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- ❖ **OIC in Global Arena**
- ❖ **COVID-19 & Vietnam**
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Global Economy in flux

Almost all countries of the world have been plunged into severe economic crisis in the aftermath of the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic and consequential lockdown since March this year bringing almost all economic activities worldwide to a standstill. It is for the first time since the Great Depression of the 1930s that advanced economies, emerging economies and developing economies are in recession. While approaching the mid-2020, International Monetary Fund (IMF) has projected growth at – 6.1 per cent and for emerging market and developing economies with normal growth levels well above advanced economies with negative growth rates of – 1.2 per cent in the remaining part of this year. According to IMF projections, income per capita is likely to shrink for over 120 countries and partial recovery is projected in 2021.

Emphasizing that multilateral cooperation is vital to tone up the health of the global recovery, IMF has called upon bilateral creditors and international financial institutions to provide concessional financial grants and debt relief to support needed spending in developing countries. Alluding to the activation and establishment of swap lines between major central banks that have helped ease shortages in international liquidity, IMF feels that this mechanism can be expanded to some more economies. Concurrently, it stresses on the need for collaborative effort to ensure that the world doesn't de-globalize, so that the recovery does not get damaged owing to further losses to productivity. IMF is likely to deploy \$ one trillion lending capacity to support vulnerable countries. In its growth projections for June 2020, IMF has projected global growth at 4.9 per cent in 2020 which is 1.9 percentage points below April forecast. Noting that the COVID-19 pandemic has had a more negative impact on economic activity in the first half of 2020 than anticipated, IMF states that the recovery is projected to be more gradual than previously forecast. Accordingly, in 2021 global growth is projected at 5.4 percent and overall, this would leave 2021 GDP somewhere 6 ½ percentage points lower than in the pre-COVID-19 projections of January 2020. Adverse impact of COVID-19 on low-income households has imperiled the significant progress registered by many developing countries in reducing extreme poverty in the world since the 1990s.

IMF minces no words in saying that there is a higher-than-usual degree of uncertainty around this its forecast for June. The baseline projection by IMF rests on key assumptions about the fallout from the pandemic. The slower recovery path in the updated forecast about economies with declining pandemic infection rates reflects persistent social distancing into the second half of 2020; greater damage to supply potential from the larger-than-anticipated hit to activity during the lockdown in the first and second quarters of 2020; and a hit to productivity as surviving businesses ramp up necessary workplace safety and hygiene practices. Furthermore, IMF's June forecast assumes that financial conditions—which have eased following the release of the April 2020 forecast, will remain broadly at current levels. Alternative outcomes to those in the baseline are clearly possible, and not just because of how the pandemic is evolving. “The extent of the recent rebound in financial market sentiment appears disconnected from shifts in underlying economic prospects—as the June 2020 Global Financial Stability Report (GFSR) Update discusses—raising the possibility that financial conditions may tighten more than assumed in the baseline.”

In order to come the challenges thrown by the global pandemic to economies worldwide, strong multilateral cooperation is essentially called for on multiple fronts. Suggesting that liquidity assistance is urgently required for countries under severe pressure of this pandemic, IMF emphasizes on meeting external funding shortfalls, including through debt relief and financing through the global financial safety net. Countries are also called upon to resolve trade and technology tensions that endanger an eventual recovery from the COVID-19 crisis. Emphasis is also focused on building on the record drop in greenhouse gas emissions during the pandemic, by sincerely implementing their climate change mitigation commitments and work together to scale up equitably designed carbon taxation or equivalent schemes. Calling on the global community to act now to avoid a recurrence of this catastrophe, IMF suggests that this can be facilitated through building global stockpiles of essential supplies and protective equipment, funding research and supporting public health systems, and putting in place effective modalities for delivering relief to the neediest. Indeed, the world is faced with tremendous uncertainty around what comes next, and international policy responses are required to be large, rapidly deployed, and speedily recalibrated to commensurate with the scale and speed of the crisis. This pandemic is a global crisis and needs global solutions. The bold actions of health workers need to be matched by policymakers all over the world so that this crisis is gotten rid-off. — BK

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India-Southeast Asia Connectivity

Dhiraj Tayal*

[Connectivity, since antiquity, has been one of the prime drivers of the relationship between any geographical regions. However, in the dynamics of modern international relations, its importance has assumed greater significance. The expansion of the production networks to multiple locations owing to the necessity of reducing production costs has made connectivity all more important. Developing connectivity infrastructures between two regions such as transport lines, digital connectivity among others leads to a significant reduction in transaction costs as well as helps in achieving greater regional integration, attracting greater foreign direct investment.]

Connectivity promotes interaction and integration in almost all spheres- economic, political and cultural. The Asian Development Bank Interim Report, 2013, suggests that connectivity between South Asia and Southeast Asia opens-up market for goods and services thereby promoting economies of scale and greater competition. Regional competitiveness also receives a boost since the regionally competitive industries generate an efficient production structure.

With all the attendant benefits attached to improved connectivity, India has its own reasons to improve the status of connectivity with Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia, as a region, has attracted huge significance in the post-Cold War period, with interests of almost all major powers of the world converging in this region. India's own relationship with Southeast Asia has grown considerably. Promoting trade in goods and services, and people-to-people contact with ASEAN is one of the principal pillars of India's 'Look East Policy'.

ASEAN has emerged as India's one of the most important trade partners and trade figures have risen steadily since 2000 and stood at around 76.53 billion in 2014-15. India-ASEAN trade comprises 10 percent of India's total external trade, and India is one of the ASEAN's top ten trade partner countries. India is also responsible for supplying an important part of Asia's primary resources. India's Free Trade Area (FTA) with ASEAN in goods and services is

central to its economic engagement with its Southeast Asian neighbours. Its trade with ASEAN is expected to increase by multiple times, the aim being \$100 billion by 2020.

Hence, this growth in engagement will see an increasing demand for national as well as international infrastructure for production, consumption and international trade purposes. Better connectivity between India and Southeast Asia can infuse greater dynamism in regional production networks, would enhance trade and promote greater foreign direct investment. Moreover, the proper linkage of India's Northeast region with Southeast Asia is likely to help in the region's better integration with the mainstream economy.

Trilateral Highway

The India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway is an enterprising project covering a length of around 1360 km that will connect India with the Southeast Asian region. The eventual extension of the highway to Vietnam would increase the length of the highway to approximately 3200 km. The highway also forms a part of the Trans-Asian Highway Network, which covers around 141,000 km or roads passing through 32 member countries and being undertaken by UNESCAP. The highway links the town of Moreh in the state of Manipur, India to Mae Sot in Thailand via Tamu, Mandalay and Myawaddy in Myanmar.

The project is a part of India's larger 'Act East' policy that seeks to link the nation with the ASEAN

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region. The India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway was first proposed in a trilateral ministerial meeting on transport linkages in April 2002 held at Yangon. The highway was initially scheduled to be operational by 2015. However, the project has faced several delays due to various reasons.

The route of the highway will be:

Moreh (India) – Tamu (Myanmar) – Kalewa (Myanmar) – Yagyi (Myanmar) – Monywa (Myanmar) – Mandalay (Myanmar) – Meiktila (Myanmar) – Nay Pyi Taw (Myanmar) – Payagyi (Myanmar) – Theinzayat (Myanmar) – Thaton (Myanmar) – Hpa’an (Myanmar) – Kawkareik (Myanmar) – Myawaddy (Myanmar) – Mae Sot (Thailand).

At the 2003 Foreign Ministers meeting of the three countries held in New Delhi, following decisions were taken with respect to the works related to the trilateral highway:

- The highway would be built in three phases. The first phase was to include 78 km of new roads, upgradation of around 400 km of roads, construction of all-weather approach lanes, rehabilitation/reconstruction of weak or distressed bridges.
- India was given the responsibility of 78 km of new roads, also dubbed as the missing link, 58 km of upgradation as a part of Phase-I. Thailand was given the responsibility of upgradation of 136 km and 62 km sectors of Phase- I and another 100 km as part of Phase-II. It was also decided that Myanmar would take up intermediary approach roads, reconstruction/rehabilitation of weak bridges, pending the approval of the government of Myanmar.
- A Senior Officials Group was to be established to review the implementation and progress of the projects.

The three-sided Joint Task Force again met in New Delhi in September 2012. The meeting agreed that all efforts would be made to establish the highway by 2016. At the 2012 India-ASEAN commemorative summit, the leaders of the ASEAN countries and India agreed to extend

the trilateral highway to Cambodia and Vietnam. India and Myanmar also signed two Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) pertaining to connectivity projects during the visit of the Myanmar’s President Htin Kyaw to New Delhi in August 2016. The signed MoUs were as follows:

- The MoU on Cooperation in the construction/upgradation of the bridges and Approach Road in Tamu-Kyigone-Kalewa section of the Trilateral Highway in Myanmar.
- The MoU on Cooperation in the Construction/Upgradation of Kalewa-Yagyi road section of the Trilateral Highway in Myanmar.

As per the information provided by the Ministry of External Affairs, India to the Rajya Sabha of the Indian Parliament in December 2016, India took up two projects of the trilateral highway. They are:

1. Construction of 69 bridges including approach roads in Tamu-Kyigone-Kalewa section.
2. Construction of road between Kalewa and Yargyi section.

In July 2017, the Indian government approved the expansion and widening of the section of NH-39 between Imphal in Manipur to Moreh in Myanmar at a cost of Rs 1630 crore. The National Highway Authority of India was appointed as the Technical Executing Agency and Project Management Consultant for the implementation of the project. The work for nearly 120 kilometres Kalewa-Yargyi section for upgradation to two lanes was awarded to a joint venture of Punj Lloyd-Varaha in September 2017 at an estimated cost of Rs 1177 crore to be completed in 36 months. India’s Border Road Organisation (BRO) has already upgraded the Tamu-Kalewa-Kalemyo road (TKK) in Myanmar, also called the India-Myanmar Friendship road.

However, the project faces certain challenges. Lack of coordination among the agencies responsible for the project, financial constraints, inadequate monitoring, and security problems related to insurgent activities have led to repeated delays and cost escalation of the project. Even though the project faces other problems like land acquisition

and tree felling, the Indian government was to complete the project by 2020.

Implications of the Project

The Trilateral Highway bears huge implications in the India-Southeast Asia relationship. The highway will open the land connection directly with ASEAN, thus increasing India's presence in one of the most valued regions of the world. The movement of goods, initially, with Myanmar and Thailand will get an added boost. India also intends to extend the highway to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in the future, which would give India direct access to a large swathe of Southeast Asia.

The project will also play an important role in the development of India's Northeast region, which is considered as one of the most neglected regions of the country. Direct access to Myanmar and other Southeast Asian countries will give a push to the border trade of the states like Manipur, Mizoram, Assam and Nagaland. Increased trading activities in the states will help in generating employment and improving socio-economic indicators of the region. Moreover, once the region is connected to Southeast Asia, it will attract private investments in manufacturing, infrastructure building and development of local industries. Thus, the project is crucial for the successful implementation of India's Act East Policy, as the policy itself hinges on the development of India's Northeast region.

Once India signs the Trilateral Motor Vehicle Agreement with Thailand and Myanmar, the highway project will lead to increased people-to-people

connectivity between the people living on both sides of the border. Seamless movement of the passenger, as well as cargo vehicles, will enhance people-to-people exchanges and trade transactions. In this context, the pending Imphal-Mandalay Bus Service Agreement is also important. Once signed, the buses can travel from Manipur to up to Bangkok, via Mandalay. It will boost tourists' arrival in the Northeast, and as such, the economic activities in the region. According to Bana and Yhome (2017), the project will help build direct people-to-people connectivity between India and the Mekong Sub-region as well promotes India's reach in a region where China's foothold has increased.

Conclusion

India-Southeast Asia's relationship has increased over the past three decades. Increasing political engagements, enhanced trade figures are a testament to the importance India attaches to its relationship with Southeast Asia. After the enunciation of India's 'Act East' by the Modi government in 2014, connectivity has become an important dimension to take the relationship to a higher trajectory. As a part of this initiative to improve connectivity with Southeast Asia, India started the India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway, which has enormous implications. Even though the project has failed to meet several deadlines, India must cooperate with the partner countries to complete and operationalise the project. Adequate financing must be allocated and bureaucratic regulations must be simplified to enable the project see the light of the day at the earliest possible date. ◆◆

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ASEAN, C-19 and the Vietnam's Chairmanship

Bich T Tran*

[COVID-19 (C-19) event is posing serious challenges for the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 2020. But Vietnam, as current ASEAN chair, is trying to make the best of the situation and demonstrate leadership. As 2020 marks a mid-term review of the implementation of the ASEAN Community Building Blueprints 2015–25, Vietnam chose ‘Cohesive and Responsive ASEAN’ as the theme for its chairmanship.]

The theme is supported by five priorities identified by Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc in his keynote speech on 6 January. The priorities include contributing to regional peace, security and stability by strengthening ASEAN's solidarity and unity; intensifying regional connectivity through the use of digital and novel technologies; promoting ASEAN identities and shared values; strengthening global partnerships for peace and sustainable development; and improving ASEAN's responsiveness and operational effectiveness.

Despite the goal of intensifying regional connectivity, the C-19 event is disturbing global and regional supply chains. Vietnam had planned to organize more than 300 different conferences and activities during its term to celebrate the 25th anniversary of its ASEAN membership and to promote regional interactions. But the pandemic is causing numerous events to be postponed or even cancelled.

Many countries are in total or partial lockdown to flatten the transmission curve. Still, social distancing is increasing the use of telecommunication technologies used for teleworking and online teaching and learning. This trend, in line with the priority of promoting digital technologies, is enabling Vietnam to carry out its chair responsibilities by holding virtual meetings with ASEAN members and external partners.

Although division among ASEAN on how to respond to China in the South China Sea has undermined unity in recent years, Vietnam as chair of ASEAN is unifying member states in the fight

against C-19. Since the beginning of the outbreak, Vietnam has worked closely with ASEAN members to help cope with the complex developments of the disease. On 14 February, Vietnam issued the Chairman's Statement on ASEAN Collective Response to the Outbreak of C-19, which stressed the importance of ASEAN solidarity and promoted cooperation on multiple levels.

On 31 March, Hanoi held the ASEAN Coordinating Council Working Group on Public Health Emergencies teleconference for member states to share information about their situations and the implementation of control measures.

At the ministerial level, Vietnam chaired two sessions of the ASEAN Coordinating Council on 20 March and 9 April, comprised of ASEAN foreign ministers, to discuss ways to strengthen collaboration between the group and its partners.

In the spirit of a 'Cohesive and Responsive ASEAN', Vietnam organized the Special ASEAN Summit on Coronavirus Disease 2019 on 14 April to urge member states to remain united and to act decisively in response to the pandemic. The leaders agreed to create a C-19 ASEAN Response Fund and regional reserves of medical supplies.

Non-Aligned Movement for the betterment of Multilateralism

Vietnam is also using the ASEAN chair to advance the organization's cooperation with countries around the world. It was primarily within the universal organization of the United Nations (OUN).

As ambassador Hasmi Agam and prof. Anis H. Bajrektarevic recently noted in their policy paper

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on the UN: "... what presents itself as an imperative is universal participation through intergovernmental mechanisms. That very approach has been clearly demonstrated by UN member states, as shown by the active roles played by Indonesia (in the SC, along with another ASEAN and NAM member, Vietnam; and on behalf of the general membership of the UN General Assembly), Azerbaijan (on behalf of NAM) and France (on behalf of the P5 and the EU) reaching out to Tunisia – a member of the Arab League (LAS), AU, OIC and NAM.

Same line has been also endorsed by the UN Members States on 18 May 2020 in relation to the independent inquiry request over the WHO conduct. ... this is well recognised by UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres himself, who recently stated that "With two thirds of UN Member States, the Non-Aligned Movement has a critical role to play in forging global solidarity". (<https://www.ifimes.org/en/9819>)

But the list of Vietnam's regional and bilateral activities is extensive too: At the ASEAN–China Foreign Ministers' Meeting on cooperation in responding to C-19 in Laos on 20 February, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi informed ASEAN of the situation in Wuhan and other parts of China. The bloc confirmed its support for China in combating the disease.

On 20 March, Vietnam chaired the ASEAN–EU ministerial teleconference on cooperation in fighting the pandemic. The two sides agreed to heighten information sharing, experience exchange, and policy consultation in diagnosis, treatment and vaccine production.

As chair of ASEAN, Vietnam was invited to the G-20 emergency online summit on C-19 on 26 March. Besides sharing Vietnam's C-19 control experience, Prime Minister Phuc stressed the importance of solidarity, cooperation and collaboration at global and regional levels. He added that fighting the

pandemic should accompany facilitating trade and investment cooperation.

