquitously as the backbone of social progress.

Apart from health and education inequality, the acute inequality persisting in the sphere of gender also makes a mockery of the social progress made by India. Numerous research findings point towards the adverse impact on development goals as a result of gender inequality. As per the Human Development Report (HDR) 2013, India ranked a miserable 132nd position out of total 187 countries on the Gender Inequality Index-performing behind almost all nations in South Asia, except Afghanistan. Some neighbouring countries like Pakistan was at 123rd position, Bangladesh at 111th position, Nepal at rank 102nd while Sri Lanka was at 75th position.

Looking at other reports of Multi-national Agencies, the same picture emerges. According to the Global Gender Gap Report released by the World Economic Forum(WEF) in 2013, India was ranked at 105th position on the Gender Gap Index (GGI) amongst 136 countries polled. Apart from the overall low- down position in GGI, what was found to be most disappointing in GGI, is the dismal performance of its vital component – health and survival in which India's ranking was 135 out of 136 with a score of 0.9. Again, on the OECD's new Social Institutions Gender Index (SIGI), India was ranked at 56th out of 86 in 2012.

As per latest Census data, a highly skewed sex ratio with 914 females every 1000 males were observed. The British medical Journal *Lancet* brings forth the fact that twelve million Indian girls have been aborted in the last three decades. Again, in terms of absorption in labour force of the country, UNDP report opines that only 29% of Indian women are above the age of 15 in 2011. Only 26.6% women above 25 years of age received a secondary education in 2010. There also exists a dismal availability of healthcare facilities for women. Approximately 200 women died for every one lakh childbirths as per latest report. Percentage of women with chronic energy deficiency is stagnant at 40% over six years with the proportion in fact increasing in Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana. In 2010, the UN recorded one maternal death at childbirth every ten minutes in India, with a maternal mortality rate higher than that of Sudan, Ethiopia and Bangladesh.

Finally, the prevalent caste system perpetrates inequality. In such a system, the incidence of inequality varies proportionately with the level of ritual impurities presumed to be within a typical caste, with the SC/ST or the OBC, considered to be aliens in terms of the societal opportunities, e.g., access to food, education and health, etc., to be received. Moreover, these groups are often subjected to physical, psychological, emotional and cultural abuse. With these sections of the society receiving

unequal treatment comprising roughly one-sixth of the Indian population, the incidence of inequality assumes considerable weight.

Section – IV

Root Causes of Inequality

At the core of economic injustice prevailing in India, lay the inequality of status and lack of appropriate opportunities for the common folk. As to delving deeper into practical causes of such inequalities, a structural deficiency in the economic framework is laid bare. Such deficiency was the handiwork of the liberalization of economic policy implemented since 1991, wherein the service sector growth was at a much faster rate *vis-à-vis* others during the post-reform period and propelled India to a higher growth path. Such skewed growth of the service sector led to a number of anomalies in the Indian economy. At the first instance, the present state of education system is not geared-up to take care of the requirement of high quality individuals at the scale necessary to sustain.

Secondly, analysis of available data revealed that almost 70 percent of India's population continues to be engaged in agriculture that contributes around 14 per cent of GDP. On the other hand, with less than 30 per cent of the population working in the service sector, the contribution to GDP is more than 67 per cent. In such a dichotomous state, average wage in the service sector went up manifold *vis-à-vis* agriculture sector over the years. Despite this huge contribution of service sector, it failed to wean away people from agricultural and manufacturing sector, thus, exacerbating jobless growth and causing a lop-sided distribution of employment in India.

Apart from the prevalence of sectoral inequality in employment, pseudo weights on policies of the government that reaped only short-term benefits and entailing political gain led to abnormal priorities being assigned. On some of such assigned priorities like subsidies which failed to reach the lowest strata of the society,

interest payments on various loan, the government allocation amounted to as high as 5-6% of GDP, whereas, the basic minimum requirements of healthcare delivery system and provisioning of education were curtailed as a result of siphoning of funds. On account of such skewed vision, inequality prevailed and hampering capacity building thereby blunting future growth potential.

The primary causes of caste-based inequality are the lack of enlightenment amongst the people. Furthermore, implementation of several caste-based advancement schemes launched by the government lacks the necessary regulatory framework, needed indispensably for eradication of caste-based discrimination.

The acute incidence of gender inequality is primarily due to the persisting conservatism in Indian society manifested by preference for boys to girls, thereby, increasing the incidence of female feticide.

Section –V

Remedial Measures

The Mckinsey Report, "From Poverty to Empowerment" talks of a huge 'Empowerment Gap' as the one that is the cause of all evils thus denying economic justice to a sizeable section of the population. The report also opined that to narrow down the gap, channeling of appropriate resources in the form of creating efficiencies in the delivery of current services, where till date 50% of government spending failed to reach its intended recipients. Also, there needs to be a radical increase in social spending from 21% to 50% of the budget. And, finally for proper implementation, reduction of bureaucratic red-tapism is opined as a must to drastically raise the productivity of manufacturers and the agriculture sector through innovation, efficiencies and investment.

Inclusion of the backward castes within the mainstream flow, through appropriate policy measures can be effectuated in the following way:

- I. Inclusion by targeting through which the authorities consciously target the backward

classes and women through a process that takes care of the most vulnerable sections of the community, and thereafter, consciously involving the entire community for whole-hearted support of the endeavour.

- II. Inclusion through empowerment involves backward castes and their leaders to institute, support and lead their own projects, coordinate the response efforts and ensure that the government agencies are made accountable for their rights.
- III. Inclusion by transparency ensures that the humanitarian agencies and government institutions commit themselves in ensuring transparency in data collection, requisite assessments and information sharing so as to have greater awareness about the realities of caste discrimination amongst the general population.

It has been found that gender skewness characterizes our societal framework. Almost among all communities, e.g., Hindu, Muslim, Christianity or Parsi, personal laws prevalent are found to be gender-skewed. Some of their personal laws provide lesser rights to women than their men folk, in the same situations. For example, the Family Law of Usage and Customs of Gentile Hindus of Goa permit a second marriage for the husband when there is no son from the first marriage.

Under the Hindu Succession Act, the property of a Hindu women dying intestate devolves first upon her children and husband. Then, it devolves not on her own family, but upon the heirs of her husband. There are also laws in some states which do not allow daughters and widows to inherit land. These personal laws need to be appropriately moulded upon so as to ensure the true spirit of social equality.

Section – VI

In Lieu of Conclusion

In order to implement real change in results, drastic changes in the existing methods, are to be implemented. That implies building of

requisite opportunities within the realm of existing system by embodying the accrued knowledge about the root causes of inequalities. Only then shall society progress in the real sense in line with the maxims of economic justice. That again can happen only if, appropriate changes in the existing administrative machinery besides making and incorporation of strict laws following the basic framework of the Directive Principles of State Policy. Only then can we be a step nearer towards establishing a welfare state where acceptable level of economic justice shall flourish.

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