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- ❖ **Indo-US Relations**
- ❖ **Human Rights**
- ❖ **Violence against Dalits**
- ❖ **Psychological Empowerment of Women**
- ❖ **Post-Coloniality in Nepal**
- ❖ **Populism vs. Industrial Policy**



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

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Extolling R2P

R2P or Right to Privacy has been held as a fundamental right by a recent unanimous judgment of 9 Judges of the Supreme Court. While asserting that R2P inheres to every human being regardless of his caste, creed, gender or orientation, the Apex Court held that it is a natural, inalienable right that is inseparable from human existence and an intrinsic part of the human element. It has been unequivocally held by the Supreme Court that the right to privacy is a *sine qua non* for the enjoyment of other rights under Part III of the Constitution of India and thereby recognises the overlapping of fundamental rights under our Constitutional scheme. The Apex Court's decision reaffirms the fundamental freedoms that make all democracies strong. "Our society prospers in the shadow of its drapes," the court said, "which let in sunshine and reflect a multitude of hues based on language, religion, culture and ideologies." R2P gives the citizen a little more space to breathe. Upsetting the two previous judgments on the issue, the Apex Court has provided the citizen protection against surveillance by the State. It has put limits on the might of an ever-expansionist and overbearing State. Undoubtedly, justice system in India is a dilatory and expensive and is a deterrent to seeking redress of rights violations'; nevertheless, the significance of the Apex Court's ruling cannot be underestimated and under the prevailing circumstances, it is overwhelming. The judiciary has explicitly told the executive to be a little more respectful of individual rights, including the right to privacy.

Apex Court's unanimous decision provides new vigour to India's Constitution and challenges the government's rising authoritarianism, India's Supreme Court last week affirmed the fundamental right to privacy. The 547-page verdict by the court envisages the sweeping implications of the question before it: "If privacy is to be construed as a protected constitutional value, it would redefine in significant ways our concepts of liberty and the entitlements that flow out of its protection." While conceding that no right is absolute — and opening the door to litigation on specific privacy issues down the line — the Apex Court ruled the right to privacy is "the constitutional core of human dignity." As such, the court affirmed the right to choices like whom to love and what to eat — freedoms increasingly threatened under the present dispensation at the helm, where goons hound mixed Hindu-Muslim couples and mobs attack people suspected of eating beef. Some experts opine that the verdict on R2P is obviously a rebuff to the Modi government, which had contended before the court that the right to privacy could not be extended to "every aspect" of privacy. While extolling R2P, many experts point that personal liberty is fundamental to democracy and privacy is critical to enable people to exercise their basic rights, including the freedom of thought, speech, expression and association, among others.

The R2P also encompasses an individual's right to be left alone, that is essential to protect against arbitrary intrusion by the state. Unfettered infringements would inevitably have a chilling effect on free speech, critical thought, dissent and public participation — the cornerstones of a democratic society. An important aspect in the evolving debate on privacy, when viewed from the lens of public accountability, is the balancing of an individual's right to privacy and peoples' right to information. Where the boundary is drawn, has been a matter of public debate and litigation. While upholding that privacy includes at its core the preservation of personal intimacies, the sanctity of family life, marriage, procreation, home and sexual orientation, the Apex court rejected government's specious argument about the amorphous nature of the right to privacy and its failure to withstand constitutional scrutiny. At a time when the strain of divisive politics is curtailing citizen's right to freely exercise his freedom of choice, an acknowledgement by the Supreme Court of the right to privacy as intrinsic to human existence has broadened the contours and scope of human freedom and has again brought the welfare of the individual to the centre stage. One can hope that this judgement will help expound the balance which adjudicators need to strike while protecting an individual's right to privacy on the one hand and public interest on the other, especially in matters relating to public accountability.

— BK

Populism versus Industrial Policy

Amanda Janoo*

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Throughout the most of human evolution both progress as well as its horizontal transmission was extremely slow, occasional and tedious a process. Well into the classic period of Alexander the Macedonian and his glorious Alexandrian library, the speed of our knowledge transfers – however moderate, analogue and conservative – was still always surpassing snaillike cycles of our breakthroughs. When our sporadic breakthroughs finally turned to be faster than the velocity of their infrequent transmissions – that very event marked a point of our departure.

Simply, our civilizations started to significantly differentiate from each other in their respective techno-agrarian, politico-military, ethno-religious and ideological, and economic setups. In the eve of grand discoveries, the faster cycles of technological breakthroughs, patents and discoveries than their own transfers, primarily occurred on the Old continent.

That occurrence, with all its reorganizational effects, radically reconfigured societies – to the point of polarizing world onto the two: leaders and followers” – noted prof. Anis H. Bajrektarevic in his luminary book *Europe, 100 years later*.

Will we ever close our technological and spiritual gap, physically and psychologically? Following lines are an interesting take on the topic.

The world is at a unique moment. People are disillusioned with the status quo. We are on the

brink of a paradigm shift that could transform our political and economic realities. Industrial policy has a unique opportunity to re-assert itself as an alternative way of managing an economy that is responsive to the desires and aspirations of society. Industrial policy experts must be careful, however, not to pander to the fascist winds brewing as this could spell demise for the discipline and the world.

For decades, countries have operated under the assumption that there is no alternative to market fundamentalism. Described by many as “neoliberalism,” market fundamentalism calls for a one-size-fits-all approach to economic policy. All countries, but particularly developing countries, were told to abide by the three sacred tenants: liberalize, privatize and deregulate. In this context, industrial policy was actively discouraged if not straight-up prohibited. However, the tide seems to be changing.

We have recently seen populist uprisings in the two countries that were the chief architects of neoliberalism, the United States and United Kingdom, with people and politicians actively disavowing the free market consensus of the preceding decades. This explicit flirtation with economic protectionism by these ideological giants, presents an opportunity for developing countries to openly question free trade and experiment with alternative economic policy approaches that are more in line with their societal priorities and objectives.

The danger is, however, that the world will emulate the scapegoating, separatist and authoritarian rhetoric being articulated by the likes of Donald Trump and Marie Le Pen to legitimize the use of more interventionist economic policies.

Reminiscent of Karl Polanyi's description of the "double-movement" in the inter-war period, we are witnessing a yearning for social and political instruments to temper the inequality, instability and degradation wrought by decades of market fundamentalist policies. Industrial policy experts, having a deep understanding of the failings of an unruly free market system, are in an ideal position to advice governments disillusioned with Chicago School policy prescriptions.

As space opens for new economic approaches, industrial policy can position itself as a more "hands on" and socially-responsive form of economic management. The danger is that industrial policy inherently implies a more powerful role of government in economic affairs, and therefore can just as easily be used to support authoritarian ambitions.

At the time of writing in the post-war period, Polanyi saw the "double-movement" manifesting in Europe in two extreme forms: Fascism and Socialism. In looking at the recent US elections we could easily see how the two populist candidates Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders

fit into these polar categorizations. Both candidates appealed to economic protectionism but for very different reasons.

Trump criticized free trade in order to further an aggressive foreign policy agenda and assert US dominance. While Sanders called for protectionist measures to help reduce social inequality and re-industrialize the economy. The clear danger here is that the same protectionist policies could be employed for either political agenda but if industrial policy becomes aligned with the fascist movements underway it will ultimately be discredited forever.

At this pivotal junction in history, industrial policy experts must not become drunk with the prospect of re-legitimation and bolster political movements that propagate messages of conspiracist scapegoating and cultural superiority. We must use industrial policy to support our global community to stand together as they critically reflect on the failures of market fundamentalism.

It is time to creatively envision new forms of economic organization that can deliver on societies desire for greater dignity and security. The old economic consensus is out. The question is whether industrial policy can articulate a persuasive alternative that re-empowers governments to mold and direct their economies without instigating a trade war that will bring more harm than good.



To our Contributors.....

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Indo -US Relations: A Brief Survey

Dr. Shahber Pasha*

[While making a brief appraisal of Indo-US relations during the Cold War period and in the Post-Cold War era, the author takes into account the points of convergence and divergence in the overall pattern of mutual relationship in the bilateral, regional and global contexts. In his concluding remarks, he asserts that in recent years, foreign policy concerns of India and the US more or less tend towards 'convergence'—on some of the major global issues—rather than being 'divergent'.]

The conceptual principles of Indian foreign policy could be traced back to the Indian national movement {1} and some of these principles subsequently were enshrined in the Indian Constitution under Article 51. This Article prescribe the State of India in its foreign policy to “endeavour”:

- Promotion of international peace and security,
- Maintain just and honorable relations between states,
- Foster respect for international law and treaty obligations....,
- Encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration. {2}

Some of the other principles which had a role in shaping India’s foreign policy were: The principle of Panchsheel, Non- Alignment, anti-imperialism, opposition to racial discrimination, and Support to the United Nations, opposition to arms race and promotion of disarmament. {3} Apart from these philosophical perspectives, India’s national interest which includes: ensuring of national security, economic development, preserving of territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, ensuring of regional and international peace, have influenced India’s foreign policy.

Added to this, the foreign policies of the neighboring states, the international political

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environment/foreign policies of major powers etc., were the other factors which have been influencing the foreign policy of India. {4} India’s first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru commenting on independent India’s foreign policy remarked: “the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country.” {4}

Further Pandit Nehru also remarked that, “I have not originated it. It is a policy inherent in the circumstances of India, inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during our struggle for freedom and inherent in the circumstances of world today”. {5} These remarks of Nehru aptly imply that India’s foreign policy was not only a product of its philosophical personality but also conditioned by the practical needs, necessities and the eternal circumstances. In the perspective of the above precepts, a brief analysis of the “issues and concerns of India – US relations is hereby attempted.

India –America relations: Issues and Concerns

Independent India’s foreign policy perspectives were well articulated by the first Prime Minister of India Pandit Nehru. He is considered as the “architect” of India’s foreign policy. India—US relations could be broadly divided into two phases: Cold War era and the post-Cold War era.

The Cold War Era

Independent India was much inspired by the American struggle for independence, her strong faith in constitutionalism and rights, secularism and liberalism and the sympathy of US leaders like Roosevelt for India. Hence in the context of 'shared democratic values' and India's desire for promoting socio-economic development, India was expected to have friendly relationship with America. {6}

However, till the 'victory of communism in China' the US was largely 'indifferent' towards India as well as South Asia. It was also due to its preoccupation about the European affairs particularly 'containment of communism'. {7} Issues like the America foreign policy orientation in the context of growing ideological rift at the world level, the American position on the issue of Indonesia's independence, the American emphasis on capitalism etc., did dampen India's interest towards the U.S. {8} When India recognized the Indonesian independence the U.S had a different gesture as it had displayed indifference towards decolonization. {9}

Apart from the above, issues like Non-alignment, Kashmir, military alliances, racial discrimination etc., were some of the hurdles which had inhibited India –U. S cordial relationship during the Cold War era.

Non- Alignment

India was one of the founding members of Non-alignment. The evolution of non-aligned foreign policy was influenced by factors like: the doctrine of Panchsheel, the colonial experiences of India and the Third World, the ideological rift between the capitalist and socialist political systems.

The policy of Non- alignment basically aimed at ensuring of the political independence and sovereign equality of the Third World states, with emphasis on ensuring independent foreign policies to the newly independent states, without these states being entangled in the ideological rivalry/politics of Cold War.

In the context of India –America relations, the policy on Non-alignment that is: equidistance to

bloc politics, ideological conflict and war, pursued by India had negatively impacted India – U.S relations. Since India's independence, in fact the U.S had expected India to be on her side. This expectation had been explicitly stated by the then U.S ambassador to India saying: "it is tremendously important to keep India on our side in the world struggle" {10}.

In brief, the issue of Non-alignment which was an important foreign policy precept of India during the Cold War period was a source for "angry bewilderment" of the U.S leadership towards India. During the Cold War, the foreign policies of India and U.S were 'divergent' and hence these two countries were viewed as "estranged democracies" {11}.

India-Pakistan Dispute

The partition of India and the subsequent disputes between India and Pakistan with regard to Kashmir question and the U.S position on this issue was also a factor for straining India –U. S relations. The U.S stand on this issue in the Security Council in 1948 negatively impacted India's relations with the U.S. Subsequently the U.S intervention suggesting arbitration between India and Pakistan had been outrightly rejected by India.

The U.S military aid to Pakistan in the 1950s was another reason for souring India's relations with U.S. Apart from this, the U.S had added Pakistan as its military ally in South –West Asia for opposing and containing communist influence in the region. Similarly, the U.S attitude in the Indo –Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971 was another hurdle for smooth and friendly India –U. S relations. {12}

Apart from the above issues and concerns, which negatively impacted India's relations with the U.S, India's concern on issues like racial discrimination, military pacts, colonialism etc. had been regarded as "disruptive policies" by the U.S. India's stand on China's membership in the U.N, and concern towards Vietnam had been 'dubbed' by the U.S as "pro-communist proclivities" {13}. The India –Soviet Union treaty

of friendship and cooperation had added further strength to the above accusations against India.

In the seventies, the U.S was concerned about India's nuclear ambitions, and India's stand on the issue of nuclear proliferation. In brief, the above issues and concerns had significant negative impact on India –US relations during the Cold War era.

However, despite the foreign policy 'divergence' between India and the U.S, there were occasions of 'convergence' of interests; specifically, the U.S was particular about not losing India to the Communist bloc. Furthermore, both the countries aspired to uphold democracy and India's foreign policy emphasis being on equidistance /non-alignment, the U.S had to be considerate towards India.

In the fifties of previous century, the then U.S ambassador to India Chester Bowles had played a significant role in facilitating better India –U. S relations. He had argued that consolidation of democracy in India would benefit promotion of democracy in the 'rest of Asia' thereby preventing communist influence. { 14 } In this context the U.S had given emphasis to maintain cooperative economic relations with India. In other words, the U.S was considerate that, by means of economic diplomacy, it could at least aid and assist the consolidation of democratic institutions in India.

The U.S economic diplomacy was not an issue for India as there was no threat of losing or compromising its independent foreign policy. { 15 } Hence in the 1950s, the U.S assisted India through its economic aid and under various other programmes like Truman's "point Four Programme", provided "Ford Foundation Grants" 'for scientific, technical, educational and cultural activities', 'surplus commodity assistance programme under public law 480(PL480), development loans under the supervision of the 'United States Agency for International Development' (USAID). Further, the PL 665 aid was provided and hence the U.S was the biggest aid provider to India in the 1950s. { 16 }

Hence, despite differences of perception with regard to political issues between India and the U. S, India –U. S relations did not disrupt, as India had pursued the policy of non-alignment. The US had been one of the largest trade partner with India. Further, in 1962 the U.S had extended military assistance to India in the context of China's aggression against India.

Post-Cold War Era

The collapse of the former Soviet Union paved the way for the end of the Cold War. In the context of the changed global political scenario, foreign policies of many states underwent drastic reformulation including that of India. { 17 }

Changes in the international system, the new security challenges, globalization, end of bipolar international system, emergence of 'new centers of power', the declining relevance of Non-alignment etc., have influenced India- U.S relations significantly. { 18 } In the Post-Cold War period, the U.S had begun to pay attention to India as a significant country in South Asia.

India's economic liberalization as well as its security perceptions are some of the factors that have contributed to closer India –US relations. However, there were issues in the Post-Cold War era which had influenced 'divergence' in the foreign policies of these two states. Some of these issues are appraised here.

The Gulf War

India's foreign policy in the Post-Cold War period, though was guided by pragmatic considerations leading to the recognition of the need for closer India –U. S cooperation, yet on issues like the first and the second Gulf War, there was no complete 'convergence' between India and the U.S concerning the resolution of the Kuwait crisis. India had taken the position of a 'middle path' keeping in mind its long-term interests in the Gulf region.