Vietnam also chaired the Special ASEAN+3 Summit on C-19 on 14 April. ASEAN members and their dialogue partners China, Japan and South Korea acknowledged the significance of ASEAN+3 cooperation and its existing mechanisms in addressing public health challenges.

Although the US–ASEAN Summit — initially scheduled for mid-March — was postponed, Vietnam held the ASEAN–United States High-Level Interagency Video Conference on Cooperation to Counter C-19, a senior officials-level meeting, on 1 April. The two sides reiterated the value of the ASEAN–US Strategic Partnership in facing the unprecedented challenges of the pandemic.

The success of this meeting led to the Special ASEAN–US Ministerial Videoconference on C-19 on 23 April with the participation of US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. Vietnamese Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Pham Binh Minh thanked the United States for its US\$19 million for financial support to regional countries in combating the disease. Foreign Minister Pham also proposed further ASEAN–US public health cooperation by sharing information, experience and best practices.

Despite a rough start, Vietnam is demonstrating its leadership through quick responses and proactiveness in coordinating member states and external partners. Still, the accusations between the United States and China over the disease's origin and their handling of the pandemic are putting Southeast Asia in complicated situation. As both powers are important partners of ASEAN, growing strategic competition between the two will again put ASEAN unity to the test in the post-C-19 era.



The Colonial Legacy and Regional Integration in South Asia

Dr. Sachin N. Pardhe*

[Borders often lead to the inherent contradictions of political and economic functions at the fringes. On the one hand, borders form the key structural apparatus of modern nation-states and hence emphasised, on the other hand, deemphasising borders is the tendency of regional cooperation seeking integration. Political Borders along the line of nation-states act as formidable barriers for identities and shape the course of interaction between communities and states. The inevitability of borders is because of the political compulsions of defining the sovereign limits of nation-states and the defiance of borders is the necessity of economic cooperation. Therefore, the logic of classical regional integration theories rests on the gradual submergence of state identities into the supra-national entity. However, South Asian regional integration seems to be entrapped in between the geopolitical legacy of colonial borders and post-colonial reincarnation of political borders on the one hand and the post-Cold War trends of liberalisation and new regionalism on the other hand.]

Political borders are the critical structural elements of modern nation-states. However, borders are inextricably difficult to demarcate on the lands of common history and shared socio-cultural identities, any such attempt thus tends to find a fate of utter complexities. South Asia is an apt example of the innate complexities of the border issues partly because of the overlapping national identities and partly because of the colonial legacy of borders. Political borders can be broadly categorised into two categories: land borders and maritime borders. The present paper, however, primarily attempts to focus on the complexities as a product of the colonial legacy of the land borders in South Asia. Although South Asia has the legacy of cultural and historical linkages between the South Asian countries, yet, regional integration has remained a tough task.

The primary argument of the paper is that one of the most important reasons behind the weak regional integration in South Asia is the colonial legacy of political borders and the subsequent geopolitical changes along with the identity crisis which has led towards the inverse process of regional integration.

Colonial Borders and the Regional Nativist Discomfort

Although meant to be a permanent marker of sovereignty “a boundary never can be regarded as

fixed in position, but only as a momentary and transitory expression of the power of the adjacent countries” (Fischer, 1949: 221). These two attributes of political borders namely the non-permanent nature and its inherent connection with power have been critical in shaping relations between states. Another notable feature is the context in which these borders are drawn and the role of the actors involved in demarcating the sovereign spheres of control.

Nations tend to justify political borders on the line of modern nation-states in the name of ‘right to self-determination.’ Still right to self-determination has remained a much contested and much complex principles in multicultural and plural societies. Ironically, borders are meant to maintain peace between the countries, yet these very borders have been a major source of conflicts between the states throughout history. Political borders had been seen as the physical expression of sovereignty over a territory. However, borders become a source of conflicts because of two major reasons; one there is an intrinsic relationship between borders and the security of states, and secondly, these political borders are supposed to demarcate the sovereign claims of states over natural resources.

The political borders drawn on the line of ‘nation-states’ are further supposed to acts as identity barriers and homogeneous units of identity. However, the process of homogenisation is utterly complex and nearly impossible in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies. Therefore, borders in any

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given region are effective in maintaining peace between states if the borders are well demarcated in terms of the sovereign territorial claims over shared natural resources as well as the national identities of the states.

In South Asia post-independence political borders have failed in maintaining both the security of the states because of the porous nature of the borders as well as the conflicting sovereign claims over natural resources and territories questioning the very formation of political borders.

Prior to decolonisation and the emergence of independent states, the South Asian region was popularly known as the Indian Sub-continent. The expression Indian sub-continent had two implied meanings; one that the entire landmass had more or less common physical natural boundaries of the Himalayas, the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. Secondly, during the colonial rule, it indicated that almost the entire region was under the direct colonial rule or control of the British Empire. The common physical boundaries historically led to the evolution of the common socio-cultural identity of the Indian Sub-continent distinct from the rest of Asia and the British rule over the entire region ensured that the colonial interests are protected even at the cost of the 'regional nationalist discomfort.'

Regional nationalist discomfort in the region can be seen in two ways; one the British policy of divide and rule which sowed the seeds of communal distrust and antagonism between religious and ethnic communities, and secondly, the way British policies suppressed or curbed the sub-regional national aspirations of native and indigenous people while drawing borders on the basis of administrative viability or systematic policy of colonial imperialism. Communalism, for example, remained one of the major points of conflict between Hindus and Muslims in post-colonial South Asia.

T.K. Oommen (1999: 1) argues that the British were accustomed to the European situation in which people belonging to one civilisation were divided on the basis of language, religion and denomination and were involved in continuous wars as well as violence to establish nations and states, hence it is not astonishing that the colonial administrators did not view the Indian subcontinent as one single nation on the line of European nation-states. During British

rule in the Indian Sub-continent major political borders between British India and other countries had been drawn.

Amongst these were the Durand line between today's Afghanistan and Pakistan, the McMahon line between today's India and China and the Radcliff line between India and Pakistan. Almost each of these borders was essentially a political project intended to protect the interests of the British Empire. Durand Line and McMahon Line, for example, were a part of the political strategy to deal with the powers like Russia and China by creating buffer states and by demarcating borders of the British Empire.

The Durand line

Durand line was established in 1893 which ran through the tribal lands between Afghanistan and British India, demarcating their respective spheres of influence. The idea was to create Afghanistan as a buffer state between extending power of Russia and the British Empire. After the end of the British rule, the Durand line remained a border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. "For many Afghans, the Durand Line represents British imperialism at its worst and does not reflect the wishes of the people who live on either side of the current border" (Lansford, 2017: 146).

In the early nineteenth century, the British were keen on extending and advancing their control over the territorial land between Peshawar and Kabul which was dominantly inhabited by the Pashtun ethnic population. This was the very region which had been acted since ancient time as an access point to the Indian Subcontinent making it a geostrategic region to control. On November 12, 1893, Durand line was established through the Durand agreement signed with British India by Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan. When Durand line was drawn it divided the Pashtun population into two separate countries. In the post-colonial period, Afghanistan had been consistently raising the issue of invalidity of the Durand line and right to self-determination for the Pashtuns in Pakistan. As a result, the Durand Line has become a source of conflict between Afghanistan and Pakistan over the conflicting issues of territorial sovereignty.

The McMahon Line

McMahon Line was the boundary between British India and Tibet negotiated between Great Britain

and Tibet as a part of the Shimla Convention (1914). Although China was also the part of the Shimla Convention it withdrew in 1914. In the post-independence period, it became the border between the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh and Tibet. Since China did not sign the Shimla accord and considers Tibet as a part of China, it doesn't recognise McMahon Line. China questions the validity of the McMahon Line raising the questions about the capacity of Tibet to get into the treaty of March 1914 with Britain under which it agreed to the McMahon Line Border (Rao, 1984: 29). According to China, the territory of China extends to Arunachal Pradesh. "For China, the McMahon Line is branded as a symbol of imperialist aggression on the country" (Chakraborti, 2012: 87). Therefore, the McMahon line also remained a contested border between India and China in the post-British period.

The Radcliff Line

Unlike the Durand Line and the McMahon line, Radcliff Line was established when the British were leaving the Indian Sub-continent. When the partition took place and India and Pakistan emerged as two sovereign states, the Radcliff Line was established to demarcate the boundaries between the two. The primary task of the Boundary Commission which was formed in 1947 was to divide the provinces of Punjab and Bengal between India and Pakistan. Radcliff line was definitely not going to be a peaceful border, not just because of the context in which it was created, but also because of the way it was created.

Stephen P. Cohen (2013: 12) quotes a poem 'Partition' by W.H. Auden depicting the plight of Sir Cyril Radcliff, who was not much familiar with the Indian Subcontinent and yet chaired the committees set up to define boundaries of the new India and Pakistan. Besides, "Pakistan's government, under the leadership of Jinnah, believed that a close personal bond between Mountbatten and Nehru had resulted in the last Viceroy being less than impartial when it came to dividing up the Raj's physical inheritance between India and Pakistan" (McGarr, 2013: 16,17).

These colonial borders while being drawn the regional national aspirations were not considered or had been compromised leading to the generations of nativist and indigenous discomfort. This nativist

and indigenous discomfort was caused by the following features of the colonial borders:

- a) All of these borders were essentially determined by the British.
- b) All of these borders remained contested.
- c) All of these borders could not prevent the overlapping of the national identities.
- d) All of these borders were artificially created which defied the physical borders of the Sub-continent.
- e) All of these borders remained porous leading towards conflicts in the region.
- f) In almost all of these cases, at least one party concerned doesn't recognise the border.

In post-colonial South Asia, this colonial legacy of borders was carried forward as most of the colonial borders remained intact. However, these new political borders were being contested because of the overlapping identities and the conflicting territorial claims as well as claims over natural resources. Besides these new political borders have also transformed the regional geopolitics and security which was essentially going to shape the future of the regional integration process in South Asia. The geographical configuration of South Asia has remained critical in defining the security relations of the states. South Asian security apparatus is essentially determined by the interplay of geographical and political forces that shape the behaviour of the regional states as well as extra-regional actors. Political borders play an important role as a critical determinant of these geographical factors.

The decolonisation of South Asia led to the demarcation and formation of new political borders between the states. Amongst these were the borders between India and Pakistan, India and China and later on between India and Bangladesh. Before independence British India consisted of today's independent India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

The first partition which took place between India and Pakistan in 1947 was the result of the increasing divide between the two communities Hindus and Muslims. Ashutosh Varshney argues that the primordial antagonism, as proposed by essentialist theorists, was not the "truth" about Hindus and Muslims. It was constructed and promoted by the

British, partly because of their divide and rule policy and partly because of the British perception of the natives as pre-modern religious communities (Varshney, 2002: 34).

The colonial policy of divide and rule ultimately worked well to the extent that the 'Two Nations' theory could gather enough momentum for the creation of Pakistan. Ultimately, with the withdrawal of the colonial rulers, the partition of the land took place which was being ruled over by the Hindu and Muslim kings without much of friction between the two communities till the advent of the British into South Asian politics.

However, immediately after the partition India and Pakistan automatically emerged as each other's largest trading partner overnight as a sheer consequence of the colonial trade linkages and still shortly after a few years they had completely embargoed their trade with each other even though they were natural trading partners (Chapman, 2009: 203). Although post-independence India and Pakistan were natural trade partners, they gradually started limiting their trade with each other. India-Pakistan relationship began to deteriorate with the increasing complexities with the issue of Jammu and Kashmir which led to the war between the two as early as 1948.

The accession of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian Union was going to be a turning point in the relationship between the two major actors in South Asia. Post-independence and post-partition India-Pakistan trade fell significantly and came to a standstill for almost 9 years as a consequence of the war in 1965 (Taneja & Pohit, 2015: 2). This new perception of India and Pakistan started adversely affecting not only the trade relations between states in South Asia but also the internal security dynamics in the region. "Kashmir and the northeast were transformed from cultural centres and hubs of economic, social and political linkages into isolated border regions of the newly independent nation, inhabited by 'suspect communities'" (Mathur, 2012: 5). These 'suspect communities' in fact were the product of the colonial policy of dividing identities and infusing the trust deficit between them. These elements of trust deficit between states and between identities along with the changing geopolitical configuration

in South Asia led to the reverse process of regional integration.

Regional Cooperation and security

When regionalism emerged as a prominent trend towards the end of the Second World War it had predominant baggage of security concerns which gradually started diminishing and economic logic of cooperation came to the forefront into the post-Cold War period in the form of new regionalism. 'Following Robert Keohane, a number of scholars have defined cooperation as occurring "when actors adjust their behaviour to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination"' (Milner, 1992: 467). Peter Jay argues that "Good regionalism is good geopolitics; and bad regionalism is bad geopolitics" (Jay, 1979: 485). Jay's argument can be analysed in the context of the Cold War when security was the dominant factor behind most of the alliances and geopolitical concerns were determining forces of alliances and cooperation.

However, cooperation, as defined above, may not be that simple as it appears. Cooperation can be of two types, one, short term or ad-hoc cooperation and second, long term cooperation. Short term or ad-hoc cooperation is mostly a part of a temporary need or compulsion like the Second World War time cooperation between the allied powers including the United States and the Soviet Union to fight against a common enemy. However, with the end of the Second World War, the logic of cooperation between the allied powers and the Soviet Union started fading because of the absence of the common enemy and fundamental ideological differences.

It was an example of ad-hoc cooperation for some identified goal or objective. On the other hand, post-Second World War cooperation between France and Germany in the form of the creation of European Coal and Steel Community proved to be long term cooperation, resulting in further European integration. This process of regional integration in Europe had been explained by functionalist theories.

According to Ernst Haas "Political integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand

jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states” (Haas, 1958, p.16). The first wave of regionalism as it became very much visible in Europe as an economic endeavour in the form of the formation of European Coal and Steel Community and later on transformed into today’s European Union was going to be a role model of regional integration. Functionalist theories attempted to explain this process of integration with the ‘doctrine of ramification’ or the ‘spill over effects’

Theoretically, if we attempt to analyse regional cooperation “from a simple functionalist perspective one should not expect too much variation around the world, where states generally face similar kinds of cooperation problems” (Acharya & Johnston, 2007: 2). In South Asia, however, the process of regional integration began even before the sense of common identity evolved among the post-independent states. Regional integration as a process in South Asia began with the formation of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985 with the initiative of Bangladesh. Interestingly, when SAARC was being proposed by a relatively small country like Bangladesh, major actors in South Asia like India and Pakistan were reluctant to go for the creation of any such regional organisation. This reluctance was the product of their fear of being side-lined and also because of their relations with each other.

After the formation of SAARC as a regional organisation for cooperation, the major initiative towards further integration came in the form of South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) and South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) which could be seen as measures towards regionalisation. SAARC also tried to address issues like terrorism and climate change, however, it could not achieve the desired success in increasing trade relations between the member countries. Intra-regional trade despite all these initiatives remained as low as 5 per cent making South Asia one of the least integrated regions in the world.

Regionalism as it relies on the sense of the shared commonalities still could not evolve in post-colonial South Asia. The process of decolonisation and the subsequent independence gained by South Asian countries resulted in the formation of new nation-states in the subcontinent. India and Pakistan emerged as two separate states following the most

traumatic partition which was going to haunt the memories of the people from both the sides for years to come. Sri Lanka got independence in 1949 and soon got engulfed into a civil war between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Pakistan which was carved out of India on the basis of the ‘Two Nations Theory’ soon had to face partition resulting into the creation of Bangladesh as an independent sovereign state in 1971.

Amidst these developments, the common identity of a region had shaken and damaged. The process of nation-building in South Asia after independence revolved around how to highlight the new identity of these newly independent states separating them from the common historical identity of the Indian-subcontinent. This was a major concern because, although, these new states were formed on the line of nations-states, these were not typical nation-states, because of the plural characteristics of the societies and multiple identities. Secondly, these identities, even though, divided into different nation-states, yet had a lot of overlapping. These complexities of identities of South Asian countries acted as a major barrier in the emergence of regionalism along the line of common identity.

Post-Cold War South Asia started undergoing dramatic economic changes. The adoption of liberal market-orientated policies leaving behind the long-cherished policy of Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) brought about major changes in the economic policies of South Asian countries. Post-Cold War regionalism was also undergoing a new transformation in the context of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the Cold War along with the strengthening forces of globalisation and liberalism leading towards the new form of regionalism called as ‘new regionalism’.

Ananya Mukherjee Reed argues that “the ‘new’ regionalism in South Asia is almost entirely a product of the contradictions of globalization, which increases competition on the one hand, and the need for collaboration on the other” (Reed, 1997: 235). This complex nature of South Asian regionalism as being sandwiched between the compulsions of globalisation and neoliberal logic of cooperation on the one hand and the traditional security concerns of the states in the post-colonial period, on the other hand, remained a dominant feature in shaping the future of regional cooperation in the region.

The dominance of security concerns can be understood in the region by identifying the following characteristics of the South Asian Security settings:

The 'Indo-centric' (Harshe, 1999:1100) geography of South Asia along with the economic and military capabilities makes India appear a de facto hegemon in the region irrespective of India's intentions to be so.

Although South Asia appears to be a unipolar 'Indo-centric' region, yet, it is described as 'Bipolar Regional Security Complex' (Buzan & Waeber, 2003: 37). This bipolarity of the region is perhaps seen in the light of the presence of the nuclear element as both India and Pakistan are nuclear powers.

Another important characteristic of the South Asian Security apparatus is the role of the extra-regional powers. "The great powers-the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China-appeared in South Asia to fill the vacuum created by the British withdrawal" (Tiwari, 1985: 6). These powers have been playing a critical role in shaping the balance of power in the region.

Security relations between post-colonial South Asian states are shaped by the colonial legacy of British imperial policies along with the existing geopolitical fault lines in the region. Therefore, "there is no unified regional security policy in South Asia. Nor do common perceptions of external threats bind together the countries of the region" (Baral, 1986: 1207).

Even in today's globalised world South Asian states are still very much obsessed by the territorial concerns, this "obsession with territoriality is not just an anachronism in today's globalized world, it is completely out of sync with the best traditions of the subcontinent's own history and political thought" (Bose & Jalal, 2004, p. 206).

Conclusion

Regional integration in South Asia has remained a tough task because of the dominant security concerns of the state which have been overshadowing the issues of trade and cooperation. The dilemma has been the case of nation-building along the line of reconstructing a national identity of newly born states separating them from the common identity of the sub-continent. Thus, the challenge of reconstructing nationalism

simultaneously deconstructing regional affinities was the major task of nation-building of most of the newly independent South Asian countries.

Regionalism, on the other hand, tends to deemphasise these political borders and reconstruct the regional identity in the process challenging the nation-building projects of these countries. Not only it does challenge the very reconstruction of the national identities, it further tends to pose questions on the overlapping identities that have been artificially and systematically been put across the borders. These complexities of borders along with the geopolitical fault-lines have been acting a major catalyst in weakening regional cooperation and regional integration in the region.

According to Ernst Haas regional integration is a "process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new and larger centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states" (Haas, 1961: 366-367). In South Asia, however, the states had been keen on emphasising and further strengthening the borders. This zeal for borders in South Asia was the product of the colonial legacy and the geopolitical dynamics which shape the relations between states. Therefore, in South Asia, the process of regional integration has become much complicated and in fact, even before the emergence of regionalism there is a need to build relations between the states and hence regionalism should be preceded by confidence-building among the states.

The root of most of the problems of South Asia lies in the past, however, the solution to those problems also lies in the past. The pre-colonial history of South Asia has the legacy of shared socio-cultural history which can be used to redefine the regional identity. There is a need to understand that "the progress of civilization involves a growth, not shrinkage, in the size of the cooperating groups" (Gilfillan, 1924: 484).

Conflict management could be an important function of a regional organisation in relatively unstable regions. Conflict management traditionally relied on bilateral solutions of the parties concerned. Post-First and Second World Wars' world witnessed multilateral initiatives like the League of Nations and

the United Nations to prevent and manage conflicts and maintain world peace. In today's world, regional organisations can play an important role in managing and preventing conflicts between the states. These organisations can promote and propagate the socio-cultural linkages between countries and 'soft power approach' (Nye, Jr., 2004) can play a major catalyst in reshaping the perceptions of South Asian states towards each other. The legacy of common shared historical past can be used to shape the future following the 'soft border approach' (Mostov, 2008) to renew the socio-cultural linkages between the people.

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Appraising Bold Role of OIC in global Arena

Prof. Emmy Latifah* and Sara Al-Dhahri**

[For over half a century, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) has been serving as a focal point for its member states (MS) and as a clearing house between its members and the rest of the world. The Organisation does that by providing a standing forum and diplomatic tools to solve disputes, and to address challenges in accordance with its charter. Being the second-largest intergovernmental multilateral system after the United Nations (UN), whose members largely occupy the most fascinating part of the globe (that of its geographic and spiritual centre as well as the rich energy deposits), gives to the Organisation a special exposure and hence a distinctive role.]

The OIC Charter clearly states that it is important to safeguard and protect the common interests and support the legitimate causes of the Member States, to coordinate and unify the efforts of its MS in view of the challenges faced by the Muslim world in particular and the international community in general. For that reason, the Organisation may consider expanding its activities further. One of the most effective way to do so, is by setting yet another permanent presence in Europe. This time it would be by opening its office in Vienna Austria, which should be coupled with a request for an observer status with a Vienna-based Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) – as prof. Anis H. Bajrektarevic tirelessly advocates in his statements.

The OSCE itself is an indispensable security mechanism (globally the second largest after the UN) whose instruments and methodology would be twinned or copied for the OIC. Besides, numerous members of the OSCE are members of the OIC at the same time. Finally, through its Mediterranean partnership dimension, this is a rare international body that has (some) Arab states and Israel around the same table.

Presence means influence

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Why does the OIC need permanent presence in Vienna? The answer is within the OIC charter; to ensure active participation of the Member States in the global political, and socio-economic decision-making processes to secure their common interests.

Why Vienna in particular, when the OIC has an office in Brussels (Belgium) and Geneva (Switzerland)?

When it comes to this city, we can list the fundamental importance of Vienna in Europe and the EU, and globally is because it homes one of the three principal seats of the OUN (besides Geneva and New York). Moreover, a number of important Agencies are headquartered in Vienna (such as the Atomic Energy Agency, UN Industrial Development Organisation, Nuclear Test Ban Treaty organisation, etc.) as well as to segments of the UN Secretariat (such as Outer Space, Trade Law, the ODC office related to the issues of Drugs-Crimes-Terrorism, etc.).

Surely, there are many important capitals around our global village, but after New York, Geneva and Brussels, Vienna has probably the highest representation of foreign diplomats. Many states have even three ambassadors accredited in Vienna (bilateral, for the UN and for the OSCE.). The OIC has nine member states who are the OPEC members as well. Four of those are the Founding Members of the OPEC. Vienna hosts OPEC as well as its developmental branch, the OPEC Fund for Development (OFID).

Some of the OIC MS have lasting security vulnerabilities, a fact that hampers their even

development and prosperity. The OIC places these considerations into its core activities through cooperation in combating terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, organised crime, illicit drugs trafficking, corruption, money laundering and human trafficking. Both the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UN ODC) and the OSCE have many complementarities in their mandates and instruments in this respect.

As an Islamic organization, that works to protect and defend the true image of Islam, to combat defamation of Islam and encourage dialogue among civilisations and religions, the tool for that is again Austria as it is the first European Christian country to recognise Islam as one of its state religions – due to its mandate over (predominately Muslim) Bosnia, 100 years ago.

Back to its roots

The Organization was formed by a decision of the Historical Summit in Rabat, the Kingdom of Morocco on 25 September 1969 after the criminal arson of Al-Aqsa Mosque in occupied Jerusalem. Today, after fifty years of this vicious incident, the OIC has as one of the main cases to support the struggle of the Palestinian people, who are presently under foreign occupation, and to empower them to attain their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, and to establish their sovereign state with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital while safeguarding its historic and Islamic character, and the holy places therein.

When we look back to Austria, it was Chancellor Bruno Kreisky (himself Jewish) who was the very first western leader to receive his contemporary Yasser Arafat, as a Head of State, and to repeatedly condemn many of the Israeli methods and behaviours. As prof. Anis H. Bajrektarevic wonderfully reminded us during his recent lecture with Amb. Goutali of the OIC and Excellency Elwaer of the IsDB President's Office; 'Past the Oil embargo, when the OPEC – in an unprecedented diplomatic move – was suspended of its host agreement in Switzerland, and requested to leave, it was that same Chancellor, Kreisky who generously invited the OPEC to find Austria as its new home.'

The OIC is also heavily involved in environmental issues, such as water implementation. According to the Stockholm International Water Institute, around two-thirds of the world's transboundary rivers do not have a cooperative management framework. The OIC Science-Technology-Innovation (STI) Agenda 2026 has also called on the MS to first define water resource quality and demand by planning national water budgets at the 'local' level where appropriate. In this regard, certain MS lack the ability to conduct a thorough exercise. An organized and focused action plan to adopt the OIC Water Vision is introduced to help Member States address water-related issues.

As for the implementation plan for OIC Water Vision, Vienna is a principal seat of the Danube river organisation – which is important for the Muslim world as an effectively water-managing mechanism and instrumentation to learn from and to do twinning.

So far, the OIC covers Vienna (but only its UN segment) non-residentially, from Geneva – respective officers are residentially accredited to the UNoG. A permanent presence, even a small one and co-shared with the Developmental arm of the OIC – that of the IsDB, would be a huge asset for the Organization. That would enable both the OIC and the Bank to regularly participate in the formal and informal multilateral formats, happening daily in Vienna.

Absence is the most expensive

International security is a constant global challenge that is addressed the best way through the collective participation in multilateral settings. It is simply the most effective, cheapest, fastest – therefore the most promising strategy to sustainability and stability of humankind.

According to the Global Peace Index (2019 figures), the economic impact of violence on the global economy in 2018 was \$14.1 trillion. This figure is equivalent to 11.2% of the world's GDP, or \$1,853 for every person. The economic impact of violence progressed for 3.3% only during 2018. Large sways of it were attributed to the Muslim Middle East.

The OIC fundamental purpose is to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, as embedded in its and the UN Charter and other acts of the international (human rights and humanitarian) law.

In this light, requesting the Observer status with the largest Security mechanism on the planet, that of the OSCE, which has rather specific mandates; well-elaborated politico-military, early prevention and confidence building mechanisms; net of legally binding instruments, extensive field presence (incl. several OIC member states), and a from Vancouver-to-Vladivostok outreach is simply the most natural thing to do. This would be very beneficial to the OIC Member States, as well as one of possible ways to improve its own instruments.

Among its 57 members, 21 of them are listed within a top 50 countries in the Global Terrorism Index for 2019. (With a ranking of 9.6 points, Afghanistan is infamously nr. 1 on the global terror index making it the nation most affected by terrorism on Earth. The OIC member state – Afghanistan, scored the most terror attacks in 2018 - 1,294; and the most terror-related deaths in 2018, with 9,961 casualties.)

The OIC Charter (article 28, Chapter XV) clearly states that the Organisation may cooperate with other international and regional organisations with the objective of preserving international peace and security and settling disputes through peaceful means.

As said, Vienna is a principal seat of the second largest security multilateral mechanism on earth, OSCE. This is a three- dimensional organisation with its well elaborated and functioning: politico-

military, economy-environment; and the human dimension – that is extensively developed both institutionally and by its instruments.

No doubt, the OIC successfully contributes to international peace and security, by boosting understanding and dialogue among civilizations, cultures and religions, and by promoting and encouraging friendly relations and good neighbourliness, mutual respect and cooperation. But for this, it needs more forums to voice its positions and interests. Many of the OSCE Member states have even three different ambassadors and three separate missions in Vienna. Presence of the relevant international organisations follows about the same pattern.

The strategic importance of the MENA (Middle East- North Africa) lies on its diverse resources, such as energy, trade routes, demography, geography, faith and culture. The OSCE has a Mediterranean partnership outreach, meaning some of the LAS and OIC members states are already participants, where Central Asian states, Caucasus as well as Turkey, Albania and Bosnia are fully-fledged member states of the OSCE.

Taking all above into account, the OIC should not miss an opportunity to open another powerful channel of its presence and influence on the challenging and brewing international scene. It would be a permanent office to cover all diplomatic activities and within it – the observer status before the OSCE. This would be to the mutual benefit of all; Europe and the Muslim world, international peace and prosperity, rapprochement and understanding, present generations and our common futures.



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Social Movements in India: A Theoretical Perspective

Harjeet Singh*

[Social movements have broadly been perceived as organized or collective efforts to bring about changes in the thought, beliefs, values, attitudes, relationships and major institutions in society or to resist any change in the above societal arrangements. Social movements are the agent of social change. Present paper tries to elucidate the meaning and dimensions of social movements. The conversional modes of conceptualization of social movements, the emergence of new social movements, the European, American and the Indian orientation of social movement studies are discussed in the paper. Paper examined the issues origin and vital elements of social movements.]

There is no accurate definition of the term 'social movement' accepted by academics of all disciplines or even scholars belonging to the same discipline. Like many other terms, such as 'democracy', 'masses', 'popular', 'equality', the term 'movement' is often used differently by different social activists, political leaders and scholars who have written on movements. Some scholars use the term 'movement' interchangeably with 'organisation' or 'union'. Some use it to mean a historical trend or tendency- It is fashionable for political leaders and social reformers to call their activities 'movements' even though their activities are confined to the forming of organisations with less than a dozen members. Some claim to launch movements by issuing press statements on public issues.¹

The political leaders and authors who used the term were concerned with the liberation of exploited classes and the creation of a new society by changing value systems as well as institutions and/or property relationships. Their ideological aspiration is reflected in their definition.²

However, the term 'social movement' gained currency in European languages in the early nineteenth century. This was the period of social upheaval. Church and authority the absolute power of the monarchs was challenged. People were demanding democratic rights and asserting for freedom and equality. The political leaders and authors who used the term 'social movement' were concerned with the emancipation of the exploited classes and the creation of a new society by

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changing property relationships. Their ideological orientation is reflected in their definition.

Hence there is no one definition of 'social movement.' Scholars and social activists have different ideological positions on political system and expected social change. And even those who share the same meaning of social change often differ in their views on strategy and path to bring change. But one thing is certain among all conceptualisation of social movement i.e. collective action. It is about the mobilisation of the people for political action. However, collective action as such is not synonymous of social movement.

Definition of Social Movements

However, there is no exact definition of social movement but views of the scholars who worked in the realm of this topic, is treasurable. Moreover, there is no one meaning of social change. This is evident from the following sample definitions of social movements used in social science literature.

According to Paul Wilkinson social movement is "a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian' community. Social movements are thus clearly different from historical movements, tendencies or trends. It is important to note, however, that such tendencies and trends, and the influence of the unconscious or irrational factors in human behaviour, may be of crucial importance in illuminating the problems of interpreting and explaining social movement".³

According to Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish

a new order of life. They have their inception in the condition of unrest, and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living".⁴

According to Doug McAdam, Social Movements are "those organized efforts, on the part of excluded groups, to promote or resist changes in the structure of society that involve recourse to non-institutional forms of political participation".⁵

According to Sidney Tarrow, "Social Movements are collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities".⁶

Thus, there are three important elements of the Social Movements; (1) collective action; (2) social change and (3) common purpose. These three features are the characteristics of the movement. Therefore, agitation or protests are not social movements. Because, they do not aim at bringing social change and not conceive that. Those are the reaction to a particular situation. But at the same time, more often than not, a social movement develops in course of time, and it begins with protest or agitation which may not have conceived the notion of political change.

Origin of Social Movements: A Theoretical Perspective

There are several schools of thoughts on the origin of social movements. The classical model of thought is represented by the versions of mass society, collective behaviour, status inconsistency, raising expectations, and relative deprivation.

Mass Society Theory

The mass society theorist, like William Kornhauser, is of the view that due to the lack of an intermediate structure people in the mass society are not integrated in the society. This leads to alienation, tension and ultimately social protest. In the mass society individuals are related one another not by variety of groups etc., but by their relation to a common authority, i.e. the state. In the mass society, in the absence of independent groups and associations people lack the resource to ward off the threat to their autonomy. In their absence people lack the resources to restrain their own behaviour as well as that of others. Social atomization engenders strong feelings of alienation and anxiety,

and therefore, the disposition to engage extreme behaviour to escape from these tensions.