Even during the second Gulf War, India had cautiously taken a principled position that the 2003-4 war on Iraq had no U. N sanction. Hence,

India's perception of the Gulf crisis was entirely different from that of the U.S perception. This divergence could also be due to the then domestic compulsions of India, as well as India's strong ethical moorings. This stand was justified on the basis that the interests of the Iraqi people were above the interest of the then Iraqi regime. It implied "India's commitment is to the people of Iraq and not to the regime of Saddam Hussein" {19}.

The issue of U.S intervention In Yugoslavia

On occasions, India –US relations had been 'divergent' even in the Post-Cold War era. The US intervention in the Yugoslavian civil war in favour of the Kosovians on the basis of 'Humanitarian intervention' had been an issue of foreign policy 'divergence' between these two countries. When this issue was discussed in the UN General Assembly, India's stand on this issue was opposed to the position taken by the US.

The official Indian position implied that though the US had cited humanitarian reason for its intervention, in fact it had violated the principles of international law. The Indian position implied that the US intervention was in violation of Yugoslavia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. India's then permanent representative at the UN, Kamlesh Sharma pointed out that "the attacks violated Art 53 of the UN Charter." The said Art reads, "No country, group of countries or regional arrangement, no matter how powerful, can arrogate to itself the right of taking arbitrary and unilateral military action against others. This would be a return to anarchy where, might is right." {20}

The issue of Nuclear Proliferation

Though the US had assisted India in the 1960s in the development of nuclear energy-the Tarapur power plant-, it was purely as per the IAEA guidelines. The 1974 and 1998 Pokhran tests had been conducted by respective Indian governments in the context of China becoming a nuclear power in the 1960s. As well the US – China rapprochement in the 1970s and strategic

cooperation in the 1990s, were the other factors that had prompted India to pursue forward its nuclear policy, leading her to emerge as a nuclear power, in the best interest of her security.

The US had not taken India's nuclear policy positively and had insisted that India should become a part of the NPT. Hence, on the issue of India's nuclear policy there was disagreement between the two states. The US had desired rolling back of India's nuclear weapon capability efforts. India not signing the CTBT also had been a reason for straining India –US relations. Hence, in the previous century there was bitter 'estrangement' between India and the US with regard to the nuclear issue. {21}

The second Pokhran test 1998 was a 'defining moment', in the foreign policy of India as India established herself as a "State with Nuclear Weapons". The US response to this was to 'denounce' India saying that the nuclear tests of India were a "terrible mistake". {22} The US State Department spokesperson James Rubin had accused the Indian govt "of being deceitful in its dealing with the US on the nuclear issue". The US had imposed economic sanctions and had withheld loans and financial aid to India. {23}

Recent India –America Concerns

The above issues had contributed to wide difference of opinion between India and the US resulting 'divergence' in their foreign policies. However, the developments in the South Asian region in the late 1990s, especially the Kargil war between India and Pakistan, is considered as a 'strategic gain' for Indian foreign policy. The United States positive role of pressurizing Pakistan to withdraw its forces had contributed to the resolution of the conflict without aggravation. The US appreciation of the restraint exercised by India by not expanding the war fronts 'was considered as "the de-hyphenation" of the US foreign policy towards the Sub-continent. {24} The resolution of the Kargil crisis had facilitated closer India –US relations.

Terrorism

At the beginning of the twenty first century, events like the September eleven 2001 attack on the US trade centre had brought the issue of national security to forefront of attention of states like the US and India. The common concern of India and the US on terrorism has considerably strengthened the US -India relations. Both consider terrorism as a global challenge. Since India has been a continuous victim of terrorism, the US found in India a reliable partner for countering this challenge. As a result, both the countries have started to share their common concern on 'counter-terror strategies', leading to the establishment of the "Indo-US Counter Terrorism Joint Working Group" in the year 2000 itself. {25}

Both India and the US consider terrorism as not only a threat to their respective national security but also a "danger to freedom, democracy, international security and stability". India –US concern on this issue has facilitated initiation of a number of measures to check this evil in areas like: cyber space, infrastructure, airways, etc. The joint working group often meets for chalking out strategies to check this menace. Further, in 2010 the India-US endeavor on 'home security' was initiated to counter the global threat posed by terrorist organizations the world over. {26}

Non –Proliferation and the Indo-US Nuclear Deal

Though India becoming a Nuclear weapon state in 1998 was undesirable to the US, gradually it not only accepted the reality of India's compulsions to become a 'State with Nuclear weapons' but also the fact of India being a responsible nuclear power. This recognition paved the way for closer India –US strategic relations resulting in the signing of the 'Strategic Agreement in July 2005. This agreement tacitly approved India as a 'de-facto nuclear weapons power outside the NPT'. Secondly, the US agreed to cooperate with India on its 'Civil Nuclear Energy' requirements. {27}

The Indo- US Nuclear Deal

The above 'framework agreement' (Strategic Agreement) signed in July 2005, resulted in the signing of the Indo –US nuclear deal on 2nd March 2006. It is also known as "the 123 Agreement". The US Congress approved it in 2008.

Main Provisions: a) India to separate its civilian and military nuclear programmes.

b) Open its' civilian nuclear plants for IAEA inspection

c) The US to amend its Atomic Energy Act 1954 for facilitating supply of nuclear fuel and technology to India's civilian nuclear programme.

d) The US to ensure NSG waiver to India, for smooth transaction of nuclear fuel and other requirements for its civilian purpose.

Main Objectives: a) End India's nuclear isolation by the US and the NSG.

b) Ensure uninterrupted access of nuclear fuel to India's civilian needs.

c) Bring India closer to NPT –at least its civilian nuclear programme.

In fact, the above deal provides a tacit recognition of India as a Nuclear Weapon Power outside the NPT. It tacitly implies India's right to maintain minimum nuclear deterrence in the best interest of its national security. Hence it is considered as a major event in the Indo American mutual relations.

In the aftermath of this deal closer mutual cooperation is developing between these two states in areas like: trade, commerce, science & technology, defense, Logistic Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA), economy, global security, nuclear nonproliferation (with respect to Iran), strategic areas etc. To conclude, it may be safe to say that in the recent years, foreign policy concerns of India and the US more or less tend towards 'convergence'— on some of the major global issues –rather than being 'divergent'.

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What Are We Dealing With – Trump or Democracy

Tomislav Jakić*

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Although it is still not sure if Donald Trump will go down in history as champion of bombastic, but empty threats, or as somebody who did what he threatened with, thus starting a dangerous local war with potentially global consequences, one thing is absolutely sure: Donald Trump, the eccentric billionaire with a turbulent business career, a showman, proved with his entry into the White House, but as well as with the campaign waged by the so-called liberals (in the best way of almost forgotten McCarthyism) to evict him from there, that the model of Western democracy, especially its American version, is irreparably corrupted. If we look at the facts as they are, there can be no doubt about this.

Trump was elected as president of America, a country that was for decades, with good reason, viewed as the light-bearer of democracy. He was elected in accordance with the rules of the American democratic system, rules that are – basically – applied from the very beginning of the existence of the United States. Here we stumble upon the first “but”. Only to enter the race for the nomination for the presidential candidate, one must have money, very much money.

In democracy, meaning the rule of the people, the people are robbed of the possibility to elect the best and forced to elect among the rich the one, who seems to be most capable. Or, and this is the second “but” (which was obviously the case in the last elections), people are left to choose and to decide who is the lesser evil.

This is why, choosing between Trump, who at that time presented a fresh and for America even

radically changed foreign policy program and the former First lady and Secretary of State, an undisputed political hawk with no other foreign policy program that the continuation of toppling regimes in foreign countries and installing those who suited the US best and – not to forget – the continuation of the reborn Cold war, people opted for Trump, as lesser evil. Of course, when we use the term “people” we have in mind those who decided to use their voting right, which is usually about 50% of those registered as potential voters. And here is the third “but”. The President is elected by the minority of the Americans and imposed upon the majority.

This is how American democracy functions, at least in the last couple of decades. But, being strongly influenced by everything coming from America, similar trends are more and more present in Europe too. In other words, system we call democracy and we praise as “something that is not perfect, but there is nothing better than it” (as the legendary British prime minister from the times of Second World War, Winston Churchill once said), is giving all chances and opening all doors not to those who are capable, but to those who are rich.

This very system often forces the voters to choose only between the greater and lesser evil. And in many countries (France was, at least until today, an exception) the voters are to such a degree fed up with politics, with politicians and with the scandals accompanying them, that they in significant numbers simply abstain from their right to vote, leaving it to the minority to impose its choice on the majority. And this should be the rule of the people?

But let us deal with facts, as they are. Trump was elected in the same way as all his predecessors. He was not unique (meaning the first) even because of the fact that his opponent won more popular votes, but he won the elections due to the electoral votes. To put it as simply as possible: he won in a democratic way and his victory was legitimate. And here begins the second chapter of the saga about the corrupted democracy.

Despite the fact that he was democratically elected, despite the fact the legality of his election could not have been disputed, followers of the candidate who lost (and in whom the disoriented left leaning European liberals all of a sudden see a leftist - what she never was!) started with help of the mainstream media, either friendly to them or controlled by them (free media, is it?) an unprecedented campaign against Trump. His “main sin”, needless to say is, according to them, that he won due to the Russian meddling in the election process – which is a gigantic compliment to the Russian propaganda and secret services, but at the same time an even greater offence to the American voters.

Parallel to this Trump’s mental health, his ability to perform the duties of the President and - more recently - his threat to start a nuclear war are being discussed. The champion of the anti-Trump campaign, the global TV network, CNN, already discusses his state of mind (his accountability, to put it bluntly), the degree of his connection with Moscow (a second détente is obviously something very frightening for Trump’s political adversaries) and finally the mechanisms of impeachment.

The special prosecutor investigating the alleged ties between Trump and the Kremlin, already conveyed the so called grand jury, a citizen’s assembly which will in the best tradition of senator Joe McCarthy’s investigations of the anti-American activities, decide – based on the reports of the US intelligence agencies which have until today presented no hard evidence, no “smoking gun”, proving that Moscow really did

meddle in the presidential elections – if Trump was elected American president due to the will and support of the American votes (meaning electors), or due to the influence from Moscow.

Judging by the present state of affairs, it is not hard to anticipate their decision.

In the meantime, nobody is mentioning any more the financial irregularities (to say the least) in the activity of the Clinton Foundation, or the unprotected e-mails the former Secretary of State sent from an unprotected mobile phone, thus breaking the law (what she, despite the evidence, denied to have done). Nobody is mentioning her role in the ill-fated Arab Spring, especially in the toppling of the Lybian regime and the murder of colonel Ghadafi. On the contrary! The promotion of her hastily written book, entitled “What really happened” is announced, with the clear aim to close the coffin of Trump’s presidency.

And Trump, although being a “foreigner” on the political scene is far from being naïve. He fully understands that it is for him to be or not to be. And he acts like a wounded animal, chased into a corner. He forgets everything he promised during the election campaign (with the exception of the wall along the border with Mexico), he forgets his words that “America will no longer impose the American way of life” on anybody and his politics (if the stumbling from one day into the other can be called politics) resembles more and more those of George W. Bush and Barack Obama (read: Hillary Clinton).

And he repeatedly and with ever greater enthusiasm threatens with the American military might, which brought him on the verge of open war with seemingly unpredictable, but in reality, very “down to the Earth” regime of North Korea. Kim Yong Un seems to be an enigma to the world, but let us not forget that he was educated in the West. He knows perfectly well whom he is dealing with, while Trump entered the war games without knowing anything about Kim – if we forget the slogans about the harsh dictatorship and the last bastion of communism and what else

the military-industrial complex is “feeding” him with in order to always have an enemy, even at the risk of a world war.

Today’s world is on the brink of a confrontation with unforeseeable consequences. But, it is not Donald Trump who is to be blamed for this in the first place. Much more – the system that opened for him the doors of the White House and is now trying- mainly through the activities of the deep state – to throw him out of there. Both things, needless to say: democratically. Because of that, is it not the last minute to start thinking about what is really the system we call

democracy and what is this system giving us (or taking from us)?

So, it is not Donald Trump we are dealing with, it is democracy, better to say system we view as democracy and which has with the original meaning of the world less and less in common. After all, was it not the 2nd President of the United States, John Adams, who said: “Remember, democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide.” And did we remember, do we remember?



Human Rights: Issues and Concerns

Dr. Yog Raj*

[The concept of human rights emerged out of mankind’s reasoning capacity and sensitive conscience. The term human right is commonly understood to imply certain fundamental requirements of all beings without which they cannot be humans. These rights are necessary for every individual so as to build up a free, just and equitable society. Thus, human rights constitute the vital concerns and claims of the mankind. The ambit of human rights encompasses everything that makes man’s existence free, dignified and honourable.]

Human rights, freedoms, fundamental rights etc. expressions are very much popular in United Nations Instruments, Charters, Declarations, Conventions and other documents as well as in constitutions of various states. The profound concern towards human rights and a firm commitment to ensure their implementation has become a universal principle in today’s societies all across the world. Such an understanding is an outcome of long struggle to establish a human rights culture by seeking unequivocal respect for the human rights.

Both men and women have equal rights without any discrimination. The dignity of human reigns supreme in the realm of human rights reflecting an essence to provide such conditions enabling mankind to attain best possible fulfillment and development without discrimination and special

privileges. The society and national systems should signify that human being has the rights to be respected (as person): is subject of the rights. That would make it essential for everyone to treat each with respect as an individual and as one having (equal) rights and without any discrimination.¹

The notion of human rights has immensely attracted the attention of entire humanity. We have had never witnessed such an amazing concern for this issue as we are witnessing today. Thus, it is a subject of profound importance for everybody including the academicians. Further the notion of human rights is dynamic as it adopts itself to the needs of the day. Therefore, it is imperative to examine and analyze the issues and concerns related to the notion of human rights.²

Since the advent of human civilization, the quest for dignity and development has been the foremost concern to all mankind. However, law

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regulating societies do vary from country to country, certain philosophers and jurists have always asserted the brooding omnipresence of the higher law. It was termed as 'Jus Natural' for the Romans, 'Lex Naturalism' for medieval Christian thinkers, and 'Dharma' for Hindus and is christened as Natural Law by modern jurists.

The recognition of such law led to the evolution of the concept of 'Natural Rights' claimed to be innate, inherent, inalienable, immutable and essential in nature. Such rights of individuals or groups whether justifiable, non-justifiable, positive or negative injunctions, legal, ethical, or moral binding on the individual or the state authorities, in the modern sense are called human rights.³

Human rights as an issue and concern remained associated with civil societies since ancient times. However, this issue could not become the centre-stage and focus of discussion as well as earnest concern of societies till the modern times. Today we witness societies, irrespective of national boundaries, ideologies and cultures, speaking unequivocally on the issue of human rights, exhibiting prime concern towards them in order to ensure human fulfillment and development all across the world.

Human civilizations have constantly struggled against discriminations, organized and tyrant authorities. There was a sigh of relief with the advent of modern period known to have an outlook to establish free, fair and equitable society providing opportunities of development to everyone. However, the experiences proved otherwise leading to an utter disregard to human beings leading to dehumanization. There are many reasons for this, war crimes are one of them.

During the Second World War, shocking crimes were committed against the humanity and there was a total suppression of fundamental human rights. Hence, the restoration of the freedoms and rights to the people is one of the essential conditions for the establishment of international peace and security. The conviction was reflected in the proclamations used by the President F.D.

Roosevelt on January 6, 1941 which came to be known as "Four Freedom", which are: (1) freedom of speech (2) freedom of religion (3) freedom from want (4) freedom from fear.

A number of conferences and meetings were held before the UN which was established on October 24, 1945. The Second World War marked a turning point in the development of international concern for human rights. The rise of Fascism and Nazism was a ruthless challenge to the steady advance in the democratic process which assured the individual an ever-broadening field for the exercise of his rights as a free person. In Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, the individual was stripped of civil rights and was subjected to police tyranny condemned to brutal oppression on the ground of race and religion.⁴

It was the San Francisco Conference held from 25th April to 26th June 1945 at which the Charter of the United Nations had emerged, incorporating numerous provisions providing for promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. This concern of UN was translated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on 10th December, 1948.