It is pointed out that the mass society is conditioned by elite domination over the mass. It replaces the democratic rule. In this society individuals are objectively atomized and subjectively alienated. In this system people are available for mobilization by elite. To Kornhauser "alienation heightens responsiveness to the appeal of mass movements because they provide the occasions for expressing resentment against what is, as well as promises of a totally different world. In short, people who are atomized readily become mobilized"⁷

Status Inconsistency Theory

The proponents of the theory of status inconsistency, like Leonard Broom (1959) and Lenski (1954), are of the view that the objective discrepancy between persons ranking and status (dimension e.g., education, income, occupation) generate subjective tensions in the society leading to cognitive dissonance, discontent and protest. The state of severe status discrepancy, according to these scholars, lead to subjective tensions and dissonance. According to James A. Geschwender the set of circumstances described by the status inconsistency hypothesis would produce varying intensities of dissonance and dissonance-reducing behaviour according to the degree of discrepancy between relevant status dimensions.⁸

Structural Strain Theory

Structural Strain suggests that any severe structural strain can help manifest social movements. In general, it is argued that there are sequences leading to the manifestation of social movements. These sequences move from structural weakness due to the strain in society leading to psychological disturbances and ultimately to the manifestations of social movements. There are, however variety of reasons behind the structural strain. Individuals experience strain out of disruption in the normal functioning of the society. This disruption may be caused by the process of industrialization, urbanization, migration, and increase in unemployment. The increase in the quantum of disruption is positively related to the manifestation of social movement. In this perspective social change is the source of structural strain. Social change is described as stressful because it disrupts

the normative order in which people are accustomed leading to a feeling of anxiety, fantasy and hostility. Thus, in general this theory visualizes social movements as collective relations to such strains that create severe tensions. Some aggregate of their tensions reaches to a boiling point triggering social emergency. This model emphasizes wage on the psychological effect that strain has on individuals than on the desire for a political goal.⁹

Relative Deprivation Theory

The theory of Relative Deprivation has been got a place of prominence in the social movement study. In the Marxian analysis economic deprivation has been identified to be the prime cause of social conflict among the two antagonistic classes i.e. 'the haves' and the 'have-nots'. It is a gap between expectations and perceived capabilities involving three generalised sets of values: economic conditions, political power and social status.¹⁰

Cultural Revitalization Theory

In 1956, F.C Wallace published a paper called "Revitalization Movements" to describe how cultures change themselves. A revitalization movement is a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" and Wallace describes at length the processes by which a revitalization movement takes place. Anthony F.C. Wallace expresses the view that social movements are manifested out a deliberate, organised and conscious action of the member of the society to construct a more satisfying culture for themselves. To him, the revitalization movements undergo four phases of progression: from cultural stability to increased individual stress to cultural distortion and disillusionment to cultural revitalization.¹¹

Social movements express dissatisfaction and dissent against the system; they may also offer a positive alternative. Indeed, they may be started for revitalising the existing system which is undergoing structural strain. Revitalisation is therefore the third factor associated in the emergence of a social movement.

This urge for revitalisation can generate a movement, which promotes patriotism, and national pride could be caused by youth movements, which encourage young people to help and organise the oppressed, or the literacy movements are other examples. These

movements are started in order to solve a problem collectively. They do not merely protest against what they define as wrong but also try to provide an alternative.

Types of Social Movements

Social movements can be classified under various typologies depending on such factors like aim of the movement, organisation, means adopted to achieve the aims, value strength and so on. Some of the types are:

Migratory movements

When a large number of people migrate due to discontent and or due to the shared hope for a better future in some other land, we talk of migratory movements. For instance, the mass exodus of men to Gulf countries especially from the state of Kerala is an example of a migratory social movement. Similarly, the mass migration of people from Bangladesh to India during troubled times is another instance of a migratory movement.

Reform movements

This type of a movement constitutes a collective attempt to change some parts of a society without completely transforming it. A reform movement accepts the basic pattern of the social order of that society and orients itself around an ideal. It makes use of those institutions such as the press, the government, the school, the church and so on to support its programme. Reform movements usually, rise on behalf of some distressed or exploited group. Reform movements are almost impossible in an authoritarian society. Such movements are mainly possible in democratic societies where people tolerate criticism. For example, the socio-religious reform movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in India aimed to remove social practices like sati, denial of education to women, ban on widow remarriage, ill treatment of widows, child marriage, caste disabilities and so on.

Revolutionary Movements

Such a movement seeks to overthrow the existing system and replace it with a totally different one. Revolutionary movements aim at reconstructing the entire social order. They challenge the existing norms and propose a new scheme of values. The examples that immediately come to one's mind are the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution which

resorted to overthrow the existing socio-political order prevailing in France and Russia respectively.

Resistance or Reactionary movements

These arise among people who are dissatisfied with certain aspects of change. The movement seeks to recapture or reinstate old values. For example, the Islamic Fundamentalist movement and the *Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh* (RSS) can be classified under the heading reactionary or resistance movements.

Within every society, at different points of time we can have general movements or specific movements. All these types of movement generally have a programme of protest and action, establishment of a power relationship favourable to the movement and promotion of membership gratification.

Functions of Social Movements

According to Alain Touraine (1985)¹² social movements have three important functions.

- i) **Mediation:** They help to relate the individual to the larger society. They give each person a chance to participate, to express his ideas and to play a role in the process of social change.
- ii) **Pressure:** Social movements stimulate the formation of organised groups that work systematically to see that their plans and policies are implemented.
- iii) **Clarification of Collective Consciousness:** This is a significant function. Social movements generate and develop ideas which spread throughout society. As a result, group consciousness arises and grows.

Conclusion

Variety of objectives, strategies, and actors involved in this process renders it difficult to identify winning strategies for new collective actors, it can, nevertheless, be said that in recent decades the structure of power in liberal democracies appears to have been transformed in the direction of greater recognition for new actors. Social movements have helped democratization in authoritarian regimes, but also contributed to more participatory approaches

in representative democracies. Social Movements are the agent of social change.

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Preventing Child Trafficking in India

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[After illegal drugs trafficking and arms trafficking, human trafficking is the third largest international crime. It is believed to generate billions of dollars each year. A very important part of human trafficking includes child trafficking. Children, especially from poor families, are most vulnerable to trafficking. Annually, it is estimated that around 1.2 million children are trafficked worldwide for sexual exploitation or cheap labour. As far as South Asia is concerned, approximately 150,000 women and children are trafficked every year. Most of these children are trafficked from, via and to India. Despite having a robust anti-trafficking system in place, trafficking of children for labour and sexual exploitation continues to be a serious problem in India. Each year thousands of children are trafficked both domestically and internationally in India. It is against this background, that the article would try to address the issue of child trafficking in India in a holistic and rights-based manner. The article would focus on the reasons behind child trafficking in India and critically analyse the existing anti-trafficking machinery and legal framework against child trafficking. Lastly the article would conclude by point out the loopholes which fail to prevent child trafficking in India and give suggestions in this regard to prevent child trafficking.]

In general terms, trafficking refers to an illicit trade in goods. In case of human trafficking the goods constitute human beings. Thus, human trafficking is an international trade built around the principle of objectification of a human life. It treats human life as a commodity to be traded in the economic market. One of the main problems in comprehending the phenomenon of trafficking is the lack of any standard operating definition of trafficking, who can be considered “traffickers” and who are the trafficked persons.

Even when countries are in full agreement with the relevant international laws and protocols, the application of those laws and protocols varies from country to country. The United Nations Protocol on Trafficking under Article 3 defines human trafficking as – “Trafficking in persons’ shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the

prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery servitude or the removal of organs.” (Gabhan, S.N., 2006: 529)

In essence, the definition of the United Nations Protocol on Trafficking can be broken down into the three components of the offense: (1) the act, (2) the method, and (3) the purpose. All three elements must be present for a situation to be officially recognized as trafficking. The Protocol also establishes special regulations for trafficking in children (individuals under 18 years of age): “The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered ‘trafficking in persons’ even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article.” That is, children transported for exploitative work are considered trafficking victims whether or not they have been deceived. Under the circumstances, it is nearly impossible to know if children have given informed consent or if they are simply submitting to parental pressure. (Ray, N., 2007: 73)

Globally, there is a steep rise in the incidence of both human trafficking and child trafficking. According to the UN Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, 2018, in 2016, there was a steep rise of by about 40 per cent in human trafficking when

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compared to 2011. (UNODC, 21: 2018) Again according to the UN there was a steep increase in the number of children being trafficked, who accounted for 30 per cent of all detected victims of human trafficking, with far more girls detected than boys. (UNODC, 32: 2018)

As far as India is concerned, hundreds of children go missing every day in the country. During the year 2016 a total of 63,407 children, during 2017, 63,349 children, and during 2018 a total of 67,134 children have been reported as missing. Among States/UTs of India, Madhya Pradesh remains on top in years 2016, 2017 and 2018 with 8,503, 10,110 and 10,038 numbers of missing children respectively. West Bengal has retained second position over the years 2016-18 with 8,335 in 2016, 8,178 in 2017 and 8,205 in 2018. (NCRB, 2019: 13-14) However, one must remember that human trafficking or child trafficking is not only a transnational trade. Internal trafficking of women, men, and children for sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, bonded labour, and indentured servitude is more rampant. In fact, one of the countries where internal trafficking is said to surpass cross-border trafficking is India.

It must be mentioned here that a large number of researches has been done on human trafficking, but very few studies on child trafficking in India. In India, it is very difficult to get a comprehensive statistical data on child trafficking. This is because in Indian legal parlance, trafficking is primarily used to refer only to offenses related to prostitution. Therefore, most studies in India have focused exclusively on the trafficking of children for the sex industry. Researches on bonded child labour describe child trafficking without referring to trafficking as such. However, apart from sexual exploitation, child trafficking in India happen due to myriad reasons like getting cheap domestic labour, agricultural labour, exploitative work in the informal economy, forced marriage, adoption, and even for organ harvesting.

This article would thus review the current knowledge about the factors behind child trafficking in India and analyses the laws and interventions that aim to provide protection and assistance to trafficked children. Finally, the article would conclude by giving certain suggestions to make prevention of child trafficking more full proof.

Factors contributing to Child Trafficking in India

Children are the major victims of human trafficking in India and across the world since they protest less and can be silenced very easily. There are in fact several factors behind child trafficking in India. Sexual exploitation is a well-documented reason behind child trafficking. Today Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) has evolved into a highly profitable business where the victims are predominantly minor girls who are forced into sex work against their will. In this process, violence is often a defining characteristic in India.

Several studies have indicated that victims of CSE especially under-aged children are raped, tortured, starved, humiliated and even drugged through the trafficking process to break their spirit and force them into physical and sexual submission. (Kara, S., 2009, 48-49) In fact studies indicate that over fifty percent of the victims of CSE suffer from HIV/AIDS and STDs or some form of gynaecological health problems. (IJM, 2017: 31) Moreover, sex tourism and the exploitation of children have increased with the boom in the tourism industry in India. Some of the notorious sites visited by paedophiles are Kovalam and Varkala in Kerala and Goa. Of course, as the law enforcement agencies get more vigilant, the destinations of sex tourists keep on shifting to other places in India. (ECPAT, 2003:31) Thus these factors create demand for exploitation of children leading to child trafficking in India.

India has one of the highest female feticide incidents in the world. In a study conducted on the issue of female infanticide, a Delhi-based NGO, Asian Centre for Human Rights, revealed that preference of son over daughter and the continuance of the bad social practice of Dowry in India makes daughters “an unaffordable burden”, and leads to high rates of female infanticide. According to a study “Children in India 2012- A Statistical Appraisal” conducted by the Central Statistics Office, Government of India, nearly three million girls were “missing” in 2011 compared to 2001 due to female infanticide. According to the report, female child population in the age group of 0-6 years was 78.83 million in 2001 and it declined to 75.84 million in 2011. During the period, 1991-2011, the child sex ratio (0-6 years) declined from 945 to 914. (ACHR, 2016, 14)

Shortage of women in India increased the demand for brides in the marriage market. As a result, in the north Indian states like Punjab and Haryana where the sex ratio is much skewed, the buying of young girls for marriage from poor families of other states like Assam, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh is a common practice. The widespread discrimination against women in above mentioned states have only added to the problem. The clandestine character of bride trafficking makes it very difficult to establish definite figures as many trafficked women and girls are kept in captivity. However, NGOs like Shakti Vahini have pointed out in their studies that 5-10 thousand women forced into marriage by coercion or trade in Rewari and Faridabad district alone in Haryana and about 4-5 thousand women in Mansa district of Punjab (Pandey, K.K., 2003:7).

Trafficked brides face various problems and human rights violation in this forced wedlock. Most of these women face domestic violence, sexual abuse, social and economic problems. Often these women face problems because they are married to men much older than them. The non-acceptance of these women by the society becomes the biggest problem due to which these women are re-trafficked again and again. The society never takes into consideration that the person trafficked is a victim and is facing such circumstances as she has been forced and allured into it. The trafficked bride thus becomes a victim not just to trafficking but also becomes a victim of the society

Child trafficking is intrinsically linked with the banal practice of child labour in India. There are multiple reasons behind the trafficking of children as child labourers in India, the most notable reason being poverty. Today many below poverty line families residing in rural parts of India willingly send their children to different towns and cities where job opportunities are better. These children in turn unknowingly get trafficked or are exploited by their employers who consider them as their bonded labourers'. Therefore, we see large numbers of children are trafficked into the carpet industries of Uttar Pradesh and Kashmir for labour exploitation.

Children also toil under debt-bondage and slavery-like conditions in brick kilns, bidi industries, rice mills, in the plantation, fishing industry, and fireworks industries in India. They are forced to work in

matches and glass factories, to polish gems, to work in zari embroidery factories, and in textiles and woollen looms. (Ray, N., 2007: 75) Children also endure involuntary servitude in domestic service as well. There are also instances of trafficking which goes with the practice of adoption and surrogacy. (Roy, S. & Chaman, C, 2017, :168)

There is a high demand for adoption of children by childless couples in India. This in turn has given rise to child trafficking. There are many private hospitals who are involved in this child trafficking racket. A female buyer is admitted to the hospital on some false pretext and records are manipulated and fake birth certificates are issued. A study conducted by the Joint Women's Programme in 1986 documented that even unborn female fetuses are up for a price of 3,500 rupees (US\$87). While 33 percent were sold by parents and relatives, 67 percent of these sales were done by organized crime groups, lawyers, and doctors. India is also one of the largest underground markets in human organs.

Traffickers usually target poverty-stricken families and lure them to sell the organs of their children for cash. Organized crime rings facilitate organ trafficking by providing fake documents proving that the donor and the recipient are relatives. Trafficking of young children for begging and use in petty crime has also been noted in large cities like Delhi and Kolkata along with popular tourist locales like Goa. (Ray, N., 2007: 75-76).

Legal Protections for Children in India

There are a host of legal protections given to victims of trafficking including children in India. Article 23(1) of the Indian Constitution specifically prohibits "traffic in human beings". It holds that traffic in human beings and beggar and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence. Moreover Article 24 also prohibits all forms of forced labour and provides that no child under the age of fourteen can be employed in any factory or mine or in hazardous work. (Constitution of India, 1995: 15-16)

The offense of trafficking is also a punishable under Section 370 and Section 372 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC). (Kumar, K., 2003: 362-364) Apart from that there are a host of laws dealing with human trafficking and child trafficking in India like Immoral

Traffic Prevention Act of 1956, The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act, 2019, The Child Labour Prohibition and Regulation Act, 1986, Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006 Bonded Labour System Abolition Act, 1976. But despite such strong legal deterrents, the trade of child trafficking continues to prosper in India.

Criticism

Instead of creating a single comprehensive body of legislation to deal with child trafficking, India has tried to address the problem by enacting a large number of laws on different aspects of child trafficking. This has created an overlap of jurisdiction between some of the laws, leading to a lot of confusion. As a result, taking advantage of this confusion, the traffickers often receive the lightest possible sentence because of the subjective application of the multiple laws that may apply. Another frustrating failure of the Indian legal system in forestalling child trafficking in India is attributed to the fact that the legal edifice gives higher priority to sex trafficking than to other forms of trafficking in India where children get trafficked.

Laws, essentially made for trafficking refers to the sale of individuals all pertain to sex trafficking. In India a lot of children get trafficked for labour servitude, but relatively light punishments are accorded to labour traffickers and are not treated at par with pimps and madams who traffic children for commercial sexual exploitation. (Ray, N., 2007: 77) Child trafficking primarily happens due to economic reasons. A child above the age of 14 is not required by law to remain in school. These children belonging to poor families form a cheap labour force in India and often fall victim of human trafficking. Child Trafficking is not a new phenomenon and has evolved over time both globally and in India.

The trafficking techniques employed earlier are no more seen today. New ways have been devised by the perpetrators for uninterrupted child trafficking to take place. Under such circumstances, new laws are required to understand the new techniques of child trafficking and eventually able to function in the new paradigm. Unfortunately, India is still not in a position to respond to the dynamic situation and legally update the existing anti-trafficking laws and institutions. As a result, although several anti-trafficking laws and institutions are operating in

India, they have in reality become redundant and are simply theoretical instruments.

Conclusion

Child trafficking has become an emotive issue in recent times in India. Such incidents of child trafficking touch the core of societal values like morality, justice, gender and human rights. In order to mitigate the scourge of child trafficking in India several reforms need to be initiated. Human rights are the lifeline of any democratic society including India. Therefore, it can never be treated facetiously. The issue of child trafficking is not adequately publicized in India. It must be the priority area of the academia, legalists, media, policy makers and the civil society.