The declaration set forth a comprehensive, and a common standard of achievements for all by bringing the entire humanity under the uniform cover of human rights umbrella. The UN General Assembly unanimously proclaimed that "This Universal declaration of human rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member-States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction."⁵

Subsequently, the UN General Assembly adopted two covenants of rights in 1966, i.e. on Civil

and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural rights containing 53 and 31 articles respectively. Few years later in December 1986, there was a United Nations Declaration on rights to Development containing 10 articles. The stress of these declarations and covenants is not only to put restraints on the power of state but also to involve the opportunities and positive environment for the fulfillment and dignified development of all human beings.

India got independence on 15 August 1947. The constitution-makers resolved to build India a free, fair, equal and just society. Therefore, “Fundamental Rights” were incorporated in part III of the Constitution for all without any discrimination. Apart from this “Directive Principles of State Policy” were also included in part IV of the Constitution to attain social and economic democracy for all in order to lead a dignified life. The objective was both to check the arbitrariness of the state as well as to evolve necessary mechanisms and opportunities for the common good of the people.

However, in spite of the laws enacted to eradicate discrimination and social evils in Indian society, these are haunting the society even today. Further, the problems of poverty, unemployment, inequalities, sanitation, and safe drinking water, ill – health, nutrition, shelter, illiteracy etc. have got aggravated and alarming. Thus, the poor, unprivileged subalterns are still at the periphery and are devoid of the opportunities to live with honour and dignity.

Therefore, the issue of human rights and its violation is more specifically concerned to address the problems of unprivileged, oppressed and tortured sections of society instead of the elite sections. No doubt, the subalterns have vociferously started expressing themselves and acquiring spaces in the social – political set – up even though a big chunk of people are still living in inhuman conditions and facing the trauma of human rights violation. Thus, the concept of human rights could not become all-embracing but still remains exclusionary in nature.⁶

In this context, an effective role of state is required. Inaction leads either to denial of rights or aggravation of the intensity or problems. Further, the state of affairs becomes more vulnerable if the state machinery resorts to misuse of power. The state is a reservoir and cascade of coercive power. Human Rights movement is a reaction against arbitrary and tyrannical exercise of power. Incidents of custodial deaths, atrocities committed by the police and military on even the innocent human beings have become a usual practice. Thus, state itself has turned as a violator of human rights.

In the end, one can conclude that we are living in a society where an amazing concern for human rights is being expressed but the irony is that one can also witness negation of human rights everywhere, raising an alarm for everyone to establish a free and fair society in which everyone has a say and space to garner opportunities for human living and fulfillment. The solution to weave in and establish a just and human order lies only in collective and rightful efforts carried through human minds with humanistic approach and attitude.

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Condition of Post-coloniality in Nepal

Sridhar Krishnan*

[Sandwiched between two emerging powers – India and China, Nepal is an interesting country in South Asia. The country was a Hindu Kingdom till the dawn of the 21st Century. Following a pro-democracy movement, it became a secular republic. Nepal's is a curious case. Having never been under colonial domination, the country is one of the few non-colonial countries in the region.]

Nepal has come to the global media spotlight only a few times in the past century. Amongst them were events that mark a clear watershed in the history of the nation, be it the royal massacre of 2001 or the earthquake of 2015 (Riaz & Basu, 2007).

The origins of Nepal as we know it now, goes back to the eighteenth century when Prithvi Narayan Shah, a Gorkha ruler subdued other small kingdoms and established a unified kingdom with Kathmandu as its capital. Although Nepal has been an independent entity since 1768 on papers, it was a virtual protectorate of the British from 1816 to 1923 (ibid).

Ali and Basu argue that the state founded in Nepal was a 'rudimentary one' as territorial demarcation, quite essential in our understanding of a State cannot be made for the Nepali state of the eighteenth century (Riaz & Basu, 2007). A state can be defined as "a political association that exercises sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders" (Heywood, 2007, p. 105). Having said that, in this paper I shall try to argue that despite its noncolonial history, State in Nepal is quintessentially post-colonial.

The postcolonial state, in simple terms, is an outcome of the colonial world order (Jabri, 2013). Hamza Alavi in an essay argues that "[t]he post-colonial society inherits that overdeveloped apparatus of state and its institutionalized practices through which the operations of the indigenous social classes are regulated and controlled" (Alavi, 1972, p. 61). The

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perspective looks at the state because what the colonial societies face is a hollow promise of political emancipation.

It is hollow because most of these societies are suppressed and their peoples are denied their right to politics (Jabri, 2013). Partha Chatterjee observes that the "reification of the nation in the body of the state becomes the means for articulating [a] hegemonic structure and the extent of control over the state apparatus becomes a precondition for further development" (As quoted in Jabri, 2013, p. 98).

I shall now attempt to explain how Nepal fits within this framework.

Boundaries and Mapping

Kingdoms in South Asia were divided into small chiefdoms, with chiefs acting as mediators between the king and his subjects. Michael argues that "territories could be understood as shifting spaces produced by the ebb and flow of dynamic social factors" (Michael, 2012, p. 70). It is important to bear in mind that in those times, wastelands, forests and rivers etc. were the markers of borders and territorial borders as we know them did not exist. Borders effectively reflected the extent of the land that yielded revenue for a king.

Thus, big powerful local men could always force other smaller tenants to pay their revenues to them, effectively shifting the border, depending upon the allegiance of those big landlords (Burghart, 1984). This tenurial understanding of borders consequently caused fluctuating borders. In the bordering areas, the elites sought to strike

the best possible bargain to ensure realignment of their 'locations, relationships and jurisdictions' in a way that would favour them (Michael, 2012, p. 73).

Contemporary European ideas of territory and spatiality on the other hand, was heavily influenced by the cartographic revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The nature of territoriality and the way it was understood had changed heavily because of an understanding space that was influenced by maps and mapping in Europe (Branch, 2014). As Baudrillard points out it so happened that by the early modern period, "it [was] the map that precede[d] the territory" (quoted in Branch, 2014, p. 68). Borders and boundaries on the maps translated into the borders on land giving birth to the idea of modern sovereign states.

When the British started acquiring lands within the subcontinent, they brought along with them their understanding of space. Britain sought to export its 'precise' and 'scientific' maps to the subcontinent to standardize the continuously shifting borders here. Their objective was also to "make Britain understand its conquests" (Branch, 2014, p. 116). "Imperial space" was hence a new obsession of sorts for the British officials. After their victory in the Second Anglo-Gorkha War, they were in a position of relative advantage and consequently tried settling the issue of the border, a process that went on till 1821 (Michael, 2012). The officials of the East India Company posted along the areas adjoining the Gorkha territories were told:

"In determining the limits of the respective states, attention must be paid to the selection in all possible cases of natural and well-defined boundary marks not liable to alterations or decay - when these cannot be had, as from the general course of the rivers in the Teraiee and the distance of the forests, as His Lordship apprehends will be the case, artificial boundary marks must be resorted to" (Michael, 2012, p. 94).

Throughout the process of crafting the boundaries, the British were amused by the obsession of the

Gorkhas to secure more villages and the fact that they were more engaged in 'petty' arguments over land with least concern for the great question, which was that of the border (Ibid, p.95). The Gorkha Chief Minister Bhim Sen Thapa had great difficulties in understanding how a fixed, demarcated border could divide the two polities (Burghart, 1984). The very fact that the British imposed a border on a community previously unfamiliar with logic of demarcated boundaries shows the extent of interaction of the colonial apparatus with Nepal.

Understanding the Borders

As noted above, the idea of sovereignty was not tied to territory for the Gorkhali kings. In the light of this, Burghart makes an important distinction as to the realm and the kingdom. The Gorkhali kings saw themselves as true Hindu kings and their territories as lands not defiled by either the British or the Muslims. They prided in the fact that theirs was a 'true Hindustan' (Burghart, 1984). This, according to him, led to a distinction between what he calls 'realm' and the 'boundary of possessions' (Ibid, p.116). At times, they used to overlap. Monarchs in South Asia usually granted rent free lands to men to recognise their special services to the state which includes religion. These lands hence did not belong to any tenurial system in particular (Michael, 2012).

Burghart adds that as a matter of convention, Hindu kings conquering another territory, left the grants made to the temples/religious institutions untouched. They were thus surprised when the British rulers refused to honour the grants made by the Gorkha king in Kedarnath in the 1860s. When the Chief Minister raised a voice of protest, he was told by the resident that "[y]ou can do what you like on lands situated on your territory; we can do what we like in ours" (Burghart, 1984, p. 116). Thus, it was not just a new border that was imposed on the Gorkhalis unwillingly but also a new understanding of the same. There was only one border that would divide British India and Nepal and that thin line was sacrosanct.

The company realised through the pre-existing documents of the local rulers that it would not

be able to craft clearly demarcated, precise borders. Therefore, it took initiatives to standardize the recordkeeping. This strengthened the territorial conception of space and that was to stay for them times to come and stays till date (Michael, 2012).

Questioning Non-coloniality

The Anglo-Gorkha Wars were brought to an end by the Treaty of Sugauli. This was signed on December 2, 1815 and ratified in March, the following year. Nepal lost a lot of territories to the British as part of the border creation, primarily due to the superior position of the latter. Consequently, Nainital, Almora, Garhwal and Dehradun went into the British possession. However, the British too incurred huge losses in the conflict (Ghori, 1964). They faced a loss of a lot of their men and were unsuccessful in gaining a foothold in Nepal (Beine, 1998).

The treaty gave a right to station a British resident at Kathmandu (Ibid). This is similar (and *not* the same) to the mechanisms developed by the British in India after the 1858 rebellion, wherein the rulers of the princely states were given the autonomy to run the affairs of their state as long as they acknowledged the sovereign paramountcy of the English Crown and allow a resident to be stationed there (Agarwal & Bhatnagar, 2013).

The agenda of the Colonialists should not be overlooked in this regard. Nepal was evidently a target of colonial expansion. Brian Houghton Hodgson, who was the British resident in Kathmandu clearly writes in one of his essays that “the Himalaya generally is very well calculated for the settlement of Europeans, and I feel more and more convinced that the encouragement of colonisation therein is one of the highest and most important duties of the government” (Beine, 1998, p. 167).

The British saw themselves as ‘a race destined to govern and subdue’, and that it was the white man’s burden to civilise the savage natives of the east (Ibid). Nepalese tribes were referred to as “hardy and almost savage race inhabiting the wild valleys of the Himalaya”, “disputable,

dissolute-looking wretches imaginable” (Beine, 1998, p. 167). British considerations with regards to Nepal were also influenced by economic factors. Kathmandu valley was also an important point within the trade routes to Tibet and further into China (Waterhouse, 2005). Therefore, for the British they never ruled out the possibility of colonising Nepal.

Laurence Oliphant, a British diplomat traveler and writer, writing on Nepal 36 years after the treaty of friendship in 1852, remarked that in an event of a possible war, “there would be no difficulty, even now, in our troops possessing themselves the whole territory to the foot of the Cheriagotty Hills in the cold season” (Beine, 1998, p. 169).

This is also seen in the reports sent by the resident to his superiors in Calcutta which was then the seat of the Raj. Hodgson, for instance, wrote on the legal systems and police in Nepal along with the conditions of the Nepalese standing army. Furthermore, it was Hodgson who first mooted the idea of recruiting the Gorkhas into the Company’s army, in his reports to Calcutta. This was accepted only after the Queens Proclamation of 1858 following which the Crown assumed control over the Company’s armed forces in the subcontinent (Waterhouse, 2005).

The Resident also played a vital role in the internal politics of the king and his court in Nepal. In fact, Lord Auckland during his stint as the Governor General of India, had authorised Hodgson, the then resident, to demand on behalf of the British the dismissal of the king’s cabinet and appointment of ministers’ cordial to the British as replacement. When the king tried to resist, Auckland moved his troops closer to the border to increase the pressure.

Ultimately, this and Hodgson’s diplomacy worked and led to the appointment of a ‘British ministry’ in 1841 (Whelpton, The political role of Brian Hodgson, 2005). Hence, it wouldn’t be incorrect to conclude from these facts that the British wielded considerable levels of influence within the Nepalese administration.

Starting from the 1857 Indian revolt, however, the two sides developed a cordial relationship in the matters of war and peace, which continued even after the war. This cooperation continued into the next century as well. But Whelpton notes that the cooperation was not a matter of choice, but more often than not, it was an outcome of the absence of the same. Early in the twentieth century, Nepal actively assisted the British in Curzon's 'forward policy' in Tibet and even provided logistical help to the British in the Younghusband Operation in 1904 (Whelpton, A History of Nepal, 2005).

Despite all of this, it was only in the 1920s that the British endeavoured to change their tone of interaction with Nepal by signing a new treaty of friendship in Kathmandu on 21 December 1923. This gave Nepal the right to purchase arms and ammunitions and to open relationship with other princely states. However, Ram Rahul notes that this too, did not amount to recognition of Nepal as a sovereign entity (Rahul, 1977).

It is, thus, clear that the British relations with the Kingdom of Nepal was not that of equality but was a relationship coloured by a clearly visible hierarchy.

Identifying 'Colonial' Narratives

In the previous sections, I argued about a form of dormant colonisation prevailing over Nepal spatially, and otherwise too, in more tangible forms like the presence of a resident. But colonisation, *inter alia*, was also about the power to generate and perpetuate discourses. An interesting aspect of colonisation is that it tries to dominate the colony not just through force but also by dominating the discourse on the colony. The discourse is generated by the metropole, and sustained by it (Waites, 2012).

Colonial masters made an attempt to 'know' their subjects. In the due process, they tried to understand the other through the concepts, techniques and theories developed in the West by Western scholars for studying the West. They assumed the universality of these concepts and theories (Jabri, 2013). Jabri notes that "[k]

knowing' the postcolonial subject hence becomes a matter of the incorporation of the other into established and un-problematised discursive formations authored in the West" (Jabri, 2013, p. 13).

Dipesh Chakrabarty argues in one of his essays that these theories have been trying to explain events and social phenomena across the world, 'embracing the entirety of the humanity'. The problem is that this theorisation happens in 'relative or absolute ignorance' of millions of people who live elsewhere, in what came to be known as the Third World (Chakrabarty, 1992, p. 3).

Nepal was no exception in this case and Nepalese history too, was toed with by the British. In doing so, the world saw Nepal through Britain's eyes. Anthropology and ethnography of Nepal was an outcome of the colonialist endeavour. Beine argues that Pax Britannica conditioned the early ethnographic accounts of Nepal and by and large these ethnographies were by-products of the colonial rule (Beine, 1998). Fürer-Haimendorf noted in his memoirs that the only source of ethnographic information available for him was the colonial Indian Army handbooks on Nepal (Chene, 2007).

European writing of Nepali History has, according to Chene, produced three dominant images. They are: The Fossil, the Interface and Shagri-la. The 'fossil' image according to her is the creation of the idea of 'the land that time forgot' (Ibid). This is clearly seen in many European writings. For instance, consider the following remarks of Colonel Kirkpatrick:

"No Englishman had hitherto passed beyond the range of lofty mountains which separates the secluded valley of Nepal from the north-eastern parts of Bengal: and the public curiosity respecting that Terra Incognita [unknown land] (as it might be justly called, was still ungratified except by the vague and unsatisfactory reports of a few missionaries and itinerant traders)" (Beine, 1998, p. 164).

Chene argues that the image of fossil is also present in the representations of the Rana autocracy. Rana autocracy is shown as a dark period of suppression wherein time stood still and no changes happened in Nepal. This, according to Chene, is a very colonial representation. She writes, “[t]he main premise was that the Rana family autocracy that governed Nepal from 1846 to 1951 had so thoroughly resisted Western incursions and so successfully exploited the country for its own profit *that therefore nothing had changed during the near century of its rule*” (Chene, 2007, p. 212; Emphasis original).

She further argues, that another set of scholars buy the British argument of Nepal being a meeting ground of two cultures, the Tibetan and Indian and therefore, an interface (Ibid). She says that this was done through a process of cultural mapping delineating the southern parts of the country as more Indian and the northern parts, more Tibetan. Sir Hebert Risley, the Director of the Ethnographic Survey of India, remarked that Nepal was a “sort of debatable land between Aryan and Mongolian territory, drawing the rank and file of its population from Tibet, and the leaders, intellectual and social, from India” (Chene, 2007, p. 211).

The third image is that of Shangri-La, pristine, heaven like imagery of Nepal that dominates the initial ethnographic records (Chene, 2007). These records, show the urge in the minds of Englishmen away from the cold weather of home in an alien land trying to find places where they could recreate England. An Englishman writing in 1852 on Nepal noted that “[m]any English forest trees flourish here, amongst them oaks, chestnuts, and pines; rhododendrons also abound, and I observed almost every species of English fruit tree; in the residency garden, all the European vegetables are raised to perfection” (Beine, 1998, p. 171).

Putting It All in Perspective: Post-coloniality in Nepal

Nepalese State bears the distinction of evolving through all the four stages of Tillyian model of

state formation. According to the model, the formation of a state begins by waging a war to eliminate threats outside the territory, followed by eliminating other contenders to power within the state, which is followed by rewarding those who stood by the state through its formation process by creating a new structure which would seek to perpetuate the existence of the state, and eventually leading to the exploitation of resources that the state is blessed with to sustain itself (Riaz & Basu, 2007). Despite being exceptional in achieving this fete within the region, the state thus formed was a rudimentary state, weak state (Ibid).

A state could be argued to being an imported entity when the material foundations it is built on is not indigenous and when the structures of the state have generally been an outcome of colonial interaction (Riaz & Basu, 2007). As Michael writes, “the production of space is the history of thrown-togetherness and interpretation of space and time. Such a conception of space...views the production of territory as a power-laden, culturally determined, contentious process involving access to resources, both material and symbolic” (Michael, 2012, p. 5). Interactions with colonial powers played an important role in the conception of this Nepali space, not only in physical, territorial terms, but also in material, cultural terms.

The regime sustained itself due to continuous British support. The relationship between the Ranas and the British was that of mutual interdependence. The Ranas provided the British with military labour and helped them in curbing down the revolt of 1857. The British, on their part, tried projecting Nepal as a sovereign state, while practically it was never sovereign as clearly illustrated in the earlier sections.

Furthermore, the topographical features of the Nepalese territories, which, itself was a colonial creation, made it further dependent on the British India. Many parts of Nepal were more easily accessible from the British Indian side than from the Nepalese heartland in the Himalayas (Riaz & Basu, 2007). This is probably why that despite agreeing to the fact that Nepal straddles the

boundaries between ‘Sino-sphere’ and ‘Indo-sphere’, he argues that the presence of a strong Imperial power (Britain) in its south coupled with the decline of Chinese, the Nepalese began to align themselves increasingly with India (Whelpton, *A History of Nepal*, 2005).

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to summarise the arguments that I proposed in the essay. Firstly, I argued that the frontiers of the country that we now call Nepal was established by the colonial powers who held sway in the subcontinent (British). I further argued that it was not just an imposition of a territorial boundary, it also involved a new meaning attached to both boundary and how the Nepalese (Gorkhas) understood space and boundaries. Thirdly, the British relations with Nepal was not one of a level playing field. The English reminded the Nepalese of the superiority and military might, which is clearly seen in the stationing of a resident and crafting representations of Nepal.

I further tried looking at the condition of post-coloniality in Nepal by trying to see the cognitive aspects that entails the conditions of post-coloniality, which in this case involved anthropological and ethnographic studies of Nepal. Finally, I tried joining all dots to bring coherence to my central argument that I stated in the Introduction, which is that Nepal is by and large postcolonial, despite its non-coloniality.

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Unabated Violence against Dalits

C. Vengateshwaran* & M.A. Velusamy**

[Caste-based atrocities are taking place all over India in different modes. Still, Dalits are physically and socially excluded and isolated from the mainstream society. Constantly, Dalits are subjected to atrocities, violence, discrimination, exclusion and so on. Undoubtedly, laws and policies are there to safeguard the Dalits from the unlawful practices against them; nonetheless, these acts are not being truly enforced by the authorities.]

Dalits are considered as ‘outcastes’ and carrying low social status with the stigma of “untouchables” in the society because they are always associated with unclean occupations like menial works, unclogging sewers, disposing dead animals and cleaning latrines so on.

Dalits are tolerating segregation in housing, schools, and access to public services. They are denied access to land, forced to work in degrading conditions and are routinely abused by the police and upper-caste members. Discriminations against them are taking place in education, healthcare, housing, property, freedom of religion, free choice of employment, and equal treatment before the law.

Routinely, Dalits are subjected to the denial of their right to life and security of person through state-sponsored or sanctioned acts of violence, including torture. Caste motivates killing, rapes and other abuses which are happening on a daily basis. Most of the Dalits are engaged as agricultural laborers, bonded and child laborers in the nation.

Women in Dalit community face extra discrimination. They are sexually abused by the police, upper-caste men, and sometimes they are forced to prostitution, moreover, they also see

discrimination in employment and wages. Continuous hurdles in education are also faced by the Dalit children and they are made to sit in the back of classrooms and bear verbal and physical harassment from teachers and other students. The result of such abuses is confirmed by the low literacy and high drop-out rates (Dalit Solidarity organisation, 2016).

Unchanging Caste Mind-set

When Dalits claim their rights, and find themselves as being poles apart from the practice of untouchability against them, the vested interest try to intimidate them down and terrorize them. Atrocities against the Dalits still continued. Violence is the powerful tool to make the human as pathetic. In India violence is often used to dominate the weaker sections particularly the Dalits; to keep them under the control of caste system. Caste violence has been occurring throughout the country in various forms with and without a report. Mostly, Dalits and Adivasis are continuously facing the problems of social exclusion and communal violence in their living societies (Vengateshwaran & Velusamy, 2017).

In the face of atrocity, apart from the mass protest, it is necessary to build alliances to keep prosecutions alive and effective – an effort which calls for an outlay of enormous time, intellectual and physical energy and material costs over a long period undergirded by the moral commitment to annihilate caste (Kannabiran, 2007). The reason behind the practices of untouchability,

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discrimination, and atrocities as well as the violent response by the high caste people, are to be found in the continuing belief and faith of the high caste Hindus in the purity of institution of the caste system and untouchability.

In a rural area, a large majority of the Hindus' behavior and their thought process are continuously ruled by the traditional social order. The Constitution and law are provided as secular and equal but the traditional rule of the caste system and the institution of untouchability are based on the principle of inequality in the social, cultural, religious and economic spheres. It brings clearly a clash between what is contained in the Constitution and law, and what is contained in the traditional customary rules, norm, and values of the caste system and untouchability.

People continue to follow the latter because it provides immense privilege and serves their social, political, and economic interest. Whenever the Dalits try to get equal access and assert their rights, this often invites the wrath of the higher caste persons in the form of atrocities and physical violence (Thorat, 2002).

Atrocities on Dalits are mostly taken as a law and order problem, separating them from the larger spectrum for social justice. Atrocities do stand for a significant obstacle to socio-economic mobility of community. Policy-makers should take into account that ending violence on Dalits is a basic requirement for the success of the redistributive policies, rather than assuming that those policies would result in termination of violence/discrimination.

The evidence suggests that violence is directed at relatively better-off Dalits and to that extent atrocities are a response of the society to Dalit mobility. Not only are atrocities directed at better-off Dalits, but also in districts where their population is higher than their national average (16.2 percent). For example, of the 28 problem districts, 24 districts have a Dalit population between 17.4 and 31.9 percent. Most atrocities in southern states fall in this category (Chakraborty, Babu, & Chakravorty, 2006).

Overview of SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act

The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act was enacted to prevent atrocities against the Dalits and Adivasis by Parliament. This act is called by different names like POA Act, SC/ST Act, Atrocities Act, and Prevention of Atrocities Act. Article 17 of the Constitution of India clearly espouses for the abolition of untouchability and to prohibit all its practices. It is fundamentally a statement of principle that needs to be made working with the noticeable objective to eliminate humiliation and multifaceted harassments meted to the Dalits and to guarantee their fundamental and socio-economic, political, and cultural rights.

In spite of different ways to improve the socio-economic conditions of Dalits, they remain vulnerable. Dalits are deprived of a number of civil rights and are subjected to various crimes, indignities, humiliations, and harassment. Dalits have, in several brutal incidents, been deprived of their life and property. Serious atrocities are committed against Dalits for various social, historical, and economic reasons.

The preamble of the Act provides “to prevent the commission of offenses of atrocities against the members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, to provide for special courts for the trial of such offenses and for the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of such offenses and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto”. Hence objectives of the act visibly highlight the intention of the government to distribute justice to Dalits through positive efforts just to make possible for them to live in society with dignity and self-esteem and also without any fear or violence or suppression from the dominant castes. The practice of untouchability, in its overt and covert forms was made a cognizable and non-compoundable offense, and strict punishment is provided for any such offense (Wikipedia, 2017).

Cycle of violence against Dalits today

India is a democratic republic in nature, but the four promised basic views of justice, equality, liberty and fraternity by the Constitution are evidently not accessible to all. Always Dalits are continued to be oppressed and discriminated against in village, in the job market, educational institution, and in the political space, leaving them with a little interval in any field or at any

moment of their lives. While discussing the crimes committed against Dalits, one should observe the cycle of violence that is happening routinely in India. According to National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) report, in 2010 every 18 minutes crime was committed against Dalits. On average, every day three Dalit women are raped, two Dalits murdered, and two Dalit houses burnt (Jha, 2016).

Table 1 Number of cases registered under from 2001 to 2015

YEAR	A.P.	Bihar	Gujarat	Karnataka	Maharashtra	Odisha	Rajasthan	T.N.	U.P.
2001	950	513	356	983	146	645	2965	682	4885
2002	830	715	332	1099	136	466	2384	685	2974
2003	1234	904	320	1155	216	435	867	776	1128
2004	1319	1813	411	1061	219	574	579	691	1264
2005	1244	1141	434	1108	258	639	415	829	1623
2006	1514	1438	359	1051	350	621	119	468	1702
2007	1200	1933	328	1016	370	554	102	1064	2113
2008	1383	2426	402	1246	334	702	82	1194	3072
2009	1737	2534	400	1097	291	652	110	1047	2554
2010	1509	2548	220	1292	319	1224	103	1255	1328
2011	1439	3024	192	1331	304	1256	102	1011	1995
2012	801	4436	217	134	267	1943	111	1143	1740
2013	695	5584	212	1380	277	1785	112	1334	1847
2014	2104	7874	1075	1865	1763	1657	6734	1486	8066
2015	2263	6293	1009	1841	1795	1821	5911	1735	8357
Total	20222	43176	6267	17659	7045	14974	20696	15400	44648
x	1348	2878	418	1177	470	998	1380	1027	2977

Source: National Crime Record Bureau on Indian.

Table1 clearly shows the cases registered under the Prevention of Atrocities Act from 2001 to 2015 in nine states. In these nine states, highest number of cases are registered in the state of Uttar Pradesh (44648) followed by Bihar (43176), Rajasthan (20696), Andhra Pradesh

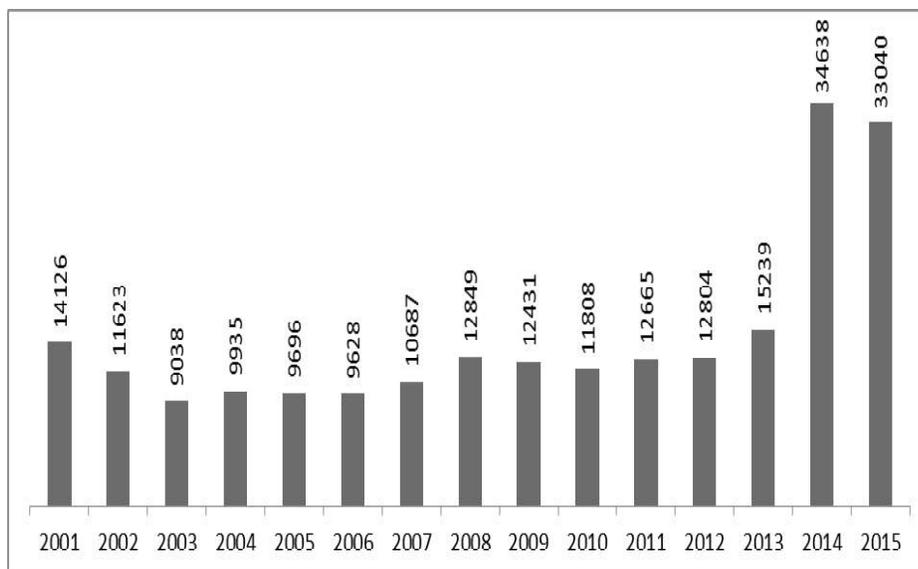
(20222), Karnataka (17659), Tamil Nadu (15400), Odisha (14974), Maharashtra (7045) and Gujarat (6267). Dalits are facing atrocities in their day-to-day life. In these nine states, the atrocities against the Dalits are perpetrated every year, particularly in Uttar Pradesh every year thousands of cases were registered against dominant castes.

In fifteen years, an annual average of the cases is 2977 (Uttar Pradesh), followed by 2878 (Bihar), 1380 (Rajasthan), 1348 (Andhra Pradesh), 1177 (Karnataka), 1027 (Tamil Nadu), 998 (Odisha), 470 (Maharashtra) and 418 (Gujarat). It can be observed from the above table that there is no difference between North Indian states and South Indian states; everywhere the Dalits fall a prey to the atrocities because of the caste system.

The committed crimes also increased between 2001 and 2015. In 2001 alone the number of registered cases in Andhra Pradesh was 950 but

in 2015 alone it was 2263. Likewise, in Bihar there were 513 cases in 2001 and 6293 in 2015, in Gujarat 356 cases in 2001 and 1009 in 2015, in Karnataka 983 in 2001 and 1841 in 2015, in Maharashtra 146 in 2001 and 1795 in 2015, in Odisha 645 in 2001 and 1821 in 2015, in Rajasthan 2965 in 2001 and 5911 in 2015, in Tamil Nadu 682 in 2001 and 1735 in 2015, in Uttar Pradesh 4885 in 2001 and 8357 in 2015. It is observed that the dominant caste people are not obeying the law and not considering Dalits as human beings.

Figure1 Total number of cases registered in nine states from 2001 to 2015



Source: National Crime Record Bureau on Indian.

Figure 1 shows that in nine states the total cases were registered in every year from 2001 to 2015. In these fifteen years, year 2001 saw total cases 14126, followed by 2002 (11623), 2003 (9038), 2004 (9935), 2005 (9696), 2006 (9628), 2007 (10687), 2008 (12849), 2009 (12431), 2010 (11808), 2011 (12665), 2012 (12804), and 2013 (15239). But in the last two years, 2014 (34638), and 2015 (33040) the number of registered cases was very high when compared with previous years, it may be the result of the fact that Dalits are getting awareness about their constitutional rights and demand the officials to file the cases under the particular act.

Forecasting violence against Dalits

Gradually, the growing atrocities against Dalits follow a clear pattern. The incidents are directed against the Dalits to ‘remind’ them about their position in the caste-based social stratification and make sure that they remain there. The atrocities are committed to ensure that Dalits should live a life of indignity, exclusion, and humiliation in the mainstream society; so that Dalits continue to provide the case-based services ‘so essential for society’ and stay at the low level (Namala, 2016).