Moreover, the law enforcement agencies like the police need intervention in all areas starting with the brothels to factories and even domestic households where minors get trafficked. Moreover, in order to prevent children getting trafficked, the police along with the civil society must focus on building special rapport with vulnerable communities which are targeted by child traffickers. Apart from that the law enforcement agencies need to get more investigative and intervention training in identifying and rescuing victims of child trafficking. Prevention and rescue of victims of child trafficking is not adequate. Policy makers and law enforcement agencies along with NGOs must also effectively handle the issue of rehabilitation and repatriation of minors who were trafficked.

The Government should take the responsibility of providing specialised training on trauma-informed care for survivors of child trafficking as almost all studies have indicated that the trade of child trafficking has a violent and gruesome side attached to it.

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Role of Small-Scale Industries in Indian Economy

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[Small-Scale industry is an integral part of any economy due to its far-reaching influence on social, regional, industrial and economic development of the country. The existence of these industries in an economy facilitates subsidiary or alternate occupation, utilizing local labour and raw materials. It also ensures effective mobilization of capital and labour and also the growth of entrepreneurship. Moreover, small-scale industries help to create employment opportunities especially in rural areas, raising income levels, thereby the standard of living of people. The Small-Scale sector has emerged as a dynamic and vibrant sector of the Indian Economy. Small-scale industrial sector is playing a vital role in India's industrial sector. That is why the Mantra of Global Investment Meet (GIM) of Karnataka State is "Small is beautiful". Investment may be smaller, but impact will be greater. The present paper is an attempt to focus on the progress of small-scale industries in Indian scenario. It has been adopted analytical as well as descriptive method for role and relevancy of MSMEs in Indian economy. This paper discusses the concept, growth of small-scale industries, characteristics, the significance, problems, incentives and concessions to development of small-scale industries. Further it discusses the various dimensions of MSME that too role and relevancy of MSMEs in India.]

Small is beautiful, so also, small-scale industry. It is a significant segment of the Indian economy. The importance of this industry increases manifold due to the immense employment

generating potential. The Countries which are characterized by acute unemployment problem especially put emphasis on the model of small-scale industries. It has been observed that India, along with the Countries in the Indian sub-continent has gone long strides in this field. Small-scale and

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cottage industries have an important role in India's industrial and economic development.

Cottage and Small-Scale industries have assumed great importance in India from the point of view of employment and contribution to the National wealth. Cottage and small-scale industries have an important role to play in the Indian economy. In fact, they are considered to be the foundation of the Indian economy. According to Mahatma Gandhiji, "the salvation of India lies in the cottage industries". Even in advanced countries like U.K., U.S.A., France, Japan etc., they have occupied an important place. In France, nearly 90 percent of the industrial establishments employ less than 100 workers. In Japan, which was called 'the industrial hub of the eastern world', more than 80 percent of the industrial units employ less than 30 workers.

In the U.S.A. small business makes up 92.5 percent of the total business establishments, employs 45 percent of the country's industrial workers and handles 34 percent of the Country's total business. As per the Quick Results of 4th All India Census 2006-07 there were 261.01 lakh enterprises (Registered and Unregistered) in the country, out of which 15.33 lakh were registered working enterprises and 245,48 lakh unregistered enterprises. As per the same Report the employment to 594.61 lakh persons was provided during 2006-07. Small-scale industry is panacea for unemployment problems in India.

The basic objectives underlying the development of small and medium-scale industries are the increase in the supply of the manufactured goods, the promotion of capital formation, the development of indigenous entrepreneurial talents and skill and the creation of employment opportunities. In addition, they include such socio-economic goals as the decentralization and dispersal of manufacturing activities from the metropolitan to the non-metropolitan and rural areas, the reduction of regional economic imbalances within the country and the diffusion of entrepreneurial and managerial abilities and skills as well as of technology throughout the Country.

Review of Literature

The review literature pertaining to the production problems and prospects of the small-scale industry in Indian economy is available in plethora. However,

in keeping with the title of the present paper an attempt has been made to systematic review of the existing literature. The multi role played by this sector has prompted many economists to examine their performance in the Country.

Nagaraj (1985) tried to analyse the rate, pattern and characteristics of small-scale industries based on two all India Sample Surveys. The author noticed the dominance of modern industries like engineering, chemicals, and plastics over the traditional industries like handlooms. Profitability and capital efficiency were found to be inverse related to the size of the firms. They used cost-plus principle for pricing and majority of industries focused on limited range of items. Subcontracting nature of work also existed especially in engineering industries.

Das Kesabh (2006) conducted a critical analysis of the functioning of micro and small enterprises in India in which the performance of these enterprises was not conducive for the industrial development of the Country especially in the case of export. The author questioned the success in the implementation of policy measures like reservation measures and industrial cluster system and suggested a strong need for reorienting policy measures related to infrastructural facilities and labour force.

Morris and Basant (2006) examined the role of small firms in the development of Indian economy. The study suggested correction in monetary conservatism, pricing policy and tariff measures to create a positive impact on small firms.

Bargal et, al. (2009) in their study found that the average growth rate of small-scale industries had declined in the period of 1990s compared to the pre-reform period. The productivity per employees and employment had declined and the study also proved that there is no causal relationship between exports, small scale production and the GDP of Indian Economy.

Kumar (2014) conducted a comparative study of the performance of MSME between pre-liberalization (1973-1991) and post- liberalization period (1991-2012). The performance of the sector have been analysed on the basis policy guidelines and available resources and the study pointed the weaknesses of the industrial policies which mainly focused on the investment ceiling and neglecting other important issues like infrastructure, adequate

credit facility, proper training etc. The policy guidelines during the post liberalization period have also created problems like lack of demand, market problems, lack of finance etc. Which adversely affected its performance? Thus, the author raised his concern over the effectiveness of the policies and need for the modifications in policy initiatives.

Oomamen M.A (1981) had tried to identify the factors affecting the location of industries especially small-scale industries and their inter-regional migration. The study conducted on 124 Kerala units working outside the State-63 in Tamil Nadu and 61 in Karnataka-found that advantages of cheap and sustained power supply, availability of finance, access to market and availability of raw materials influenced the location decision of firms. It was also stated that labour cost defined not only in terms of wage and welfare cost but inclusive of loss and inconvenience due to strikes and disputes appeared to be a major reason that prompted these entrepreneurs to shift to neighbouring States.

Nandamohan (1994) after having comparative examination of large, Medium Small scale and traditional industries in Kerala, had identified factors like inappropriate size of capital investment, labour unrest, inter union rivalry, low productivity of traditional industries, acute power shortage, lack of professionalism and accountability of public enterprises, lack of modernization had serious implications on the industrial growth of the State. He questioned the significance of high growth rate of tertiary sector as a major growth indicator of the State, in the absence of supporting industrial sector.

Conceptual Issues of Small-Scale Industries

The industries which are organized on a Small-Scale and produce goods with the help of small machines, hired labour and use of little power are called small-scale industries.

Small-Scale industries include all industrial manufacturing units with an investment of not more than Rs 7.5 lakhs irrespective of the number of people employed. Capital investment for this purpose means investment in plant and machinery called as SSI.

Objectives of the Paper

The objectives of the paper are as follows:

1. To analyse the role and relevance of MSMEs in the growth of Indian economy.

2. To highlight the problems of production and employment.
3. To give suggestions for improving the conditions of small-scale industries.

Methodology

The present paper is an attempt to focus on the progress of small-scale industries in Indian scenario. It is based on the secondary sources. The secondary data collected from the government reports, books, journals and the Internet sources have been considered intensely for the analysis. It has been adopted analytical as well as descriptive method for role and relevancy of MSMEs in Indian economy.

Analyses of Data Sources

This paper discusses the concept, growth of small-scale industries, characteristics, the significance, problems, incentives and concessions to development of small-scale industries. Further it discusses the various dimensions of MSME that too role and relevancy of MSMEs in India.

Role of MSME in Economic Development

The small-scale sector has registered an impressive growth in 80s and 90s. This group accounts for nearly 35 per cent of the gross value of output in the manufacturing sector. The annual growth rate is significantly higher than the growth rate of the industrial sector as a whole. Small-Scale Industries sector is a major contributor to the industrial economy of India. The SSI sector accounts for 40 per cent of the industrial production, more than 30 per cent of the total exports, and employs more than 192 lakhs in about 34 lakhs small scale industrial units across the Country. Despite, the global and domestic recession, the small-scale industries registered a higher growth rate than the overall industrial sector. The Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) have been contributing significantly to the expansion of entrepreneurial endeavours through business innovations.

The MSMEs are widening their domain across sectors of the economy, producing diverse range of products and services to meet demands of domestic as well as global markets. As per the data available with Central Statistics Office (CSO), Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, the contributions of MSME sector in Country's Gross Value Added and Gross

Domestic Product (GDP) at current price for the last years is evident from the table-01.

Table-1
Contribution of MSME in Country's Economy at Current Price

Year	MSME-GVA	Growth	Total GVA	Share of MSME in GVA (%)	Total GDP	Share of MSME GDP (%)
2011-12	2622574	—	8106946	32.35	8736329	30.00
2012-13	3020528	15.17	9202692	32.82	9944013	30.40
2013-14	3389922	12.23	10363153	32.71	11233522	30.20
2014-15	3704956	9.29	11504279	32.21	12467959	29.70
2015-16	4025595	8.65	12566646	32.03	13764037	29.20
2016-17	4405753	9.44	13841591	31.83	15253714	28.90

Source: Central Statistics Office (CSO), Ministry of Statistics & Programme Implementation, Delhi

The above table depicts the contribution of MSME in the Country's Economy at current price from 2011 to 2017. In the year 2011 the MSME Gross Value-Added total was 2622574 but in the 2017 there was 4405753 MSME GVA in India. There is rapid growth of MSME since from 2011 to 2017.

Progress of MSMEs in India

The Micro sector with 630.52 lakh estimated enterprises accounts for more than 99 percent of total estimated number of MSMEs. Small sector 3.31 lakh and medium sector with 0.05 lakh estimated MSMEs account for 0.52 percent and 0.01 percent of total estimated MSMEs, respectively. Out of 633.88 estimated number of MSMEs, 324.88 lakh MSMEs (51.25) are in rural areas and 309 lakh MSMEs (48.75%) are in the urban areas as shown in table below-02.

Table-2
Category-wise Distribution of MSMEs (In Lakhs)

Sector	Micro	Small	Medium	Total	Share (%)
Rural	324.09	0.78	0.01	324.88	51
Urban	306.43	2.53	0.04	309.00	49
Total	630.52	3.31	0.05	633.88	100

Source: Annual Report (2018-19) GOM. Ministry of MSMEs, Delhi

The above table analyses the growth pattern of category-wise distribution of MSMEs in India. The

growth rate of small-scale industry was at the rate of 51 percent in rural area. Similarly, it was 49 percent in urban areas.

Table-3
State-wise Distribution of MSMEs in India (In Lakhs)

Sl.No	States	Micro	Small	Medium	Total
1	Andhra Pradesh	33.74	0.13	0.00	33.87
2	Arunachal Pradesh	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.23
3	Assam	12.10	0.04	0.00	12.14
4	Bihar	34.41	0.04	0.00	34.46
5	Chhattisgarh	8.45	0.03	0.00	8.48
6	Delhi	9.25	0.11	0.00	9.36
7	Goa	0.70	0.00	0.00	0.70

8	Gujarat	32.67	0.50	0.00	33.16
9	Haryana	9.53	0.17	0.00	9.70
10	Himachal Pradesh	3.86	0.06	0.00	3.92
11	Jammu and Kashmir	7.06	0.03	0.00	7.09
12	Jharkhand	15.78	0.10	0.00	15.88
13	Karnataka	38.25	0.09	0.00	38.34
14	Kerala	23.58	0.21	0.00	23.79
15	Madhya Pradesh	26.42	0.31	0.01	26.74
16	Maharashtra	47.60	0.17	0.00	47.78
17	Manipur	1.80	0.00	0.00	1.80
18	Meghalaya	1.12	0.00	0.00	1.12
19	Mizoram	0.35	0.00	0.00	0.35
20	Nagaland	0.91	0.00	0.00	0.35
21	Odisha	19.80	0.04	0.00	19.84
22	Punjab	14.56	0.09	0.00	14.65
23	Rajasthan	26.66	0.20	0.01	26.87
24	Sikkim	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.26
25	Tamil Nadu	49.27	0.21	0.00	49.48
26	Telangana	25.94	0.10	0.00	26.05
27	Tripura	2.10	0.01	0.00	2.11
28	Uttar Pradesh	89.64	0.36	0.00	89.99
29	Uttarakhand	4.14	0.02	0.00	4.17
30	West Bengal	88.41	0.26	0.01	88.67
	Total	628.56	3.30	0.05	631.91

Source: Annual Report (2018-19) GOM. Ministry of MSMEs, Delhi

The above table-3, highlights the growth pattern of State-wise Distribution of Micro Small Medium Enterprises in India. There were 89.64 lakh MSMEs in Uttar Pradesh and 0.22 lakh MSMEs in Arunachal Pradesh out of 628.56 lakh in India.

Prospects of MSMEs in Karnataka

Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) form an important and growing segment of Karnataka's industrial sector. As per the MSME Act 2006, MSME units have been categorized broadly into those engaged in manufacturing and those providing/ rendering services. Under the Act, Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) are classified as in table below.

Table-4
Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises in Karnataka-2018-19

Year	MSME Units	Employment	Empt.Per Units
2013-14	25966	167347	6.44
2014-15	28742	175469	6.10
2015-16	25656	221706	8.64
2016-17	39170	508966	12.99
2017-18	48482	440476	9.08
2018-19	41856	342393	8.18

Source: Directorate of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises

The above table depicts the growth of Micro, Small and Medium enterprises in Karnataka since 2013 to

2019. There were 25966 MSMEs units in 2013 and these units provided employment to 167347 workers. But there were 41856 MSME units in 2019 and provided employment to 342393 workers in Karnataka.

Table-5
Growth of MSMEs in Karnataka

Year		2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Micro	Units(Nos)	19610	22169	23229	26005	21769	30511	39509	34651
	Invt.(Rs. Lakh)	43650	66019	79416	87609	122131	213140	252544	197201
Small	Empl.(Nos)	86216	105029	110070	121599	119614	213450	224597	175042
	Units(Nos)	1370	1981	2661	2661	3740	8216	8568	6897
	Invt.(Rs.Lakh)	91266	116791	144096	138516	277468	746088	640154	465520
	Empl.(Nos)	34400	46029	46741	47311	86176	239711	181438	139715
Medium	Units(Nos)	41	56	76	77	147	443	405	308
	Invt.(Rs.Lakh)	24724	34041	61545	53168	94993	307186	265877	191651
	Empl.(Nos)	7771	4493	10536	6563	15916	55805	34441	27636
Total	Units(Nos)	21021	24206	25966	28742	25656	39170	48482	41856
	Invt.(Rs.Lakh)	159641	216851	285056	278291	494592	1266414	1158575	854372
	Empl.(Nos)	128387	155551	167347	175469	221706	508966	440476	342393

Source: Directorate of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises

The above table elucidates the growth of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises in Karnataka since 2011 to 2019.

Problems of Small-Scale Industry

Entrepreneurs of existing MSMEs invariably own two to three or more small or medium industrial units which would become entry barrier to startups; it is a social and economic disservice to newcomers. If small does not grow big, spread of smallness in everything counts, rather than the MSMEs growing in number and depending on incentives, concessions and benefits, they could grow by working out ways and means to get out of the shackles. It is for removing the shackles that they should seek support from the authorities and start growing large. This is most important.

With the experience gained in the MSMEs, the entrepreneurs should move on to bigger league of industrialists. Cottage and small-scale industries are facing a number of problems in spite of the assistance rendered by the Government after independence. As a result, many small-scale units turn sick and a large number have to close-down. These problems are mentioned below:

Problems of raw materials, problem of suitable machines, lack of finance, absence of marketing

facilities, primitive methods of production, problem of competition, burden of taxation, and problem of finding markets, and lack of Research & Development and quality standards.

Relevancy of Small-Scale Enterprises

Small-Scale industry is an integral part of any economy due to its far reaching influence on social, regional, industrial and economic development of the Country. The existence of these industries in an economy facilitates subsidiary or alternate occupation, utilizing local labour and raw materials. It also ensures effective mobilization of capital and labour and also the growth of entrepreneurship. Moreover, small-scale industries help to create employment opportunities especially in rural areas, raising income levels, thereby the standard of living of people. All these factors necessitate proper development of these industries, and in turn the development of the Country.

The importance of this sector is also well reflected in its role in uplifting the weaker sections of the society and thereby ensuring regional development of the Country. The sector accounts 40 percent of the industrial production, 33 percent of total exports and employs about 192 lakh persons in the Country. It also has nurtured the entrepreneurial talent in the Country. Thus, it has emerged as the most vibrant sector in the economy.