Table 2 Forecasting of the cases to be registered from 2016 to 2020

STATES	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Andhra Pradesh	1725	1761	1765	1809	1863	8923
Bihar	3745	3839	3836	3982	4122	19524
Gujarat	483	486	482	491	498	2440
Karnataka	1243	1255	1250	1255	1269	6272
Maharashtra	532	551	565	586	611	2845
Odisha	1035	1056	1086	1126	1162	5465
Rajasthan	1432	1329	1250	1273	1319	6603
Tamil Nadu	1030	1054	1079	1098	1125	5386
Uttar Pradesh	2992	2871	2865	2979	3093	14800

Source: National Crime Record Bureau on Indian.

Table 2 shows the data have been predicted (how many cases will be registered) for the next five years 2016 - 2020. In these nine states for five years, highest number of cases will be registered in the state of Bihar (19524) followed by Uttar Pradesh (14800), Andhra Pradesh (8923), Rajasthan (6603), Karnataka (6272), Odisha (5465), Tamil Nadu (5386), Maharashtra (2845) and Gujarat (2440). These results are clearly representing the conditions of the nine states in forthcoming years.

Recommendations

1. The government should take effective policies measures to remove caste-based atrocities and discriminations.
2. The government should enforce the atrocities act in an effective manner to protect the Dalits from violence.
3. The government should implement the fast track case disposal system for cases relating to caste-based violence.
4. The government should bring out guidelines to serve as a procedure to be followed by all investigation officers in the cases of sexual violence against Dalit women.

5. The government should take serious action against the superior officers who are found working with caste biased approach towards Dalits.
6. The government should establish the support services and shelter for the victims and ensure their proper rehabilitations.

Conclusion

In Indian society, the whole thing is getting changed day-by-day but the caste mind-set is not changing. The dominant castes' mindset is still ruled by the so-called caste hierarchy. For the lack of stern implementation of laws, the Dalits are facing the consequences. The violence against Dalits is becoming worse every day in India. The state should form and implement the policies and laws, especially to be dealt with issues of Dalits. There are many policies and laws to protect Dalits from the atrocities, but these are not enforced fully by the bottom to top authorities. The culprits should be punished until the crime is stopped against Dalits. Otherwise, Dalits cannot live safely in the society.

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Environment & Developmental Decision –Making

Dr. R. C. Mishra* & Dr. K. C. Mishra**

[Economic Development – a multi-dimensional concept has undergone a rapid transformation over the years. The great depression of thirties and the Second World War were the major historic events which prompted the economists to study the problems, policies and measures relating to economic development. In the post-War period, the economists have started studying the acceleration of economic development in the underdeveloped countries and the maintenance of economic development in the developed countries. But such economic development was emphasized without any regard to environment.]

With the passage of time, it was observed that there was environmental degradation on a large scale with resource depletion and thereby, quality of life was adversely affected. Thus, emphasis was shifted to economic development with environmental protection. Hence there arose the necessity of considering any Project on the basis of environmental costs. Since then, all the economic projects have both financial cost and environmental cost. It is only when the benefits are greater than the costs; the projects are worth-

undertaken. So, environment has become a determinant in development decision-making.

However, the objective of the paper is not to unlock the whole story, but to focus on the following.

- i) To study how the indiscriminate pursuit of economic development resulted in the environmental degradation.
- ii) To examine the factors that prompted the economists to protect environment along with economic development.
- iii) To study the measures that can foster development with environmental protection.

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Rapid industrialization, development of science, technology, communication etc. resulted in high rate of economic growth, higher production of output in industries, agriculture and tertiary sectors. But such development adversely affected the environment .i.e., it resulted in the poisoning of earth's water, air, land, sky etc. indiscriminate pursuit to economic development without any regard to environment caused atmospheric pollution which was reflected in form of smog , acid rain , greenhouse effect, depletion of ozone layer, marine pollution through oil spills, sewage, garbage, radioactive wastes and thermal pollution, deforestation, desertification, hazardous wastes, climate change and decline of biodiversity.

As a result, the environment has become polluted and it has a severe damaging effect on the human life, plant life and wild life. This would not only result in the poor quality of life of the present generation but also a threat for the future generation to thrive.

Earth is the only planet so far known to have an environment that can sustain life. It has all the physical conditions necessary for the origin and survival of human beings, animals and plants. For a long time, humanity has been cherished with the philosophy that human beings were the masters of the environment. This philosophy has become obsolete with the passage of time. It was realized that environment provides variety of services for which man must be grateful.

Without them, human life cannot exist on this earth. First, environment provides materials, or resources which have an economic value to mankind. These resources provide the inputs for the production activities of human beings. These resources are renewable (forests etc.) and non-renewable (minerals, fossil fuels etc.). Secondly the environment helps in the removal, dispersion and degradation of wastes or residues produced on the earth.

The environment assimilates the waste resources. Wastes that can be broken down by the natural process of the environment are called

biodegradable wastes and can be assimilated to a great extent, whereas to assimilate non-biodegradable wastes is beyond the power of the environment. Thirdly, the maintenance of gaseous composition of the atmosphere, the regulation of earth's temperature and maintenance of the weather pattern constitute the life support services of the environment for which life on earth becomes possible.

Besides, the environment provides amenity services like the satisfaction such as aesthetic pleasures, recreation, communion with nature and the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity which we gain from nature. Finally, the total space provided by the earth for our use without diminishing the possibilities for the future is called the environmental utilization space which includes not only the available land area but also the amount of raw materials consumed without depleting the overall stock and the waste produced without influencing the climate too much. In view of these reasons, it is pertinent to mention here that environment is regarded as a key factor in developmental decision-making.

It is stated that economic growth and environmental balance do not go together. They both oppose each other. To achieve a higher rate of growth, resources have to be exploited and environment has to be harmed. Environmental balance can only be maintained, if resources are not exploited and pollution is not formed. This leads to low rate of economic growth. But the fact remains that both of them are needed for the economy. The only solution is controlling the scale of pollution and optimal use of the resources.

Thus, nations are concerned with the frugal use of the resources without endangering the future generation. Further, economic activities give rise to pollution which has a serious impact on the environment and the society. In order to maintain the environmental quality, pollution created in the society ought to be controlled at any cost. The material resources supplied by the environment to the mankind ought to be conserved.

This would be possible through optimal use of such resources and complete avoidance of waste of such resources.

Besides, economic growth creates the need for further economic growth on the ground of avoiding the problem of unemployment, raising the standard of living, accelerating larger industrial and agricultural growth to meet the need of the larger population, enhancing the confidence in the economy etc. Hence growth must be controlled in order to achieve a good environment.

There is a controversy between the environmentalists and economists. The economists contend that if all eggs are used for omelette, it will cater to the needs of the citizens. On the other hand, the environmentalists opine that if all eggs are used for omelette, there will be no eggs to lay chicks. However, we need both eggs and chicks so that the needs of the present and future generations can be fulfilled. So, there is no point in having a very high rate of growth when the people are suffering due to poor environmental standards.

Thus, the desired rate of growth is the rate of growth that achieves optimal use of the resources and no exploitation. In this context, the role of government is highlighted. The government through various tools like tax, expenditure, fee, fine, subsidy etc., can control the flow of investment and help save environment.

In order to have desired rate of growth along with better environmental quality we should go for sustainable development which is the only answer to the survival of the earth and societies. The following measures may be taken up with a view to ensuring sustainable development.

First, the countries should limit their rates of development.

Secondly, afforestation on a large scale should be undertaken.

Thirdly, use of non-renewable resources should be minimized and whatever non-renewable

resources are used, they should be utilized optimally and wastes of these resources should totally be avoided.

Fourthly, non-biodegradable wastes should be reused and recycled. Necessary steps should be taken up to control such wastes through the development of technology.

Fifthly, instead of using fertilizers, chemicals, pesticides, insecticides, etc. in enhancing agricultural production, organic farming ought to be encouraged. Necessary measures ought to be taken to popularize organic farming.

Sixthly, the individuals should be made aware of better environmental quality which is essential for the quality of life.

Finally, the Government should be highly vigilant and careful to take every possible step to maintain better environment with reasonable rate of growth.

It may, however, be concluded that environment is an important determinant in developmental decision-making. All the countries of the world (developed, developing and underdeveloped) should have the objective of a rate of development along with better environmental quality which will be a key to the survival of the earth.

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Psychological Empowerment of Women

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[The term "Women-Empowerment" defines a process that helps women in gaining control over their own lives. It fosters capacity in them, for use in their own lives, their community, and in their society by acting on issues that they define as important. It is multidimensional in the sense that it occurs within sociological, psychological, economic and other dimensions. Women empowerment means the creation of an environment for women where they can make decisions of their own for their personal benefits as well as for the society. The concept of 'Psychological empowerment' refers to the 'personal empowerment' built on control over oneself and the situations one lives in.¹ Psychological empowerment of women depends on power within and power over resources in life and it is more of personal in nature.]

Psychological readiness and awareness is very essential in all phases of a women empowerment project. Psychological safety, on the other hand, is the feeling that one could be comfortable and be oneself in a social surrounding. It constructs a smooth platform, in which one could explore, deliver and speak up their opinions, ideas and actions. The aim of the article is to convey the various ways of developing psychological empowerment and psychological safety through several practical techniques.

Psychological resilience is defined as an individual's ability to successfully adapt to life tasks in the face of social disadvantage or highly disadvantaged or highly adverse conditions. Adversity and stress can occur in the form of family, relationship, health, workplace or financial problems. 'Resilience' is adapting well in the face of adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats

or significant sources of stress- such as family and relationship problems or workplace and financial stressors. It means 'bouncing back' from difficult experiences.²

'Situational Awareness' is the ability to identify, process, and comprehend the critical elements of information about what is happening around. It determines how well a person recognizes the cues and act accordingly.

Significance of the Study

Today's world is witnessing exceptionally petrifying incidents where women are molested, attacked and assaulted in unforeseen situations. Women's safety issues remain a challenging question even in the face of enormous laws that's extended before them. In this context women should remain highly cautious about the situation by which they are surrounded. Here's where the need for situational awareness and resilience plays the role.

As psychological empowerment brings out the power within and power over the resources available, a precise awareness about the situation

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which they are put in, will help women in shielding themselves from the hazardous situation that lies ahead of them. In addition to this it's important to develop adaptability or ability to regain mental health after traumatic and adverse experiences³.

According to National Crime Records Bureau, a total of 3,37,922 cases of crime against women were reported in the country in the year of 2014. The various techniques of resilience and awareness, which is the core content of the presentation, thereby act as precautionary methods of rescue or reciprocation.

The Pathway to Resilience and Situational Awareness

Psychological empowerment is attained through the combined working of factors such as resilience and situational awareness. Resilience could be developed through sub-components like emotional intelligence, assertiveness, positive affirmations, social skills etc. Situational awareness could be expanded through developing the knowledge of representational system, alertness and readiness, presence of mind (colors of condition) etc.

As a method of spreading awareness, a detailed description about each element and the methods used, has to be mentioned.

Methods of Resilience

Certain resilience methods employed in order to bring out psychological empowerment are given below. Each section includes the description of the concept, its need and the ways with which each factor could be developed for future practice.

Emotional Intelligence

⁴Emotional Intelligence is the capacity of individuals to recognize their own and other person's emotions, to discriminate between various emotions and label them appropriately, to use emotional information to guide thoughts and behavior. Empowerment through emotional intelligence is the way you utilize your

communication skills, your ability to create rapport and empathy with people to influence outcomes and the behavior of others.

Emotional intelligence paves way for emotional awareness which helps a woman to remain emotionally alert and in control in any critical or challenging situation. It could be developed by increasing the ability to reduce negative emotions, reducing negative personalization, ability to stay cool and manage stress, the ability to stay proactive in the face of a tough situation, the ability to bounce back from adversity etc.

Assertiveness

Assertiveness⁵ means being able to stand up for our own or other people's right in a positive way without being aggressive and passively accepting wrong. Assertiveness helps a person to feel better about oneself, to improve self-esteem and confidence. It helps one to come out of passive aggression. A person could develop assertiveness by starting small, learning to say 'no', let go of extreme guilt feeling, express your needs and feelings without hesitation.

Positive Affirmation

In the case of victims of domestic violence, rape etc. there are much chances that they quite often blame themselves and also brood over their past. They need to replace the dysfunctional thought process through positive affirmation.⁶ Positive affirmation refers to positive thinking and self-empowerment. -fostering a belief that 'a positive mental attitude supported by affirmations will achieve success in anything they take up. They need to focus on living in the present moment, to be proactive and to look forward for opportunities that lie ahead of them.

Keep Developing Your Skills

Resilience requires its own time, therefore, never hurry up in getting over and moving on with problematic events. It varies from person to person. Meanwhile, take your time and concentrate on developing your skills. Find out your strong points, keep self-emphasizing about

the past achievements you enjoyed. Take efforts to make it happen in the present to build an effective future.

Identify Oneself as a Survivor and Not as a Victim

It's very much essential to view oneself as a potential survivor than as a victim following a traumatic event. Stay focused on the outcome by looking ways to resolving it. Look for the assistance of books, hobbies, social contacts, and professionals to facilitate you in reaching a peaceful state of mind.

Methods of Situational Awareness

Situational awareness is being aware of one's own surroundings and identifying threats and dangerous situations. There are certain practical methods in identifying situation awareness.

Representational System

Representational systems⁷ are a postulated model from neuro-linguistic programming which shows how we could increase the power inner senses-visual, auditory and kinesthetic. Developing the representational system means developing the sensory awareness using the senses in varied situation. It simply refers to the ways how a woman could visually, auditorily and kinesthetically sense the danger cues around her.

Bracing Oneself

This section shows how one could shield oneself in times of any challenging progression. The methods discussed are: avoiding ⁸tunnel vision, to be proactive than reactive, and also to understand certain psycho-physical ways of self-defense for women. It also deals with how to extend our attention towards environmental cues using different techniques as in exchanging codes, observing body language etc.

Cooper's Colours of Condition - Presence of Mind

The particular method which is postulated by Col. Jeff Cooper, categorizes a person's degree of alertness based on four distinct colors. It shows

one's state of mind and the degree to which one is willing to react or respond in a perilous situation.⁹ Colors of condition assess how one moves from one level of mindset to another so as to enable one to handle an impending danger. The colors are categorized white, yellow, orange and red which specifies the alert mental states of a person.

The techniques of situational awareness are tremendously effective as it makes a person vigilant and prepared so as to encounter any threatening situation with much ease and prowess.

Avoid Normalcy Bias

Normalcy bias is the tendency to overlook impending danger, confirming to oneself that nothing harmful will happen even if the person senses a danger. We should be alert enough to scan and accept the danger surrounding us. Avoid undermining the importance of dangerous cues and be vigilant enough to meet the situation.

Recognize Focus Lock

Focus lock happens when we get much involved in something that we tend to ignore the rest of the things that are happening around, e.g. sometimes people get deeply engrossed in chatting over mobiles and then slip down, striking a stone, oblivious of the events and things happening around them; some might end up in danger, when someone snatches their valuables as they become so inattentive about the surroundings. Therefore, recognize the times when you get riveted by such effects.

Psychological Safety in Organizations

Psychological safety¹⁰ is an important topic of discussion in the field of psychology, healthcare and management in the current era. It is a feeling to be able to express and deliver one's self, without fear of negative outcome in relation to self-esteem, grade or profession. The perception of a non-threatening atmosphere in an organization makes them more pro-active and productive by giving out their opinions and

creative ideas. The empathetic as well as dependable attitude and actions of colleagues and superiors creates a feeling of safety at work.

Psychological safety in the workplace means the comfortable environment along with a distinction between career and personal life. It is acknowledged by the organizational research as a significant factor for understanding team cohesion, team work and learning.¹¹ A study conducted by Edmonson in 1999 with 51 work teams and 496, proposed a model of team learning which indicated that a supportive and psychologically safe environment elicits team performance and learning behavior.

Psychological safety is a crucial part of interpersonal life for the smooth functioning of all types of organizations, formal as well as informal. Hence, it's imperative to learn the ways to foster psychological safety in the organization where you are put in.