Policy Suggestions

Small enterprises are presently seriously handicapped in comparison with larger units because of inequitable allocation system for scarce raw materials and imported components, lack of provision of credit and finance; low technical skill and managerial ability; and lack of marketing contracts. It is therefore, essential to develop an overall approach to remove these disabilities so as to strengthen their competitive position.

Many Committees were appointed to suggest measures for the development of MSMEs and to deal with the issue of sickness among these units in India. The structural and periodical changes made in the small-scale industries in India have been based on the recommendations of various committees appointed by the Government. Some of the important suggestions are as follows.

1. To provide the Institutional Credit to the MSMEs.
2. To facilitate the market assistance.
3. To allocate of raw materials and equipments.
4. To increase the technical assistance.
5. To declare as the priority sector of India.
6. To organize the training programmes for rural youth.
7. To give the professional education to people.
8. Improvement in the methods and techniques of production.
9. Measures to remove Difficulties faced by small-scale industries in India.

Concluding Observations

The Small-Scale sector has emerged as a dynamic and vibrant sector of the Indian Economy. It has contributed significantly to the realization of the socio-economic objectives of growth in employment and exports, fostering entrepreneurship and ensuring the decentralization of industry. Small-scale industrial sector is playing a vital role in India's industrial sector. That is why the Mantra of Global Investment Meet (GIM) of Karnataka State is "Small is beautiful". Investment may be smaller, but impact will be greater.

Small enterprise i.e. small-scale units not only play a crucial role in providing large employment opportunities at lower capital cost than large scale

industries, but also help in industrialization of rural and backward areas, thereby reducing regional imbalance, assuring more equitable distribution of national income and wealth. The efficient utilization of locally available men and material resources was possible in this industry.

Small-scale industries were dream come true of Mahatma Gandhi. He supported the growth of small-scale industries in India, because he had the vision that it would help the poor people of India to come up. Small-scale and micro industries are not capital based, but the talent and effort-based business. So even a middle-class person can own and run this. This industry is especially specialized in the production of consumer commodities. It has been empirically proved all over the world that Small-Scale Industries are adept in distributing national income in more efficient and equitable manner among the various participants in the process of good production than their medium or larger counterparts. Small-scale enterprises have been an essential component of the development strategy in most of the developing Countries, especially in India where more than half of the population live below the poverty line.

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The Political Philosophy of Biju Patnaik

Dr Prafulla Kumar Das*

[Bijayananda Patnaik, commonly known as Biju Patnaik, was a heroic personality and he achieved his name and fame through hard work alone. Apart from being a politician, he was an aeronautical engineer, navigator, industrialist, an ace pilot, popular freedom fighter and a pioneer of women empowerment with outstanding personality.]

Biju Patnaik was a great patriot and a true nationalist. He was born on 5 March 1916 to Lakshminarayan and Ashalata Patanayak. His parents belonged to G. Nuagan, Bellaguntha, Ganjam district, around 80 km from Bramhapur. He was educated at Ravenshaw College in Odisha but due to his interest in aviation he dropped out and trained as a pilot. Biju Patnaik was married to Gyan Patnaik, who belonged to Punjab, due to which he is known as Son-In-Law of Punjab as well. Biju Patnaik’s younger son, Naveen Patnaik, is the current Chief Minister of Odisha. His daughter, Gita Mehta, is an English writer. His elder son Prem Patnaik is a Delhi-based industrialist.

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“Flying was Biju Babu’s passion and his pleasure; nationalism flew in his blood and veins.”

Biju Patnaik joined Royal Indian Air Force at the start of the Second World War and used air force transports to deliver nationalist literature to Indian troops. He airlifted the first Indian soldiers to Srinagar shortly after Independence when Pakistan invaded Kashmir. He flew to Java in his Dakota amidst heavy bombarding by Dutch forces during the freedom struggle of Indonesia and brought Sultan Sjahrir to India, who was sent at the behest of President Sukarno to attend first Inter-Asia Conference organised by Jawahar Lal Nehru in July 1947. Sultan Sjahrir was eventually successful in his mission of freedom. “Biju Babu was given honorary citizenship of Indonesia and awarded

'Bhoomi Putra', the highest Indonesian award and a rare distinction." In 1995, when Indonesia was celebrating its 50th Independence Day, Biju Patnaik was awarded the highest national award, the 'Bintang Jasa Utama'. During the Sino-Indian War in 1962, Nehru consulted the Odia leader repeatedly for advice. For some time, he was Nehru's defence advisor, unofficially.

Biju Patnaik's Role in Indian Politics

The political ideologies of Biju Patnaik were centred in socialism and federalism. According to Biju, there are four important things and these are unity of nation, secularism, democracy and imperialism. He, with a strong determination and sacrifice, became a great politician and a social activist. He actively participated in the struggle for freedom and thus became the ideal personality for the people of Orissa to look up to.

Biju Patnaik was inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, who fought for freedom. He took part in the Quit India Movement and was sent to jail in 1943 for two years since he was found guilty of taking freedom fighters to secret places in his plane. When the Second World War started, he joined the Royal Indian Air Force where he gelled with the British and became friends with them. In 1941, when Japan stepped into the war and attacked Myanmar, he rescued the British. He played a very important role in the freedom movement of Indonesia. He, under the guidance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, rescued the Indonesian people from the clutches of the Dutch rulers.

His strong advocacy for equal resources to all Indian states who needed such, made him a champion of his Odia people. In 1946 Patnaik was elected uncontested to the Odisha Legislative Assembly from North Cuttack constituency. In 1952 and 1957 he won from Jagannath Prasad and Surada Legislative Assembly respectively. In 1960 he assumed the presidency of the state Congress. Under his leadership, the Congress Party won 82 of 140 seats and Patnaik (representing Chowdwar constituency) became the chief minister of Odisha on 23 June 1961 and remained in the position until 2 October 1963 when he resigned from the post under the Kamaraj Plan to revitalise the Congress

party. He was the Chief Minister of Odisha at the age of 45.

Biju Patnaik was close to Indira Gandhi who took over the Congress Party in 1967. However, they clashed in 1969 over the Presidential election. He left the Congress and formed a regional party—the Utkal Congress. In the 1971 assembly poll, his party did reasonably well. Patnaik then re-established contact with his old friend Jayaprakash Narayan and plunged into the JP movement as it picked up momentum in 1974. When the Emergency was declared in 1975, Biju Patnaik was one of the first to be arrested along with other opposition leaders.

He was released in 1977. Later, in the same year, he was elected to the Lok Sabha for the first time from Kendrapara and became Union minister for steel and mines in both the Morarji Desai and the Charan Singh governments until 1979. He was re-elected to the Lok Sabha again in 1980 and 1984 from Kendrapara as Janata Party candidate despite the Congress wave in 1984 following Indira Gandhi's death. With the Congress defeat in 1989, he bounced back into the political limelight.

However, after playing a key behind-the-scenes role in manoeuvring V. P. Singh to the Prime Minister's post, he again chose to go back to Odisha, and prepared for the assembly election. In 1990 state assembly election, the Janata Dal received a thumping majority (two third assembly seats) which saw Biju Patnaik being the Chief Minister of Odisha for the second time until 1995. Patnaik was re-elected to the Lok Sabha in 1996 from Cuttack and Aska constituencies as a Janata Dal candidate. He retained the latter until his death on 17 April 1997 of cardio-respiratory failure. In 1992, Bijayananda Patnaik left this quote for the people of Odisha; "In my dream of the 21st century for the State, I would have young men and women who put the interest of the State before them. They will have pride in themselves, confidence in themselves. They will not be at anybody's mercy, except their own selves. By their brains, intelligence and capacity, they will recapture the history of Kalinga.

A Pioneer of Women Empowerment

In the post-independence period several legislations have been implemented and a number of social reformers, thinkers, politicians and statesmen have raised their voice for women empowerment. Among them Bijayananda Patnaik, popularly known as Biju Babu, is remembered. He had taken many steps for the empowerment and upliftment of women. During his second term as Chief Minister of Odisha, he implemented a number of programmes for the empowerment of women.

Once he has said, "...In my dream of Orissa of tomorrow, I will not like to hear a whisper about oppression to women. I dream of a day when women will play equal role with men. They will exercise with men equal power and enjoy the same privilege. This should be my dream of tomorrow in the 21st century."

Mr. Patnaik realised that education has an important role in increasing the awareness level on women's right. Hence, he tried his best to establish a large number of Girl's High Schools, Women's Colleges, Women Polytechnics and Women's B.Ed. Colleges throughout Odisha. He preferred tribal-dominated areas for establishment of such institutions. He laid emphasis on science education, skill development and vocational training of girls. In 1994 his government had relaxed age limits up to five years for women candidates for various State government jobs.

For the improvement of socio-economic status of women, he encouraged women entrepreneurship and established a Mahila Mandala Vikash Samabaya Nigam in 1991. The Government of India and the Government of Odisha jointly organised this scheme for the income generation of women organizations. In the second term of his Chief Ministership, Odisha State Commission for Women came into existence in the year 1993 by virtue of Panchayati Raj Department Resolution No.11399, Dt.30.11.1992 which aims at protecting, preserving and safeguarding the rights and dignity of women. The Commission is functioning as an apex body with the following objectives:

- i. To receive complaints of atrocities against women and to create mass awareness against all

types of atrocities including dowry torture and dowry death.

- ii. To establish co-ordination with Human Rights Protection Cell for elimination of torture.
- iii. To involve Non-government Organizations for fighting against dowry problems and to rehabilitate destitute and deserted women.
- iv. To impress upon government for solution of women problems with provision of minimum wage.
- v. To ensure compulsory registration of marriage and to provide health care and maternity facilities.

Another programme, Mahila Samruddhi Yojana (MSY) was launched in 2nd October, 1993 to empower the women through building thrift habit, self-reliance and confidence. Under the plan, the rural women of 18 years of above age can open their saving account in the rural post office of their own area with a minimum deposit of Rs.4 or in multipliers of Rs.4 to a maximum of Rs.300/-. On the amount not withdrawn for one year, 25% of the deposited amount is given to the depositor by the government in the form of encouragement amount.

Biju Patnaik was perhaps the first leader in India to take very bold step for active participation of women in Panchayati Raj system. He once said, "I have always maintained that development will be of no value until we improve the social condition of our mothers and sisters, 30% of the seats I have reserved for them in new Panchayati Raj System. I am confident that the mothers and sisters who run their household so efficiently will run the Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad with equal competence".

Later on, Orissa Zilla Parishad Act of 1991 and the Gram Panchayat Samiti Amendment Act of 1992 were passed by the Government of Odisha, that provided for 33% of reservation for women including SC and ST women and also resolved to reserve one third of the Zilla Parishads exclusively for women chairpersons. In the Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats one of the two office bearers, i.e. Chairperson or Vice- Chairperson in case of Samiti and Sarpanch or Naib-Sarpanch in case of Gram Panchayat must be a woman. As a mark of his profound love for Panchayati Raj institution the

Government of Odisha commemorates his Birth Day (March 5) as Panchayati Raj Divas.

Advocate of People-Centric Administration

Mr. Pattnaik tried to set up a people-centric administrative structure of development administration. To streamline the bureaucracy and administration, he worked with tenacity and determination the like of which was possibly not done by any other Chief Minister to the extent of inviting their wrath and displeasure.

He always advised the bureaucracy to be development-oriented and people-centred in their role. He viewed that; in a democratic system the development bureaucrats should be accountable to the people. He even went to the extent to encouraging assault on corrupt officials who worked not for the people for whom they were paid but for their own interest and at the cost of the poor taxpayers' money spent on them.

Biju Babu realized the need of breaking up big large districts for effective law and order and well maintenance of development programmes. During his tenure in the second term as Chief Minister, he broke up the 13 districts and reorganized them into 30 districts.

Mr. Pattnaik advised, warned and cautioned the bureaucracy on various occasions so that it worked in the interest of people by providing them a clean and efficient administration. He sought the bureaucracy to come up with decisions, instead of writing notes on files. He advised them to give their best to the people in return for the money and comfort that the state gives. He says "you should not enjoy on people's money but should rise to people's expectations who were watching your performance."

Biju Babu's views on the police and administration deserve a look as it is a vital organ of justice delivery system in the state. The police personnel are expected to act accordingly instead of becoming stooges of politicians and ministers. Hence, he called upon the police personnel to become the true sentinels of public interest rather than remain as stooges of politicians and ministers. He had said that "I do not expect my officers to be loyal to me

nor to my government, but they should be loyal to the destinies of the state." He liked a researcher was raising the question of values, motivation and aptitudes of the bureaucracy entrusted with development tasks and responsibilities. Possibly, he saw to it that the attitudes of the bureaucracy were dominated by the procedural rigidities of the law and order state and had not changed to meet the demands of new development responsibilities.

He had no faith in an administration where files move from one department to another causing unnecessary delays in the decision - making process. In this connection he said. "What I would add is that he (the officer) may be right but the government cannot and I repeat cannot appreciate his attitude. There is no prestige for any officer or any minister unless collectively we have pushed the nation to some place of pride.

He focused on a result-oriented development administration and was almost steadfast in his commitment to speedy execution of development projects in Biju's style of development. Biju Babu emphasized on the participative orientation of development administration. He minced no words to say that government machinery alone cannot boost the present economic condition of the state unless the people developed a sense of collective responsibility and actively took part in the issues concerning development. He called upon District collectors to get out of their cages', deal directly with the people and solve their problems. In no uncertain terms, he reminded them that they are mere "sevaks of people and should always bear this spirit in their minds".

Biju Babu and the Panchayati Raj System

Biju Babu was a committed for 'democratic decentralization or Panchayati Raj as is popularly known in our country' which aims at making democracy real by 'bringing millions into the functioning of their representative government at the lowest level'. He felt that this movement can only succeed if 'we give that power to the people right down from the bottom of our social ladder who can exercise effective leadership'. The three-tier system of Panchayat Raj was introduced in 1959 in Odisha, but prior to this, Panchayats were

functioning at the village level in the State according to Orissa Panchayat Act of 1948.

After introduction of Panchayati Raj in Orissa, the Panchayats in the village level were now organically linked up with the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads. As per the new Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad Acts of 1959, elected Panchayat Samitis and elected Zilla Parishads were formed in January 1961 and March 1961. He had a dream, a mind-set and vision on this great experiment of democratic decentralization of power and responsibility at the grassroots level.

His speech in assembly shows his democratic mind and vision on this great experiment of Panchayati Raj. In his view, Panchayati Raj constitutes the 'People's Parallel Executive Apparatus'. He had deep faith that this parallel executive apparatus made up of the representatives of the common people could perform better than our present administrative apparatus' in carrying out development work.

Conclusion

Biju was a unique mass leader who lived and moved, and had his being in the context of the hopes and aspirations of his people. He was a committed exponent of 'democratic decentralization or Panchayati Raj as is popularly known in our country' which aims at making democracy real by 'bringing millions into the functioning of their representative government at the lowest level'. He never preferred to interfere in the normal administration of the Gram Panchayat Movement either by the MLAs or MPs. Biju Babu as a progressive and dynamic Chief Minister of the 1960s, seriously pondered over the problem of poverty in the rural areas and its eradication.

For this, he conceptualized an innovative scheme of agriculture-based small industries to be implemented in rural areas under different Panchayats. Out of this conceptualization was born the scheme of Panchayat Industries. It was the brain-child of Biju epitomizing his dynamism and vision in the realm of rural development. He was also an advocate of development administration, pioneer of

women empowerment and political participation of women in the three-tier Panchayat Raj Institutions. He wanted to see that women become partners in the decision-making process concerning development.

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Media Literacy to Combat political manipulation

Sabahudin Hadžialić*

Theoreticians¹ from different scientific disciplines (politology, sociology, communicology) recently conducted an analytical observation of the different processes exactly within the aspects of political manipulation which are a joint denominator of the fragmented cultural, social and political area of Bosnia and Herzegovina². However, as stated (Lea Tajia, 2013) media literacy still belongs, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to the pioneer category of the research efforts.

Every day there is a bigger risk that the citizens will, within the time of effusive offer of media contents, be lost in the “information blizzard”. Paradoxically this is, but true, that the possibilities of the manipulation and allurements has increased parallel with number of media and strengthening of their mutual competitions. Being thought with a few bad (mainly manipulation within the preparation of war interventions) examples, the public reacts in decreasing the general trust into the media. Those are, for the science, known reasons with which has been explained the support of the citizens, and which they gave for the establishment either regulations or self-regulations which has, for the goal, the increase of the media’s responsibility and journalists – for the public word.