Ways to Foster Psychological Safety

Don't Seclude

Try to give equal importance to all the members and make all of them feel included. Never ignore someone intentionally, which could make them feel psychologically 'unsafe'. A discussion with all the concerned members in the group regarding a matter will help to wipe out confusions which might arise later.

Reassure Failure

Failure affected member has to be reassured, it could happen to anyone under any circumstance. Members are to be encouraged not to lose hope at the juncture of failure. Avoiding might make them feel as a misfit lessening their commitment towards the group.

Have Anxiety Parties

It's the 'Google venture' which uses the 'anxiety parties' in the first hand. This refers to creating a platform for the group to discuss about their deep-rooted anxieties and to reach solutions for the same. An Anxiety Party is a ritual that the

design team at Google Ventures pioneered in place of a typical performance review. Because the team was flat and each member operated with little day-to-day interaction with their colleagues, they found that reviewing one another's performance would be moot.¹² This unique way of dealing with problem gives a feeling of safety and security among the group members.

Women employees, in many instances, have to undergo the 'glass-ceiling effect', in addition to this, in many cultures, women are considered to be an inferior part of a family. In such cases, in order to break down such assumed tenets, it's indispensable to practice the ways to nurture psychological safety.

Conclusion

The techniques discussed are based on the relevance it carries in today's, current social system. The crime rate against women is increasing in every two seconds, the reason why it's important for them to take self-precautionary steps and also to develop further adaptable measures. A mastery of the methods of psychological empowerment and safety, hence, is the need of the hour. It's the responsibility of the social system around them to create a psychologically safe environment which is conducive for their development. Likewise, women should also be aware of how they could remain psychologically safe, especially in an organization setting. The article throws light on the methods to keep women, psychologically fit and safe so as to confidently ascend the steps of successful empowerment.

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Perspectives on News Photographers in Andhra Pradesh

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[The basic guiding principle of journalism is objectivity and journalistic control over the photographs that depict different dimensions of a topic in tune with the ideal of objectivity. Pictures of different sizes, angles from various distances portray the events comprehensively supported by the text. They depict life and its multitude of dimensions for the better as well as fuller understanding of its subjects (Becker, 1985). The photographs would effectively support and highlight the news, stories, features and others that are published in a newspaper.]

It has become such an integral part of the newspaper that it actually adds to its comprehensiveness. A professional photographer brings the photograph closer to literature than to art. This is evident in the photograph's ability to narrate, to describe, to give an account of something, to argue for or against something. News Photographers' progress in their career as they gain experience and pass required tests of professionalism.

In small newspapers opportunities for advancement to higher levels are limited. Freelance news Photographers can usually

increase their earnings by developing a good reputation in a salable specialty and by gaining experience and mastery of their craft. Self-employment is also a popular option in media. The socialization of news photographers to professional and organizational demands is improved with systematic training which includes detailed instructions on how to photograph news events (Schwartz, 1991).

They help aspiring news photographers learn to 'previsualize' the photographs of news. News photographs illustrate events and do much more than that. It is the widely accepted practice of scholars to distinguish between a photograph's literal (denotative) meaning and its more volatile connotative constructions. Connoted messages include ideology and belong to the realm of moral

discourse. News Photographers, whether freelance or staff, spend long hours of indoors, waiting for the right light or weather conditions. The job can be lonely, and patience and perseverance are required to get the right shot, at the right time. In Photojournalism, the practice of visual reporting by capturing moments of an event or space in time would tell a larger story (Kobre, 2001, p. 3).

Many of the qualities valued in print journalism have been adopted by visual journalists. The goal of early news photographers was to reach the scene first and to get the photograph published first in the paper and little knowledge or talent was enough to get the job of a news photographer (Kobre, 1996). Later along with the growth of scope for news photos and the role of photojournalism, aesthetic ideals of photojournalism have changed.

Gleason (1998) found that by the mid-1950s, news photographers emphasized on objectivity and used to take simple, event-orientated photographs within the deadline and were quickly accepted by editors and understood by audience. The traditional news values taught in journalism schools are used as guidelines in the workplace, when making decisions about newspaper content are valued in photojournalism as well.

Award-winning news photographs typically mimic these news values, which include prominence of the subject, conflict and controversy, timeliness, proximity, human interest and the unusual (Singletary and Lamb, 1984).

Professionalism

News photographers are considered to be professionals as they provide an essential service to society (Freidson, 1984), hold skills and abstract knowledge obtained through higher education and training (Haug, 1977; Sarfatti-Larson, 1979). Their values are codified through socialization, professional societies, and codes of ethics (Abbott, 1988; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933; Wilensky, 1964). Their job involves meticulous planning, framing of the

subjects as well as control over the operation of representation which mark the strong point of the professionalism.

To add credibility and reliability news, media organisations depend on professionals who are trained to provide context that allows the reader or viewer to decide if what they are seeing is valid. Training, skills and values have been instrumental in adding professionalism to any job but are more appropriate for photo journalism.

This study investigates photojournalists' professional value systems in the context of Social Learning theory, which holds that people learn information and behaviors vicariously, by observing others, subsequently imitate them and apply to journalism (Bandura, 1969). The theory has shaped studies that have suggested that values are closely influenced by the newsroom's social and organizational culture, as well as technology (Friend and Singer, 2007; MacGregor, 2007), and that those values influence journalists' professional behavior (Plaisance and Skewes, 2003).

In converged newsrooms, journalists trained in print or online media have been shown to bridge culture clashes and share skills and professional respect. To articulate their values in print and online platforms converged journalists shed light on the degree to which social learning is taking place in converged newsrooms, and the fluidity of values from traditional journalism to new media.

Journalists and photojournalists possess some characteristics of professionals and are considered "semiprofessionals" (Beam, 2003, p. 371). They have a professional culture, share professional values, and abide by codes of ethics (Deuze, 2005; Örnebring, 2013). Since the work environment changed drastically, the professional values of photojournalists are constantly renegotiated in their daily work practices (Mäenpää, 2014). One such example is the practice of merging darkroom work methods with digital photo editing.

De-professionalism. This trend of “de-professionalism,” in which professionals’ struggle to defend their practices is unique from nonprofessionals (Abbott, 1988). It is wide spread in the 21st century (Becker and Vlad, 2011). Journalists have been quick to criticize the values of citizen journalists i.e. amateurs who produce news particularly the ethical stances (Garcia, 2012; Lowery, 2006; Mahoney, 2012; Ornebring, 2013, p. 36; Pantti, 2012; Singer, 2003, 2011). Many staff photographers today do not have frequent work requirements inside the newspaper building. Photojournalists are socialized into the profession, and the social constraints of the work environment influence the aesthetic qualities of their photographs (Rosenblum, 1978).

Indian news photographers

Indian news photography too had its share of professionalism right from the launching of the first newspaper by James Augustus Hicky on January 29, 1780. Early photography in India was marked by the same spirit of experimentation and wonder as marked elsewhere in the nineteenth century. Apart from these, the bloodiest chapter in recent history was framed by media in 2002 in Gujarat, where trident-wielding Hindu mobs massacred Muslims, in the worst man-made violence in India.

In 2008 when Pakistan terrorists held many people as hostages in Taj and Trident hotels of Mumbai, journalists and photographers toiled day and night to capture the sensitive moments of the incident and explored the rare dimensions and angles. As the siege continued for more than two days, series of photos were published by national as well as vernacular media. Apart from this, it is also important to take pictures i.e. good pictures (Arunangsu Roy Chowdhury, 2013).

In the state of Andhra Pradesh, newspapers played a role in the freedom struggle. In the 1950s separate State of Andhra created vast scope for news as well as visuals in the newspapers. Later in the 70s during emergency, when censorship of news was clamped, newspapers published from

Andhra Pradesh also had tough time in bringing out editions regularly like the national newspapers.

The media scene underwent huge makeover including the publication of photos from 1974 when *Eenadu* came into being first in Visakhapatnam. The news photographers have to search for a different angle to sustain the interest and to hook the reader to the newspaper and the competition among the newspapers itself forced the news photographers to continuously search for creative photos.

As the circulation of newspapers as well as the readership enhanced the news photographer’s numbering not less than 10 in 1970s rose abnormally to approximate two hundred.

Till the 1970s, the newspapers in Andhra Pradesh used to have one or two news photographers on the rolls. Now-a-days more than 500 News Photographers are working on the rolls in various newspapers in Andhra Pradesh.

According to Kesavulu, value and significance of photographer have risen drastically, the reason being every person as a photographer is equipped with the latest technology and digital cameras. These news photographers needed skills, qualities like observation and perseverance. In Andhra Pradesh, all the print media organizations have their own schools that offer specific training or skill up-gradation course or workshops. In India, especially in Andhra Pradesh, many media organizations offer training to the newly-recruited staff.

Methodology

In the recent past new technology facilitated increase in the number of publication of newspapers in India covering a range of languages and cultural diversity that is unparalleled in the world (Singhal and Rogers: 2001: 54). The combined states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana have also witnessed a boom in this sector for which the photographs and the photographers in turn have contributed a lot. Since the modern democracy thrives on

information that is disseminated by the mediatized communication (Siegel, 2002), the role of photojournalism has assumed significance and importance along with journalism.

The review of photojournalism practice brings forth the opportunities and challenges of contemporary visual news work to light. In this background, the present study is taken up to examine the sociological, professional as well as ethical issues related to the lives of news photographers. This paper attempts to find out the professional/ work related issues of the news photographers.

Objectives of the study

The study was taken up with the following objectives:

1. To find out the contribution of work as the newspaper photographers such as taking news photographs etc.,
2. To examine the professional aspects and freedom of the newspaper photographers,
3. To find out their extent of adherence to values as news photographers.

Survey method was executed to study the above-mentioned conditions of the news photographers. The combined state of Andhra Pradesh was selected as the research setting for the study. News photographers who have been working in the newspapers have been identified for the study. Since the study was taken up, when both the states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana were combined, cities such as Hyderabad, Vijayawada, Tirupati and Visakhapatnam were selected for the study. A total of 185 respondents were selected based on the nature of the employment i.e. only permanent employees who have put a minimum of five years of experience, were included in the sample. A structured questionnaire was developed for this purpose with the help of already validated scales and some scales which were typical of our study.

Data Analysis

Even though news photographers started joining the media organizations as regular employees still

many of them have been continuing as contract, temporary and permanent employees. During the survey 65.3% said that their appointment is permanent, 24.7% said they are appointed on contractual basis and 10% said that they are recruited on temporary basis (Table.1).

Freedom of selection photos: After the photographer completes the assignment of photos, either himself or the photo editor would go through them and decide as to which angle is better and how many of them are useful for publications. The photo editor will not just work with the photographer and pick the best photo(s) for the story, but also analyses as to how the photographer did on that assignment. The photo editor will look at the film and discuss with the photographer their approach to the assignment. He points out the positive things about the work the photographer did as well as discusses how it could have been done better. Here in this case almost all the respondents said that they have freedom in the selection of subjects of photos. An insignificant number are dissatisfied in this aspect.

Number of photos: Depending on the size of the circulation of the newspaper, the areas of its operation i.e. national, regional or state level, the place of work of the news photographer and the number of pages that the newspaper publishes, photographers take photos. Among the sample 55.9% said that they take 50-75 photos per day, 22.4% take 26-50, 11.2% said that they take 75 and above photos and the rest (10.6%) take less than 25 (Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage distribution of photos taken by respondent in a day

S.No	Photos in a day	fr	%
1	less than 25	18	10.6
2	26-50	38	22.4
3	50-75	95	55.9
4	75 and above	19	11.2
	Total	170	100

Editing photos. Along with taking photos, photographers also take-up other duties such as

editing, scanning and adjusting the tone and color of them by using *Adobe Photoshop* and other software. They often work in association with reporters as they are also required to read stories and coordinate with them to come up with ideas of which photograph should go with a particular story. Just like reporters they have to monitor the information and updates of events, happenings so that they do not miss any detail.

The photographer might have to be very attentive on locations during events as at any given moment an excellent frame could come up to shoot and publish. Among the sample 71.8% said that they edit the photos every time followed by 24.1% who edit sometimes. 2.9% said that they edit photos frequently and 1.2% edits rarely (Table2).

Table 2: Percentage distribution of photos edited by respondents

S. No	Edit	fr	%
1	Every time	122	71.8
2	Sometimes	41	24.1
3	Frequently	5	2.9
4	Rarely	2	1.2
	Total	170	100

Byline. While working in media apart from the salaries or the remuneration journalists would look forward for bylines. They give them the credibility and recognition for the work taken up by them. When enquired about the possibility of getting a byline for photographers among the sample, 37.1% said that they get byline for contributing photos to special pages followed by 28.2% who said that they would get for features only. Among the sample 23.5% would get it on all occasions, 8.8% would get for news only and 2.4% for any other (Table 3).

Table 3: Percentage distribution of respondents getting byline

S. No	By-line	fr	%
1	For special pages	63	37.1
2	For features only	48	28.2
3	On all occasions	40	23.5
4	For news only	15	8.8
5	Any other	4	2.4
	Total	170	100

Borrowing Photos. Due to heavy work load, increase in the number of programmes or subjects to be covered, it may not be possible for the photographers to attend to all the assignments simultaneously. Hence, apart from taking photos on their own some of them may try to borrow photos from news photographers of other newspapers. Among the sample only 48 claimed to have borrowed the photos among whom 75% borrowed some times, 18.75% borrowed rarely followed by 2% each who borrow every time, frequently and very rarely (Table 4).

Table 4: Percentage distribution of respondents who borrow photos from other photographers

S. No	Borrowing Photos	%(n=48)
1	Sometimes	75
2	Rarely	18.75
3	Every time	2
4	Frequently	2
5	Very rarely	2
	Total	100

Guidelines. A news photographer is definitely guided by assignments he has to take up and shoot photos to the best of his ability. He should evince interest not only to fulfill all the professional obligations but must also be agile, fit, alert and enthusiastic to rush through shooting and is forced to spend enough time with their subjects than a reporter. But above all, certain factors such as values, principles, organization would guide them

through the profession. While taking photographs 48.8% are guided by the organization, 27.6% by professional values, 23.5% follow the principles of their own (Table 5).

Table 5

Percentage distribution of respondents according to the factors that guide while taking photographs

S. No	Guideline	fr	%
1	Organization interest	83	48.8
2	Professional values	47	27.6
3	Self-decision	40	23.5
	Total	170	100

Chi-square value analysis shows that professional values, self-decision and their organization interest highly significant variation is observed among the respondents of Telugu, English and non-Telugu media organizations.

$\chi^2 = 43.88, p < 0.0001, df = 4,$

News values. Every journalist is guided by the news values during his professional activity. News photographers are no exception and in fact the photos supplement news stories filed by the reporters it is equally important for the photographers to think on the lines of news values established for journalists. When asked to prioritize the news values that guide them while taking photographs 47% ranked good news as the first priority followed surprise (11.8%), reference to celebrity (10%), entertainment and newspaper agenda (7%), follow up stories (6.5%), power elite and relevance (3.5%), bad news (1.2%), magnitude (0.6) (Table 6).

Table 6

Percentage distribution of respondents according to the news values

S. No	News values	fr	%
1	Good news	80	47.0
2	Surprise	20	11.8

3	Reference to celebrity	17	10.0
4	Newspaper agenda	12	7.0
5	Entertainment	12	7
6	Follow up stories	11	6.5
7	Power elite	6	3.5
8	Relevance	6	3.5
9	Magnitude	4	0.6
10	Bad news	2	1.2
	Total	170	100

Chi-square value of news values and the respondents of various organizations is extremely significant.

$\chi^2 = 76.22, P < 0.0001, df = 18$

Discussion

The job of a news photographer is unique in its own right and demands qualities like perseverance, patience and hard work. Just like any job in private sector, news photographers have to toil a lot and without any guarantee of job security and satisfaction. They need to prove the talent and professionalism every day. Still they need to be highly vigilant. The consolidation of the profession as a regular job is evident with the finding that except very few, majority are working as full-time employees with permanent appointments (65.3%) and are on the rolls of the respective organizations.