Within the field of public politics, the described mood of the citizens did not stay without echo. Many European states have destined to provide their own contribution for the strengthening of the Bodies that will create codeces/codexes of the professional ethics (Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, Cyprus...). They have initiated creation of the Press Council³ (or Media Council) ensuring for them the premises and funding’s for the beginning of the work.

After that, they leave to those bodies to take care about the responsibility for public word of the

media and journalists without interfering into their work. In other examples, and especially when in question are codeces/codexes and editorial guidelines of RTV companies like Public broadcasting service – the representative of the state has their word within the bodies which adopts and bring their own documents. Mainly, indirect presence of the representative of the state ensures through the way of choosing/electing of the members of the independent regulation agencies which monitor the work of electronic media⁴.

Finally, aside of strengthening of the self-regulations, the state, in case of the need⁵ intervene also by its legislative activity. At the same time, the state creates legal norms through which “covers” appearances which has been overlooked by codeces/codexes of professional ethics, or which one has not been overlooked, or which one is not approbates.

Media literacy⁶, if it is, in an appropriate way entered into the society, through suitable and adequate educational process, can be a help in the defining of the possibility of the development of society of immediate democratic consciousness.

However, there is one more thing which we cannot avoid at all, when we are talking about the truth within one society, regardless about which ideological array it is about. Namely, Martin Luther⁷ sealed off the end of visual culture of the metaphysical era, in which the people have not been reminded on divine order through the listening of Latin articles but through the watching of the painted biblical messages with the saying: “Christ’s kingdom is the kingdom of listening, and not the kingdom of watching.” But, the speculator of today, who, under the impression of slashing universalism of its culture, proclaimed and founded revisualization of the communication

culture as the promise of the future, was the Hungarian artist Bela Balasz⁸.

He underlined the visual as the new truth, and it is visible that we have anaesthesia of the social order as domination of visual⁹ in comparison with what is in written and/or spoken word. Today, 90 % of information that goes towards our brain is visual¹⁰ and we are getting to the social media¹¹ that encircles visualization with written and spoken word within virtual reality. Sometimes we really do need to ask ourselves the question: Is our real world really the real world or is it within a virtual online world?

This study, within the scientific sense, continues and widens possible debate about the role and importance of media literacy within the society, as a basic presumption exactly of the development of the society, and not the creation of the obedient followers who will carry out simple wishes of the principals. Simply, to avoid arbiters/intermediators with the possibility of executing conclusions, on time and based on arguments, for the benefit of the society as the whole¹² within critical observations, thinking and also, by all means, through the adequate actions.

Notes

1. Lea Tajia "Media Literacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina", 2013, Publisher INTERNEWS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA („MEDIJSKA PISMENOST U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI“, 2013.g. , Izdavaè INTERNEWS U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI), Street Hamdije Kreševljakoviæa 50, 71000 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, www.internews.ba
2. Info: <http://www.media.ba/bs/publication/medijska-pismenost-i-civilno-drustvo>
3. Press Council in Bosnia and Herzegovina: <http://english.vzs.ba/>: "The Self-regulatory Body for Print and Online Media – MEDIATES between unsatisfied media readers, and print and online media; SUPERVISES the application of the BH Press Code; IMPROVES professional standards in print and online media of Bosnia-Herzegovina; PROTECTS THE PUBLIC

from unprofessional and manipulative journalistic reporting; PROTECTS THE MEDIA from political, economic or any other pressures that jeopardize freedom of informing and freedom of media;

Vision-To be recognized by the BH public as an expression of good will of the media industry to apply self-regulatory system in the print and online media, adhering to the Press Code in everyday work of the print and online media journalists - To be recognized by the public as an expression of readiness of the print and online media industry to fully protect citizens from the irresponsible print and online media and unethical and unprofessional journalistic reporting

Mission - Improvement of ethical and professional standards in the print and online media, by supervising the application of the Press Code, and by permanent education of journalists and the public about necessities to respect freedom of expression and responsible, professional reporting - Sustainable Press Council in Bosnia-Herzegovina as self-regulatory body for print and online media, recognized by the media industry and the public as a tool for protection of media freedom and professional journalism from political, economic or any other pressures that jeopardize freedom of informing

Values - First self-regulatory body for the print and online media in the Region of Western Balkan and SEE, whose establishment is supported by the BH print and online media industry and journalists' community - Genuine in Bosnia-Herzegovina, registered at the state level - Has representatives of the media industry, public and journalists in its bodies - Has multi-ethnic structure - Decisions on the public complaints on unprofessional print and online media reporting, are adopted in accordance with the BH Press Code standards"

4. The right of the State to, within national borders, issue the license for work up to now nobody denies.

5. Allowed in democratic society.
6. Of course that I recommend, for the start: “corner stone”, ŠKOLEGIJUM: <http://www.skolegijum.ba/>; Editor in chief Prof. Dr. Nenad Veličković from Sarajevo, BiH – magazine that works on “literacy” of the public within the “empty shell” within educational politics on the all levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless if we are talking about “Bosnian Muslims-Bosniaks” schooling; “Croat” schooling and/or “Serb” schooling system.
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Multi-Level Marketing in India

Chitra* & Dr R.R. Saini**

[This paper discusses the challenges and prospects of multi-level marketing (MLM) in Indian economy. MLM is a type of direct selling technique of product distribution also called network marketing or referral marketing in which consumers can purchase goods directly from manufacturer without involving middlemen in process. Products moves through independent distributors. Network marketing is an emerging concept with rapid growth; hence it becomes vital to discuss challenges & prospects MLM pose on Indian economy.]

Globalization, privatization, advancements in technologies and deregulation are some of the forces which shape the economy globally (Kotler, 1985). Customer is now more empowered, sophisticated, having wider choices, want more convenience and lot more (Kotler, 1985). The implementations of these forces positioned challenges for industry as well as government (Gilligan, 1989). Increment in globalization forced the companies to re-examining the way in which they do business globally (Jeannet and Hennessey, 1993). Internationalization extended marketing activities beyond international boundaries (Gilligan, 1989). One of the novice concepts in marketing is multi-level marketing.

Multi-level marketing has been defined in various ways and also termed as Direct selling, Network marketing or Referral marketing (Keong & Dastane, 2019). It addressed as direct selling for the reason that there are no intermediaries between producer & customer and products are sold directly to them, addressed as network marketing because a network of people (distributors & consumers) is created with various levels, addressed as referral marketing because in this, marketing is performed through word to word, by referring other people. Multi-level marketing is a chapter in the book of direct selling, introduced in mid-twentieth century. This plan was to benefit the consumers from the success of direct selling business as MLM provides benefit of being a direct selling partner in business.

This plan was accepted widely, including major players globally: Amway, Tupperware and Avon (FICCI, KPMG Report). In 1934, Nutrilite was

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founded which adopted MLM compensation plan in 1945. Apart from the compensation plan, MLM introduced featuring demonstrating the product, sales expansion, introducing new products, customized selling and receiving feedback directly from consumers. After bombarded sales with MLM plan, it entered into emerging markets like Brazil, China and India. Global direct selling industry is currently USD192.9 billion markets and it employs around 118.4 million people in direct selling worldwide (WFDSA, 2018/19 annual report).

With no specific universal definition, direct selling is defined differently by different countries, associations and individuals. It can be broadly understood as, “selling of goods and services to the consumers away from fixed retail outlet, generally in their homes, workplace, etc., through explanation and demonstration of the product by direct sellers” (FICCI, KPMG Report)

“Any method of marketing that allows independent sales representatives to recruit other sales representatives and to draw commissions from the sales of those recruits.” (Richard Poe, 1995)

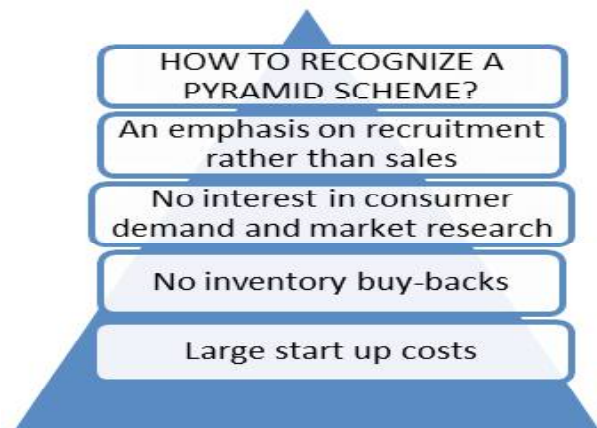
According to the author of salesmanship Zig Ziglar with Dr. John Hayes offered a technical definition, “Network marketing is a system for distributing goods and services through network of thousands of salespeople, or distributors. The distributors earn money by selling goods and services and also by recruiting and sponsoring other salespeople who become part of their downline, or sales organization. Distributors earn monthly commissions or bonuses on the sales revenues generated by their downline.”

MLM vs Pyramid scheme/Ponzi scheme

As nothing is free from controversy so is MLM. When it comes to MLM, it is misunderstood by pyramid schemes. All time controversy which MLM has to tolerate is Pyramid scheme/Ponzi scheme. Basically, said schemes are used to deceive people (Rani and Kumar, 2013). Jurisdiction claims pyramidal sales illegal, the controversy associated with MLM created negative image among customers (Constantin, 2009), (Muncy, 2004). (W. Keep and J. Vander Nat, 2014) defined pyramid schemes as organizations which do not focus on selling goods rather, they recruit new members continually to recover their own investment. It is a money transfer scheme from majority at the bottom

and minority at the top (W. Keep and J. Vander Nat, 2014).

Schuette’s defined it as “Pyramid companies make virtually all their profits from signing up new recruits and often attempt to disguise entry fees as the price charged for mandatory purchases of training, computer services, or product inventory.” To stop these kinds of practices and to improve MLM Company’s image Direct Selling Association (DSA) a section in its code of ethics related to pyramidal schemes. Section specifies that “member companies shall remunerate direct distributors primarily on the basis of sales of products, including services, purchased by any person for actual use or consumption. Such remuneration may include compensation based on sales to individual direct distributors for their own actual use or consumption, sometimes referred to as internal consumption.” One of the closely related pyramid schemes is Ponzi scheme which involves no products to sell and no commission is paid to investors instead they collect payment by promising high rate of return on small investments (ftc.gov).



On the contrary MLM is a marketing strategy which involves selling of goods and services, to customers and offers them an opportunity to set up their own business by creating further customers if they like company’s products. It emphasizes on creating a network of people and sell goods through that network. The promoter will get commission in two ways first when they sell products themselves and second when their recruited person (downlines) will sell products. MLM is a type of direct selling (Jain, et al., 2015). Indian Direct Selling Association (IDSA) maintains, develop & promote direct selling companies in India. It is necessary for every direct

selling company to register under the IDSA membership. As discussed above MLM is a type of direct selling. Types of direct selling: 1) Single level marketing; 2) Multi-level marketing (Jain, et al., 2015).

MLM: Direct selling in India

Associations like Direct Selling Associations (DSAs), World Federation of Direct Selling Association (WFDSA), Indian Direct Selling Association (IDSA) maintaining, promoting, developing network marketing refer it as direct selling. Direct selling in India is maintained by IDSA. Direct selling grew with the introduction of liberalization, when global direct selling companies entered in Indian market (FICCI, KPMG Report). Initially Amway entered in 1995 followed by other renowned companies like Avon, Oriflame and Tupperware in 1996. Around its company named

Medicare started following this channel of distribution (FICCI, KPMG Report).

According to IDSA annual report, 2018-19, Indian direct selling market is estimated around INR 1,30,800 million. Wellness products topped the list followed by cosmetics and personal care. 5.7 million are active direct sellers (purchased products at least once in 3 months). Maharashtra state of India has largest share in sales across the country followed by West Bengal. Based on secondary data, some most popular direct sales items are skincare, health or nutrition based, personal, household, etc. After analysing data 11 product traits are found which include easy explanation & demonstration, uniqueness, highly effective, multi-tasking products, high quality, long PLC, simple after sales services, relative price high, highly familiar in markets and last one is re-purchasing nature.



Figure: Reasons for growth in Indian Direct Selling Industry

Source: IDSA annual survey, 2018-19

MLM: Challenges & Opportunities

Approaching the right customer with right product at the right time is crucial to make any business a success. Today’s consumers have wide variety of products to choose from, they have an effective marketing system to get informed. Therefore, marketers need to adopt innovative and advance marketing strategy in existing competitive environment. MLM is a legitimate business model, making use of relationship referrals and direct selling to create a method of selling company’s products

or services (Vahidi, 2016). MLM also called network marketing empowering and turning ordinary people into successful entrepreneurs.

Supplementing or replacing their incomes has confirmed the growth of network marketing (Akinyi, 2008). Members’ recruitment & retention is a constant challenge to the growth of MLM (Hatchaleelaha & Wongsurawat, 2016). Some challenges related to MLM has been identified such as exploiting the relationships, not trusted by consumers, saturated market, not so profitable for downlines, complexity in compensation plan, forced purchasing, etc. KPMG FICCI report, spotted light on challenges to direct selling in India related to

setting up manufacturing facility, dealing with import duties and more.

Due to lack of regulatory clarity MLM has been misunderstood as fraudulent pyramid and Ponzi schemes. MLM marketers too face various problems namely market saturation, pyramid structure, lack of knowledge about it, lack of proper legal regulations, lack of proper training, relationship issues, morality & ethics (Aggarwal & Kumar, 2014).

Apart from the challenges faced by MLM, it could create three main benefits which are competitive advantage, boosted sales and profits while saving time, money and stress (Akinyi, 2008). MLM is best used as strategic tool to communicate a company's products or services' benefits (Yashin, 1998). MLM strategy helps in saving money which is spent on advertising in other marketing strategies thus increasing profits by increasing effectiveness (Smith, 1999). Other than saving time and money it also improves the ability of the firm to give protection to the products' integrity (Nakru, 1991). According to (Tortorici, 1991), returns on investments can be maximized and selling stress can be minimized through MLM. It is more effective than traditional marketing as it is based on building & sustaining long term relationships. Trainings and motivational seminars are provided to distributors as in MLM when one succeeds all succeed (Smith, 1999).

(Aggarwal & Kumar, 2014) has suggested some measures to overcome the challenges related to network marketing by giving proper training to distributors, do consider morality & ethics, build trust-based relationship, improve customer satisfaction and choose networking company wisely.

Conclusion

MLM is not a get rich overnight scheme rather alike other businesses to be successful it needs investment of time and efforts (Akinyi, 2008). It faces challenges along with offering various opportunities to people in country like employment, women empowerment, flexible working hours and lot more. Awareness should be created regarding distinction between

MLM and pyramid or Ponzi scheme as it is adversely affecting public's perception. MLM has challenges but rewards can be sizeable.

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Dr Ambedkar and Women Empowerment

Dr. Geeta Rawat Shah* & Dr. B.C. Shah**

[Women empowerment can be considered as a change in the life of the woman that enables her participation in decision making, increased capacity to lead a human life and level of self-confidence etc. The history gives us, the role of women changes from time to time depending upon the economic conditions and political structure of society in India. Women had many barriers to come forward before 1950 but in an independent India, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had made direct and indirect great efforts and tried to finish the hurdles in the way of advancement of Indian women with the help of the Constitution. In the Indian Constitution, there are some important and meaningful articles which help the women of Indian society to improve their position and to compete with their male counterparts. Article 14, 15 and 15(3), 16, 24, 39 and 39(d), 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 51 (A) and 51 (C), 243D (3), 243T (3) & 243R (4) represents women empowerment. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, The Hindu Succession Act, 1956, The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956, and The Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956, which strengthened the position of women in the society. This wider arrangement for women empowerment through the Constitution is called Dr. Ambedkar approach to women empowerment.]

Women, the first school of the child, constitute roughly one half of the world's population but their social, economic and political status is lower than that of men in almost all countries of the world. Although, women do enjoy a better position in some societies than in others their overall position everywhere is not up to their male counterparts. We know that history tells us that the role of women has been undergoing changes from time to time depending upon the economic conditions and political structure of society. Empowerment of the individuals and communities refers to increasing their spiritual, social, political, economic strength simultaneously. It can similarly be defined also that what is women development as well as empowerment. Singariya (2014) stated that for the autonomy and empowerment of women and the betterment of their social, political, economic and health conditions is a big important end in itself and compulsory for the achievement of sustainable development.

India has many intellectual persons and thinkers, and one of the most intellectual personalities of the 20th century is Baba Saheb Dr. B.R Ambedkar. The

life of Ambedkar was greatly affected by the struggle in the society. He had faced problems of untouchability, subjugation and unbearable agony. Ambedkar was a fighter for the dignity of persons belonging to the deprived classes in India. He had struggled in his life for human rights of weaker section and rights of women. Today he is a symbol of natural justice in world society and obviously a great thinker of social justice for weaker section and woman in India.