Few of them were recruited on contract (24.7%) and temporary basis (10%). This is due to the demand generated by the introduction of special pages and increased coverage. In the context of emergence of more number of TV channels, the print media is forced to expand its coverage resulting in the demand for more photographers. Enhancement of coverage of events, special occasions, page three, and features also created demand. Especially during events like elections or when the numbers of pages of the respective newspapers are increased news photographers are temporarily appointed and sometimes as

contract employees who would be paid consolidated amount. But except salaries and benefits, there will not be much difference in the nature of the jobs of temporary photographers compared to regular news photographers.

Compared to the earlier times, the work load of the news photographers seems to have grown manifold. More than half of them (55.9%) take 50-75 photos per day and one fourth have to send 26-50 photos a day. A good number of them work for more number of photos where the number is likely to go up to 75 and above. This is an indication of increase in work load for many of them.

Very often they are requested to also take-up other duties such as editing, scanning and adjusting the tone and color of photos by using Adobe Photoshop and other software. It is observed that three fourths of them (71.8%) have to edit the photos every time whereas 24.1% will do it occasionally. So, this trend definitely adds to the professional needs where a whole lot of activities that are creative, technical and above all professional skills are needed to fulfill the job.

Compared to Western media and national media, practice of providing by-lines is very moderate in vernacular and regional papers. Unless the occasion demands (a big event like world cup cricket matches or disasters), bylines are very rare in case of news photographers in the two states. Slowly it is also picking up but cannot be compared with national print media. Those who work for special pages (37.1%) and features pages (28.2%) stand good chance of getting bylines.

Despite heavy rush for photos and more number of assignments many of them take their own photos and get them published. As it was discussed earlier owing to stress of work and when the photographers are required to attend to too many assignments simultaneously some of them tend to borrow and exchange photos from their peer group. Here only 48 of the total sample claimed

to borrow photos. 75% of these respondents claimed to borrow photos sometimes. Interestingly this did not deter the photographers from being competent enough to fight with the time and quality.

The news photographers have ample work load and found to be contributing a large number of photos on regular basis. Compared to English and national media whose news photographers need not take many photos, in vernacular dailies especially in Telugu newspapers they have to toil a lot. This study found that on an average more than half of them have to take 50 to 75 photos in the day. Around one fourth would take 26 to 50 photos. This indicates prolonged work pressure on the news photographers. To meet the schedule, news photographers have to visit so many places of events, press conferences etc.

Apart from taking photographs, the professionals edit them regularly. Around three fourth of the sample would edit every time followed by one fourth who does it sometimes. This shows that all news photographers have to handle the job of editing photos spending considerable time. This would definitely indicate the compromise of the news values such objectivity and truth. Probably this is one aspect where ethical dilemmas crop up.

Compared to national and western media the news photographers in these two states are not well acknowledged for their service. With regard to bylines those who are working on special places and features get by-line for their photographs. Slowly this trend is picking up in the two states. Compared to vernacular newspapers English media is well placed as far as byline is concerned.

As discussed earlier, the work load of these professionals is already very heavy and professionals had to run around for photos. In this context news professionals try to barrow photos from others on certain occasions. Busy schedules and traffic barriers have been

preventing them to attend to all assignments. Hence majority i.e., 75% borrow photos from others. This definitely is not a good practice because the newspapers do not reflect the true ideas and ideologies. Like any profession news photography is also guided by certain codes and here 48.8% are guided by the organization, 27.6% by professional values, 23.5% follow the principles of their own (Table 5).

News values wise also majority seems to adopt look forward to report based on values. When asked to prioritize the news values that guide them while taking photographs 47% ranked good news as the first priority followed surprise (11.8%), reference to celebrity (10%), entertainment and newspaper agenda (7%), follow up stories (6.5%), power elite and relevance (3.5%), bad news (1.2%), magnitude (0.6) (Table 6).

Suggestions

From the study, it is understood that the sociological and working conditions of the news photographers are moderately good and on ethical front also they do not seem to cross the limits. But more stress on the improvement of these conditions would not only help them but also the profession as a whole. Since the print media is likely to grow further in the post bifurcation scenario and formation of two States i.e. Andhra Pradesh and Telangana it is expected to maintain, sustain and enhance standards set by them.

The following suggestions can be implemented for the enhancement of professionalism in the field of news photography

- As the photographers are found to shoot many photos, it is advisable to cut down the number of photos
- Instead of being general they need to specialize in subjects to keep up the professional standards.

- Managements should discourage borrowing, editing and manipulation of photos to protect professionalism by being original.
- The managements should encourage the professionals by giving bylines.

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Development of PRIs in Independent India

Paryaz Ahmad Bhat*

[While providing a brief appraisal of the evolution of the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in post-Independent India in the wake of the recommendations of various committees constituted by the Union Government from time to time, with specific emphasis on the recommendations of Balwant Rai Mehta Committee, the author deals with the impact of 73 Amendment to the Constitution of India and its impact on the evolution and proliferation of the PRIs in the country. Ed.]

The Panchayati Raj means a system of local self-government administered by a council or Panchayat duly elected in a democratic manner. It provides the administrative apparatus for implementation of the programs of rural development. The primary objective of Panchayati Raj is to evolve a system of democratic decentralization and devolution of powers, functions and authority to the rural people with a view to ensuring rapid socio-economic progress and speedier and inexpensive justice.

Objectives of the study:

- The first objective is to study about the Panchayati Raj Institutions of India after independence.
- The second objective is to study its evolution, structure and development.
- The third objective is to analyze the historical impact of Panchayati Raj on Indian society.

Methodology of the study

The present paper is based on the secondary data collected from the secondary source i.e. published literature on the subject.

Evolution of PRIs in India after independence

Evolution of Panchayati Raj Institutions in post-Independent India has been facilitated by the recommendations of various committees constituted by the Union Government from time to time, which culminated in the institutionalization of the PRIs in the aftermath of the 73 Amendment to the Indian Constitution and its enactment in 1992.

Balwant Rai Mehta Committee

The setting up of Panchayati Raj in the states of the Indian union was done on the basis of the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee which was setup by the government of India in January 1957. The chairman of this committee was Balwant Rai Mehta. In recommending Panchayati Raj at the rural level, the Mehta committee and the decision-makers were influenced by the historical factors and the Directive Principles of state policy, mentioned in the Constitution. However, the committee submitted its report in November 1957 and recommended the establishment of the scheme of “democratic decentralisation” which ultimately came to be known as Panchayati Raj System. The specific recommendations made by the committee were: -

- Establishment of a three-tier Panchayati Raj system- Gram Panchayat at the village level, Panchayat Samiti at the block level and Zilla Parishad at the district level.

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- The committee recommended direct elections of village Panchayats and indirect elections of Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads.
- All planning and development activities should be entrusted to these bodies.
- The Panchayat Samiti should be the executive body while the Zila Parishad should be the advisory, coordinating and supervisory body.
- The district collector should be the chairman of the Zila Parishad.
- There should be a genuine transfer of power and responsibility to these democratic bodies.
- Adequate resources should be transferred to these bodies to enable them to discharge their functions and fulfil their responsibilities.
- A system should be evolved to effect further devolution of authority in future.

These recommendations of the committee were accepted by the National Development Council (NDC) in January 1958. The Council did not insist on a single rigid pattern and left it to the states to evolve their own patterns suitable to local conditions. But the basic principles and broad fundamentals should be identical throughout the country. Rajasthan was the first state to establish the Panchayati Raj. The scheme was inaugurated by the Prime Minister on October 2, 1959, in Nagaur district. Rajasthan was followed by Andhra Pradesh, which also adopted the system in 1959. Subsequently, most of the states adopted the system.

Ashok Mehta Committee

In December 1977, the Janata Government appointed a committee on Panchayati Raj institutions under the chairmanship of Ashok Mehta. It submitted its report in August 1978 and made 132 recommendations to revive and strengthen the declining Panchayati Raj system in the country. Its main recommendations were:

- The three-tier system of Panchayati Raj should be replaced by the two-tier system,

that is, Zila Parishad at the district level, and below it, the Mandal Panchayat consisting of a group of villages with a total population of 15000 to 20000.

- A district should be the first point for decentralization under popular supervision below the state level.
- Zila Parishad should be the executive body and made responsible for planning at the district level.
- There should be an official participation of political parties at all levels of Panchayat elections.
- The Panchayati Raj institutions should have compulsory powers of taxation to mobilize their own financial resources.
- Seats for SCs and STs should be reserved on the basis of their population.

Due to the collapse of the Janata Government before the completion of its term, no action could be taken on the recommendation of Ashok Mehta Committee at the central level. However, the three states Karnataka, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh took steps to revitalise the Panchayati Raj, keeping in view some of the recommendations of the Ashok Mehta Committee.

Besides this, the other number of committees was appointed for the development of Panchayati Raj Institutions in India. For Example, GVK Rao Committee 1985, L.M. Singhvi Committee 1986, etc.

Structure of Panchayati Raj Institutions in India

The Panchayati Raj system of India has a three-tier structure:

- i. The village Panchayat.
- ii. The Panchayat Samitis.
- iii. The Zila Parishad.

The village Panchayat or Gram Panchayat functions at village level, there is a Panchayat

for each village or a group of villages in case of small population. Members to village Panchayat are elected through voting in a general assembly of the village known as Gram Sabha. All adult members of village elect the council called Gram Panchayat. They also elect their village Pradhan. The village Panchayat has a secretary and a gram Sewak to assist it in its functioning. The Panchayat also seeks to ensure a minimum standard of cultivation for raising agricultural production.

Panchayat Samiti is the main executive body and it operates at the block level. All the elected village Pradhans of the village Panchayats comprising that block are the members of Panchayat Samiti. President and Vice-President of the Samiti are elected from among the members for a three-year term.

The important functions of the Samiti are to prepare, executive and co-ordinate the programs of development at the block level. The Zila Parishad functions at the district level and is responsible for making, executing and coordinating the programs of rural development for the entire district. The chairman of Zila Parishad is elected from amongst its members. The members of the Zila Parishad are the presidents of all the Panchayat Samitis in the district, the members of the legislative assembly from the district and the members of the parliament representing the district. The Parishad is providing assistance and guidance for carrying out its development programs by the district collector and other government officials of the district.

However, there were differences from one state to another with regard to the number of tiers, relative position of Samiti and Parishad, their tenure, composition, functions, and finances and so on.

Significance of 73rd Amendment Act of 1992

This 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India and its enactment has added a new dimension to the Constitution of India. It is entitled as “the

Panchayats” and consists of provisions from Articles 243 to 243-O. In addition, the act has also added a new Eleventh Schedule to the Constitution. This schedule contains 29 financial items of the Panchayats. It deals with Article 243-G. The act has given a practical shape to Article 40 of the constitution which says that “the state shall take steps to organise village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government”.

The act gives a constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj Institutions. It has brought them under the purview of the justifiable part of the Constitution. In other words, the state governments are under constitutional obligation to adopt the new Panchayati Raj system in accordance with the provisions of the act. Consequently, neither the formation of Panchayats nor the holding of elections at regular intervals depends on the will of the state government any more.

The provisions of the act can be grouped into two categories – compulsory and voluntary. The compulsory provisions of the act have to be included in the state laws creating the new Panchayati Raj system. The voluntary provisions, on the other hand, may be included at the discretion of the states. Thus, the voluntary provisions of the act ensure the right of the states to take local factors like geographical, politico-administrative and others, into consideration while adopting the new Panchayati Raj system. The act is a significant landmark in the evolution of grass root democratic institutions in the country. It transforms the representative democracy into participatory democracy. It is a revolutionary concept to build democracy at the grass root level in the country.

Conclusion

To conclude, we can say that the Panchayati Raj System was established on the recommendations of Balwant Rai Mehta Committee as per the Directive Principles of the State Policy. It also

becomes necessary here to mention that the 73rd Amendment of Indian Constitution was really the great historical Amendment regarding the Panchayati Raj System. Through this Amendment the Panchayati Raj System became a proper system (a body with soul).

After the implementation of Panchayati Raj System in some the states, it is becoming clear that a rapid pace of progress as well as developments is taking place, especially in the socio-economic field. At last the development at rural/village level has become possible, especially for far-flung areas. Nowadays the Central Government grants lot of funds under the Panchayat head, because the proper utilization of funds at rural level is only possible through the Local Self Government for the benefit of rural masses.

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Role of Sualkuchi Silk Industry towards Employment Generation

Dr. Ramen Medhi*

[In the North-Eastern part of India, Assam occupies a pivotal place for its artistic handloom manufactured goods. Particularly, hand-woven Pat- Muga industry of the village Sualkuchi of Assam has achieved a prominent position in national as well as international market for its aesthetic uniqueness. Sualkuchi which is also known as the “Manchester of Assam” has become a tool for rural rebuilding, contributing in the field of employment. The conventional handloom fabrics of this Manchester unwraps the artistic architect of the local weavers. Moreover, the migrated male and female weavers coming from different parts of the remote villages of Assam are indicating several aspects of socio-economic life of the people.]

Pat and Muga is basically used to manufacture dresses like mekhela chadar, saree, riha, wrapper, dhoti, men’s upper garments etc. Gradually this industry is expanding to neighboring villages and even outside Kamrup district also. It is significant that the Sualkuchi handloom silk product has been granted trade mark by the Controller General of Patents and Trade Marks of the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 2013 and it will be valid up to 6 September, 2023.

The Assam silk industry, now centered in Sualkuchi—is a labour intensive industry, its registered trade mark is SUALKUCHI’S (en.wikipedia.org). That is why this Silk Village becomes a significant subject of research particularly in the era of globalization.

Review of Literature

P.C. Dutta (1983) in his book entitled *Economics of Silk Production in Assam* analyzed about the silk production and its related aspects in Assam. He tried to find out the prospects of silk production through the assessment of the net income per family of silkworm rear with the help of primary data.

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P. Baishya (2005) in his book entitled *The Silk Industry in Assam, A Case Study of the Sualkuchi Cluster*, discusses the character of investment, employment and income generation in various sericulture activities especially muga and mulberry in the Sualkuchi village.

The main objective of the study is to examine the role of Sualkuchi Silk Industry towards employment generation. The study is a combination of historical, analytical and empirical methods and it is based on both primary and secondary sources of data.

To procure first hand data, observation and interview methods are used. For the interview method, an unstructured questionnaire is utilized. Altogether 100 respondents belonging to different castes are taken on random basis where men and women migrant wage weavers comprise 27 and 73 numbers respectively. Moreover, 10 entrepreneurs (master weavers) are interviewed on random basis. The study is limited within the pat (mulberry) Silk Industry of Sualkuchi and its adjacent villages.

Discussion

The silk village Sualkuchi is situated on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra and it is about 32

km. away from Guwahati (devajitmahanta@gmail.com). The hand-woven silk textile of Sualkuchi on Muga and Pat (mulberry) occupies a place of reputation in safeguarding Assam's tradition and culture as well to provide downstream employment, income generation particularly in semi-urban and rural areas of Assam. Assam produces three varieties of silks—the white pat, the golden muga and the warm eri silks- which are grown all over the state to find their way to Sualkuchi (www.assaminfo.com).

Muga is the golden fiber of Assam and it is available only in North-East India. Sualkuchi alone contributes 75% of the total production of muga in the country (devajitmahanta@gmail.com). Thus, this village has earned a reputation as a renowned centre of muga silk production which is not produced anywhere in the world. The raw materials of mulberry silk and other silks are mainly supplied to Sualkuchi from Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

Historical Background

The weaving tradition in Sualkuchi can be outlined to the 11th century when the king Dharma Pal of the Pal dynasty sponsored the craft and brought 26 weaving families from Tantikuchi to Sualkuchi. In the mid of the 17th Century, the village took shape as a weaving village when the SHAMS occupied Sualkuchi defeating the Mughals in Assam. This village was established by Momai Tamuli Barbarua, a great officer of the Ahom kingdom during the reign of Swargadeo Pratap Singha (1603-1641) (sualkuchisilkbazar.in/). He set up this weavers' village by shifting a large number of master-weavers from all regions to Sualkuchi.

The weaving industry of Sualkuchi remained almost confined within the Tanti community of Tantipara up to the 1930. Gradually, people belonging to other communities like kaiborta (fisherman) Brahmin etc. had given up their inherent caste occupation and in return they

started to take up silk weaving as their main profession. This industry received a remarkable improvement during the Second World War.

Especially, the mounting requirement for factories and their rising prices encouraged a few Tanti families to establish weaving commercially and they started weaving factories engaging hired wage weavers. The hired wage weavers were originally the neighboring disadvantaged people from Bamun Sualkuchi of the east and Bhatipara of the west Sualkuchi, A flow of migrant wage weavers from different part of Assam has emerged in Sualkuchi since eighties of the 20th centuries,

Sualkuchi Silk Industry and Income Generation

The Sualkuchi Silk Industry has been expanded to entire Sualkuchi and its adjacent villages as well as outside Kamrup district of Assam. Altogether, 73.78 % of the households of the village Sualkuchi are being engaged in commercial weaving of handloom (www.assaminfo.com) and about 95% of the population of Sualkuchi is involved in the silk industry (Sharma :2015 :98).

Besides, about 2,000, 000 kg. pat yarns (mulberry) are used in manufacturing textiles in Sualkuchi. In recent times, Sualkuchi has a population of nearly 50,000 people (devajitmahanta@gmail.com) and the village has an estimated 25,000 handlooms and produce nearly six million metres of white and golden silk annually (assamsilkshopping.com). Further, most of the households of the adjacent agrarian villages of Sualkuchi had already given up their traditional occupation viz: cultivation and they used to take up weaving as their main profession.

Particularly, due to its fantastic employment as well as income generation prospect, occupational mobility to this hand-woven Silk Industry has been continued among different households particularly in the rural areas of Assam. So,

occupational mobility mainly from agriculture to hand-woven silk factory may be considered as a significant trait.

Table –I Male and female wage weavers belonging to different districts of Assam / outside Assam

Table -I

District	No. of male weavers	No. of female Weavers	Total
Kamrup	9	25	34
Karbi Anglong	-	15	15
Sonitpur	-	3	3
Baska	1	4	5
Dhemaji	4	-	4
Barpeta	2	5	7

Nalbari	5	9	14
Morigaon	6	10	16
Tura, Meghalaya	-	2	2
Total	27	73	100

Source: compiled from the data collected from field survey

Table-I indicates that out of 100 respondents, male and female wage weavers comprise 27 and 73 respectively. Again, out of 100 respondents, 34 wage weavers are intra -district (i.e. Kamrup District). Besides, among 100 respondents, 64 wage weavers belong to other districts of Assam. Moreover, among 100 respondents, 2 wage weavers belong to outside Assam i.e. from Meghalaya. So, it clearly indicates that, Sualkuchi Silk Industry has enabled to afford enormous employment opportunity to the rural unemployed people of different districts of Assam and even beyond the state.

Table-II

Table- II Ethnic variation wise male and female wage weavers engaged in Sualkuchi Silk Industry

Ethnic variation	Male Wage Weavers	Female Wage Weavers	Total
Bodo	12(12%)	19 (19%)	31(31%)
Karbi	0	36	36(36%)
Adivasi	1	-	1
Scheduled Castes	8(8%)	10 (10%)	18 (18%)
OBC and General Caste)	6%(6)	8 (8%)	14(14%)
Total	27(27%)	73(73%)	100

Source: compiled from the data collected from field survey

Note: Figures in the brackets stand for percentage

It becomes discernible from Table- II that among 100 respondents, number of wage weavers belonging to Bodo ethnic community is 31%

where male and female comprise 12% and 19% respectively. Again, among 100 respondents, wage weavers belonging to Karbi Community stands at 36% and there are none any male wage weavers from Karbi Community. In fact, persons from both Bodo and Karbi communities belong to the Scheduled Tribes community.

Further, number of Adivasi male wage weaver is one and it comprises 2% only and there is none any female wage weaver from Adivasi community. It is significant that in Assam, Adivasi people are economically very poor and they are demanding for Scheduled Castes status. It is seen that among 100 respondents, the percentage of wage weavers from Scheduled Caste community comprises 18% where SC male and female comprise 8% and 10% respectively. Again, out of 100 respondents, wage weavers belonging to OBC and General Category altogether comprise 14% where male and female comprise 3% and 11 % respectively.

It has been enquired during the field survey that among 100 respondents, 12 (12%) wage weavers are locally engaged where male and female comprise 4% and 8% respectively. Nevertheless, total number of migrant weavers (particularly from outside the Sualkuchi Development Block), on other hand, is 88 (88%) where male and female Comprise 23% and 65% respectively. So, it clearly indicates that the migrant wage weavers have been playing a dominating role in production of handloom clothes in Sualkuchi.

Table III

Table –III Distribution of wage weavers by their annual earning

Annual earning as	No. of wage weavers
50,000- 60,000	60
90,000-1 lakh	25
Above 1lakh	15
Total wage weavers	100

Source: compiled from the data collected from field survey

It can be observed from Table- III that among 100 respondents, 60 wage weavers earn Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 60,000, annually. Again, out of 100 respondents, 25 wage weavers earn Rs. 90,000 to 1 lakh annually and 15 wage weavers who are very expert in their weaving profession earn more than Rs. 1 lakh annually. During, the survey period, all 100 respondents admitted that they used to take advance amount from the factory owners whenever they needed. So, it can be opined that there is a sound employment opportunity in the Sualkuchi Silk Industry, especially for the underprivileged unemployed section of people of the rural areas of Assam.

Table-IV

Table- IV Number of respondents along with number of handlooms (mulberry silk) and their annual returns.

No. of handlooms of the master weavers	No. of master weavers (as per their number of handlooms)	Annual earning in Rs.
3—4	1	80,000-90,000
5—6	1	1,00,000—1,10,000
7—8	1	1,20,000—1,30,000
9—10	1	1,40,000—1,50,000
11—12	1	1,60,000—1,70,000
13—14	1	1,80,000—1,90,000
15—16	1	2,00,000—2,10,000
17 — 18	1	2 20,00—2,30,000

19 — 20	1	2,40,000—2,50,000
21—22	1	2,60,000—2,70,000

Total No. of respondents= 10

Source: Compiled from the data collected from the field survey

Table -IV clearly shows that the Sualkuchi Silk Industry has fantastic impact on the households of the inhabitants of Sualkuchi and its adjacent villagers in respect of income generation. During the field study, it has been observed that most the households of the adjacent villages of Sualkuchi had already left their previous livelihood viz: cultivation. So, occupational mobility from cultivation to the Sualkuchi Silk Industry can be considered as a significant finding.

It has been observed that people mostly from the remote villages of Assam settled permanently in the adjacent villages of Sualkuchi and most of them obtained their livelihood either as master weaver or as wage weaver. The glaring example in this regard is the inhabitants of the Sanpara Rongpur village situated near the village Bathan. Formerly, this geographical area was totally uninhabited which is known as Sanpara Parbot. Since last decade of the 20th century, people coming from different districts of Assam have permanently settled there. About 100 numbers of households with a population about 350 live in this new village and about 40 percent of the households obtain Sualkuchi Silk Handloom as their main occupation.

Bipul Saharia, an inhabitant of a remote village of Darang district started his livelihood as hotel waiter boy and then a helper of a hand-woven silk factory of Sualkuchi. Now, he is able to establish himself as a reputed master weaver (entrepreneur) and is permanently settled in Bonshor village near Sualkuchi. The targeted respondent informs that he has engaged 40 wage weavers where male and female comprise 9 and

31 respectively. Besides, he has engaged 2 helpers also. Mainly, Mekhala- Sadar of pat (mulberry) articles are produced in his factory and he earns above 5 lakhs annually. Thus, Sualkuchi Silk Industry has been playing an important role in transforming employment generation.

Major Constraints faced by Sualkuchi Silk Industry:

The Hand-woven Sualkuchi Silk Industry has been facing some major constraints for its growth and survival. Some of these constraints are—

- The necessary weaver supply is the most worrying problem faced by the Sualkuchi Silk Industry. Most of the migrant weavers generally used to take advance amount and they come back to their own home without repaying them. Besides, various schemes introduced by the government offer a high amount of money and so weavers are attracted to these schemes. Again, some wage weavers take loan from Bondhan Bank and start their own business in their own areas. Some weavers learn the techniques of weaving art and then start to set up their own factories at their own place. As a result, there is a shortage of weavers in the Sualkuchi Silk Industry.
- Yarn supply can be considered another major problem of the Sualkuchi Silk industry. It is estimated that 77.78% of looms of Sualkuchi Silk Industry have been engaged in weaving mulberry yarn which is supplied from Bangalore (Sharma: 2015:99). But the regular supply of thread at reasonable price from Bangalore is not available.
- The price of the thread fluctuates from season to season and so the master weavers, particularly the petty master weavers, are not

able to purchase mulberry thread at a reasonable price.

- The Government subsidies for silk project and mulberry schemes have hardly influenced the weavers to give up the traditional method of weaving. Besides, the existence of mahajans has made it difficult task for the weavers as they lend money to weavers to operate the looms at high interest rate.
- Lack of consistency in production, neglect of marketing linkages, use of poor technology etc. are the major causes of widening gap between demand and supply point in the domestic silk market.
- Some unscrupulous traders used to sell silk items produced in Varanasi in the name of Sualkuchi products. They are sold in the name of Sualkuchi but at lower price. Under such circumstances, the small handloom entrepreneurs in the region got frustrated for the very survival of their enterprises. Even a protest movement was launched by the Sualkuchi weavers against these unscrupulous weavers in March 2013 and they destroyed heaps of such products.
- Due to scarcity of weavers and frequent price rise of pat, some small master weavers are prone to give up their occupation of weaving factories and are engaging themselves in private companies. So, there is an urgent need of government support to tackle these problems.
- The recent demonetization has created an adverse impact on the Sualkuchi Silk Industry as the selling of the Sualkuchi product has been decreasing vehemently.

Implication of the Government Policy

The muga silk of Assam has been registered as the Geographical Indication (GI) of Assam under the Geographical Indications of Goods

(Registration and Protection) Act, 1999 (www.assamtribune.com). The Sualkuchi handloom woven silk product has been granted trade mark by the Controller General of Patents and Trade Marks of the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The Controller General of Patents Design and Trade Marks has issued this trade mark in the name of the Sualkuchi Tat Silpa Unnayan Samity.

The trade mark will be valid up to 6 September, 2023 and it was registered against the number 2592761 as a clause 24 (1). Accordingly, the word 'SUALKUCHI'S will be written on the silk products produced by the Sualkuchi weavers and artisans as per provisions of the Trade Marks (Sharma: 2015:136). It may be considered as a very positive step from government's side for the upliftment of the Sualkuchi Silk Industry.

A Guwahati-based marketing firm will promote the 'dying' textile industry of Sualkuchi, the Silk Village in lower Assam in order to bridge the gap between producer and consumer of silk textiles. "Stoic Marketing Solutions" established 2014 has started a new programme, the smartisan and identified an entrepreneur of sualkuchi silk to materialize its plan. The Sualkuchi Silk Industry has become a dying business though there is a high demand for the product among foreigners and tourists. This is because it does not have a market here.

Sajma Parvez, the coordinator of Stoic Marketing Solutions said: "Therefore, we have identified an entrepreneur and will promote him in the digital and social media, do outer campaigning, radio and television marketing to create a local market for products." Hiralal Kalita from Harmohan Silk Industry of Sualkuchi has said, "This will definitely give a boost to my market and I have 27 weavers under me at present and our turnover is around Rs. 2-3 lakhs per month. Our business is mostly confined with tourists with, the promotional boosts; we will be able to expand our market" (www.telegraphindia.com).

The research and development efforts of Central Silk Board and other states have led to the significant improvement in the quality, quantity and productivity of silk production. The productivity of the mulberry silk per hectare has gone up to 101 kg during 2015-16 which was around 46 kg in 1997. Indian Silk Industry has about 1.2 million practitioners and entails employment potential of 8.28 million people,

The Central Board that is shouldering the responsibility of developing the silk sector across the country has planned to produce about 85000M of biovoltine raw silk by 2020 to make India import free country as far as silk is concerned.

Suggestive measures

Some measures can be taken to overcome the threats that stand in the way of the Sualkuchi Silk Industry:

- The demand of Pat –Muga silk has been making rapid strides in the international market. If this industry receives required support from all directions, it could rise to the highest peak and that way it would have a larger impact in the international silk market. If this industry has a larger market presence in the international market, they would be forced to increase the quality of the products. Better quality of the products would attract more buyers in the international markets.
- Step must be taken to supply thread sufficiently at lower costs and must be made available to the weavers in their locality. To keep away the middlemen and mahajans from the entire cycle, the yarn bank and auction market must be further developed for the benefit of the weavers.
- The government needs to set up a price regulation mechanism so that the small master weavers and traders are not exploited and they get their required price. This can be done by setting up a “Silk Auction Board”.

- Banks and other financial organizations must make available loans to the petty entrepreneurs and the small traders. To encourage the youth entrepreneurs to take up business, banks must decrease their lending rates.
- The government needs to organize more and more national and international trade fairs to display Case Silk Production.
- The wage weavers should be given proper accommodation and other facilities like medical, education of their children etc. to attract more weavers to this industry. The government must come forward to make some policies for the welfare of the wage weavers.
- Exhibition-cum-sale of Pat-Muga silk should be organized at district, state and national levels to make it a popular demand.
- Training institute can be set up to develop various skills needed for the production in Pat and Muga silk right from the grassroots level.
- Sualkuchi has the reputation of being known as “Manchester of Assam”. So, there is a prospect of attracting more and more tourists from in and around the country as well as the world. This will definitely help to contribute to make sound health of the industry as well as to increase the collection of revenue for the state.
- The Silk industry has been facing a big challenge from China because China is dumping its silk products into India at rates much below their production cost. So, there is urgent need to modernize the industry by inducting more efficient machines and power looms to compete with the silk produced in China.

Conclusion

In concluding remarks, it may be remarked that Sualkuchi, the Manchester of Assam has made strong imprint in the world over for production of superior traditional and hand-woven silk

textile. Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the Silk Village Sualkuchi on 9 January, 1946 and he asked the people to weave their clothes instead of buying, but when he saw that every family had a loom then he remarked, “Women of Assam can weave dream on their looms.” Again, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam who visited Sualkuchi on 17 October, 2006, was fascinated with the amazing beauty of magical cloth.

In fact, the wave of progress in handloom culture in Sualkuchi gradually has been spreading to entire rural areas of Assam where a large number of looms operated mostly for commercial purpose. Being a commercial oriented industry, it can reshape the rural economy to a great extent. Although India is the second largest silk producer in the world, the market shares of Indian silk exports in the global silk market are less than 10%. In fact, India has a large domestic market for silk goods and about 85% of the silk goods produced are sold in the domestic market.

The potentials of an ever growing global and domestic market for silk products, clubbed with the unique features like providing downstream employment and income generation as well as huge potential for contribution to export earnings are sufficient incentives to make the silk industry more attractive. Today, the silk production of Japan has totally declined; China is making efforts to shift its production base to non-traditional areas for keeping up the pace of production.

In this regard, India has a better prospect for stepping up its production, which holds substantial potential for increase of exports and establishing its own brand identity in the global market. The entrepreneurs of Sualkuchi Silk Industry can reap the benefits from this favorable environment utilizing the benefit of the Trade Mark ‘SUALKUCHI’S on the products produced by Sualkuchi weavers in the era of global market economy.

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