In a democratic country like India, as a pioneer of social justice, Dr B.R. Ambedkar always worked for women's welfare and empowerment. His principle of social welfare was based on social justice. To secure and fulfil his dreams, he thought everybody should be equal irrespective of caste, creed, gender, and religion. Dr B.R. Ambedkar asked the oppressed to unite and fight. This statement made for the weaker section of the society is equally for the women who are also weak. Thus, if women get educated, get united and fight for gender equality; then only gender justice will prevail in the Indian society. In the Indian context for all the above reasons, he started working for the betterment of women as well as social justice. In the present article, this researcher has given a sociological interpretation of the efforts done by Dr B.R. Ambedkar for woman empowerment in India.

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Ambedkar approach for women empowerment

Women empowerment can be considered as a change in the life of the woman that enables her participation in decision-making, increased capacity to lead a human life and level of self-confidence etc. The history tells us that the role of women changes from time to time depending upon the economic conditions and political structure of society in India. He strongly believed that women empowerment can be achieved by the welfare of women. Gunjal (2012) stated that Babasaheb Ambedkar always believed in the leadership of women in India. He also added that if the women from all walks of life are taken into confidence, they may play a significant role in the social reforms and this social reform will be strong. Women have played an effective role to eradicate the social abuses and Dr. Ambedkar insisted to every married female that she must participate in her husband's activism and support him as a friend. Every woman must deny the life of slaves and should insist on the principle of equality. If all the women follow this, they will get the real respect and their own identity in the society. That was the approach used by Dr. Ambedkar for gender equality and honour for women in Indian society.

When we discuss the Indian Constitution, no doubt Baba Saheb had given valuable thoughts for a balanced structure of the Constitution; therefore, Dr. Ambedkar is the father of Indian Constitution. Vaishali (2012) explained the role of Baba Saheb that he was a great freedom fighter, social reformer and political leader in one part of his life and was a great philosopher, thinker, economist and editor in other parts. He was revivalist of Buddhism and first Indian activist to break down the barriers in the way of the equal rights for Indian women. His effective approach for the betterment of Hindu females was the codifying the common Civil Code for Hindus and other sections of the Indian society. He stated that women have the right of their all-round development, social education and equal opportunity in socio-economic status and socio-cultural domain. He emphasised to maintain and protect the dignity and modesty of women of every section in India by common Civil Code.

Women as a group have been dominated by men in the Indian culture since the ancient periods and the status of women has been low in the family and

society. Generally, man commands power over a woman, although in a few cases, a female also might exercise control over a man. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has tried to break down the barriers in the way of advancement of women in India. He tried an adequate inclusion of women's right in the Constitution of India and the establishment of laws for the welfare of the women was right way to empower the women.

The process of framing constitutional provisions for the welfare of weaker sections and any depressed community can be understood as Ambedkar Approach. As far as the rights of women are concern, Baba Saheb knew that women of this country can get their rights through only the Constitution. The details of the rights are as follow:-

Article 14 - Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres.

Article 15- No discrimination on the ground of sex.

Article 15(3)-No affirmative discrimination in favour of women.

Article 39 – Equal pay for equal work for both men and women.

Article 42 – Human conditions of work and maternity relief.

Article 51 (A) and (C) – Fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to the dignity of women.

Article 46– The state has to work with special care, educational and economic interest of weaker section and work social injustice and protect to all forms of exploitation.

Article 47–The state has to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of people and the improvement of public health.

Article 243D (3), 243T (3) & 243R (4) – In the country has the provision for allocation of seats in Panchayati Raj System.

Article 25– Permits all the freedom. The reforms introduced by Dr. Ambedkar through

“Hindu Code-bill” has been adhered to and has been accepted by and large. Hindu Law in respect of marriage, divorce and succession codified by Dr. Ambedkar rationalised and restored the dignity to women. The Hindu Code Bill was structured by four Bills as, Hindu Marriage Act-1955, Hindu

Minority and Guardianship Act-1956, Hindu Succession Act-1956 and Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956. The ideas and principles for the formulation of Hindu Code Bill came from these four bills. Ahir (1990) opined that the status to women completely denied by Manu Smriti was restored, due to Ambedkar's efforts so that a large part of the Hindu social law is now on par with the legal system prevailing in advanced Western countries.

Baba Saheb's approach to protecting the women's rights is exclusively different from other social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Mahatma Gandhi and Jyotiba Phule, who tried to reform the Hindu society of certain traditional customs and practices of the hierarchical social order. He made his own remark for the strong women's rights and that has been reflected in the Constitution of India. Ambedkar was in favour of a society based on social justice. He has given equal status to women by providing many provisions in the Indian Constitution. His opinion was that the sex-based differences should be rooted out from the society and everyone should get equal opportunity in the society. In the preamble of the Indian Constitution, it is mentioned: -

- (i) Social, economic and political justice.
- (ii) Freedom of thought and expression,
- (iii) Freedom of belief, faith and worship.
- (iv) Equality of status and opportunity.
- (v) The Fraternity assuring the dignity of the person and national unity to all the citizens of India without any differences of caste, creed or sex.

Das (2015) explained that these all above are because of Ambedkar's contribution in the preamble of Indian Constitution for the social and economic justice to women. The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women 2001, also admits, 'The underlying causes of gender inequality are related to social and economic structure and practices. The access of women, particularly those belonging to weaker classes including SCs, STs, OBCs and Minorities to education, health, and productive resources, among others, is inadequate accordingly. Therefore, they remain largely marginalised, poor and socially excluded'. Over the generations, marginalised sections and women in Indian society were denied the opportunity for education.

Education is the only the tool through which societies grow up to democratic participation and involvement. It is a powerful process for the empowerment of individuals as well as women. Dr. Ambedkar had given a right to the educational opportunities without any difference among the citizens of India by his valuable efforts. Over the years, some sociologists and educationalists have given time and effort to solve the problems of women and studied the quality of the status of women in our society. Although the status of women is rising up day by day still sometimes, they are facing discrimination, harassment, and humiliation in their personal and professional life. They are not taken seriously in obtaining opinions, not treated as equals to men and not given due respect.

Conclusion

There are various factors related to women being socially weak, economically dependent and politically isolated and emotionally powerless in the society. They became so conditioned because they accepted this situation as their ultimate destiny. A few women can be seen asserting their personality as political entities with their own contribution to national progress. They continue to feel subordinate to men and cannot take initiatives or independent decisions. The change in this scenario will be through social transformation. Social transformation cannot be brought about without individual transformation and this cannot be achieved without a change in individual outlook. This requires metamorphosis in the attitude of both men and women themselves in the society.

These all above discussion are in favour of women empowerment but it is not so easy to see the women on the top. Unequal responsibility of family in men and women in an Indian society, differentiation in girl and boy child as his and her education, choice for marriage, negative attitude of the society towards women, lack of education, caste or religious barriers, lack of self-confidence and some psychological feelings in women that they are less efficient than men, lack of awareness and cultural rules only for woman are the most worrisome challenges for women empowerment in 21st century in India. Although, the challenges can be surmounted to empower the women by applying the 'Ambedkar approach' for social equality in India but besides that people have to generate unbiased mindset

towards women and women have to think that challenges are big but if the ambitions and devotion are there, the aim can be achieved.

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Problems of Sugarcane Cultivators in India

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[Sugarcane is most important crop in terms of generating employment to millions in sugarcane cultivation and production of sugar, gur, jaggery, molasses, etc. In the world, India is first in sugar production and sugarcane occupied more than 25% of the country's gross cropped area. Though, it is earning 7% of the total value of agricultural output, still, the sugarcane cultivators are facing many of the problems and challenges. They include problem of finance, labour scarcity, higher wages of labour, high cost of production, marketing difficulties, etc. The paper has discussed the problems faced by Sugarcane cultivators in India.]

Sugarcane occupies a prominent position as a cash and commercial crop. Sugarcane is mainly used for making white sugar, gur, khandsari and it is also used for chewing and making juice. In India sugarcane is the third largest crop in the country, in terms of value next to rice and wheat. Sugarcane is cultivated in more than 110 countries and India stands first in sugar production with around 450 established sugar factories and over 35 million farmers and agricultural labourers involved in sugarcane cultivation and harvesting (Amala and Rajagopal, 2017). India by contributing 20.4 % area and 18.6 % production ranks second among sugarcane

growing countries of the world for both area and production of sugarcane.

In India, sugarcane is an important cash crop in the agriculture sector, which shares 7 % of the total value of agricultural output and occupies 25 % of the country's gross cropped area. Nearly 4 million hectares of land are under cultivation. It is the largest consumer with over 478 sugar factories located throughout the country. The sugar industry is amongst the largest agro-processing industry in India, with an annual turnover of Rs.150 crores (Rama, 2018).

Though sugarcane is playing significant role in providing employment to millions of labourers in sugarcane cultivation and sugar factories, contributing major portion of agricultural income to GDP, still the sugarcane cultivators are poor and facing many of the problems and challenges. As

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described by Das, et al (2016), the problems faced by sugarcane growers revealed that, due to continuous cultivation and raising of more crops over a period of time the fertility of the soil gets depleted. In this way, fertility of soil is problem for growing sugarcane. There are also lack of skilled and experienced labour in sugarcane cultivation.

The farmer is caught in the cobweb of low-quality seeds and low yield. The farmer faces the problem of inadequacy of manures and fertilizers. This is due to non-availability of chemical fertilizers in time, and the poor purchasing capacity. Sugarcane cultivation needs regular supply of large quantity of water all through the crop period. But due to poor rains and insufficient availability of water, the sugarcane cultivators are affected adversely. The farmers are poor to adopt and apply modern technological applications and use modern agricultural implements. Even many of the farmers hesitate to adopt for changes.

There are marketing problems for sugarcane. After raising the crop and when it is to be harvested, the farmer faces the problem of harvesting and marketing. If he crushes the cane to manufacture jaggery he will harvest the cane according to his convenience. In fact, if that is so he may not face any difficulty in harvesting. But he will have the problem of only marketing the jaggery. But in a majority of the cases the farmers have entered into contractual obligations with factories for supply of cane.

Here the problem is that the farmer cannot harvest the crop as and when he likes. He can do it only as per the directions of the factory. Since the factory may have its own crushing schedules it may not be in a position to purchase the cane when the farmer wishes to harvest and sell it. Hence there is no option but to delay the harvest. Sugarcane as an agriculture commodity has a limited market and a few purchasers. The demand for the cane is not universal and all through the year. Many of the sugar factories reject the sugarcane due to drayage. Transportation has also become problems of small-scale sugarcane growers.

Problems of Sugarcane Cultivators

As per the published literature and personal observation of the authors, following problems are faced by sugarcane cultivators in India:

Problem of Finance

Indian farmers including sugarcane cultivators are poor. As such, they are depending outside finance or loans for cultivating sugarcane. Generally, unsecured loans are not available from banks for short term and as such, sugarcane cultivators are compelled to borrow loans from private money lenders and private finance corporation, who charges more interests on their loans. In case of failure of sugarcane, then it will become heavy burden for sugarcane cultivators to pay heavy interest and repay loans.

Supply of Seeds and Fertilisers

During sowing seasons, every farmer needs seeds and fertilisers. Due to growing demand for specific seeds in particular area, there will be shortage of supply of seeds and fertilisers. Due to such problems, there may be growing black marketing among sellers of seeds and fertilisers. Consequently, there will be increase in prices of seeds and fertilisers. It will be problem for farmers to pay more and as a result, the cost of agricultural production goes up and the farmers incur losses.

Shortage of Water

Water is essentially needed for sugarcane and of course, sugarcane is not grown on the basis of rainfall. There is need for canals, wells, borewells, etc to supply water to cane crop. Due to decrease in rainfall, there is shortage of water in these sources. As such, shortage of water leads in early drying of sugarcane leading to loss to cane cultivators.

Poor Electric Supply

Due to environmental degradation, there is decrease in rains and consequently, there is poor generation of hydro-electricity and the electricity generated through other sources such as wind, solar, etc are limited. As such, due to poor generation of electricity, the villages including agricultural areas are not getting regular power. It became obstacle for supply of water to cane fields and in this way, sugarcane cultivators are facing problem due to poor electricity supply.

Shortage of Labour and High Labour Costs

Depending on the rains and particular environment, the different agricultural processes are undertaken on particular period. Majority of the farmers grow sugarcane depending on the soil, climatic conditions,

water, etc. During specific season, farmers have to complete the agricultural processes and for this purpose, there is need for labourers. As every farmer is busy in agricultural processes, there will be a shortage of labour in agriculture during such specific seasons. If there is shortage of labour, then the wages of labour will increase and consequently, there will be high cost of production leading to lower profit or losses to sugarcane cultivators.

Sugarcane Diseases

Sugarcane crop face many of the problems from environment such as flood, drought, high temperature, etc. Apart from these, the crop is under threat from nutritional threat, salinity, alkalinity and biotic stresses like fungal diseases as red rot, smut, wilt, rust, viral diseases, pests like which are responsible for reduced sugarcane yield and sugar productivity. Further excess use of irrigation and chemical fertilizers the soil has been degraded causing the problems in sustainability of the crop. All the factors put together are responsible for varietal degeneration (Bhingardeve, et al, 2018).

Low Yield of Sugarcane

Although India has the largest area under sugarcane cultivation, the yield per hectare is extremely low as compared to some of the major sugarcane producing countries of the world (Gaikwad and Jadhav, 2017). Due to poor quality of sugarcane, the sugar factories are fixing lower prices to sugarcane. In this way, sugarcane cultivators incur losses every year.

Problem of Fair Price

Agricultural products are of less demand as there are many growers. The prices of the same are decided by demand and supply. If there is excess or more production, then there will be lesser prices and if there is lesser production, then the price will go up. In this way, there is higher price variation of agricultural produces. Even there are other factors and restrictions that influence the price of these products. In case of sugarcane prices, the Government and sugar mills are influencing the marketing and pricing decisions. Under such circumstances, farmers have to incur the losses. If the sugar mills are making delays to purchase sugarcane from farmers, then it may become dry and consequently, there will be lower price for such cane.

Payment for Sugarcane from Sugar Mills

The farmers are poor and as such borrow money from private money lenders, banks and other financial institutions so as to meet the cultivating expenses including fertilisers, seeds, pesticides, labour wages, etc. Later, the sugar mills purchase sugarcane from farmers, but don't pay price for longer time that is for more than six months. In such contexts, the interest on the amount borrowed by farmers will increase and even these financial agencies remind the farmers and even few of the private money lenders threaten farmers to return the borrowed loans. In this way, there will be financial crisis for farmers who are growing sugarcane.

Rejecting to Purchase Sugarcane

After growing sugarcane, the farmers will contact the sugar factories to take the cane from their fields. The experts from sugar factories visit the fields of farmers and in few situations, reject to purchase the cane due to poor quality. Under such circumstances, the farmers have to incur heavy losses. Many of the farmers burn the sugarcane grown by them.

Other Problems

There are also other problems faced by sugarcane cultivators. Depending on the quality of sugarcane, there is fixing of prices by sugar factories. In such situations, the farmers are getting lower prices for their sugarcane. As majority of the farmers are growing sugarcane in specified agricultural areas, after harvesting, they have to wait in queue, so that the sugar mills visit to the farmers' fields and agree to buy the sugarcane. Further, as blamed by few of the sugarcane cultivators, there is dishonesty in weighing at weigh bridge, which brings loss to sugarcane cultivators. While making payment for sugarcane, the sugar factories will deduct different charges like toll, coolie, loading, unloading charges, etc, which reduce the payment to sugarcane cultivators. Sugarcane cultivators are also not getting one-time payment from sugar factories and are getting payment in instalments, which make inconvenience to them as they have to repay loans borrowed, labour charges,

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is clear that, many of the sugarcane cultivators are facing many types of problems, which has influenced their socio-

economic conditions adversely. Hence, it is suggested to the Government to revise its policies on marketing, fixing the support prices, levying taxes, toll, etc on marketing of sugarcane. It is essential to provide short term unsecured loans to needy sugarcane cultivators and the banks must come forward to provide such short-term finance. Of course, the different schemes such as Kisan Samman, are of little help in assuring minimum income to the families of sugarcane cultivators. It is suggested to the Government to initiate more welfare schemes on loss of crops, farmers' indebtedness, increase in Kisan Samman amount, etc.

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Problems and Challenges of ASHA Workers

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[Healthcare is an essential need of every human being. But certain sections living in villages and towns are deprived from proper healthcare. The reason for the same is low-education or illiteracy and lack of awareness on diseases, hygiene and nutrition. Due to such factors, the health of women and children are more affected adversely. Realizing this, the Government of India has set up NRHM and under which, Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs) are providing community healthcare services in villages. Though, they are working to enhance reproductive health of women, children's health, supporting to control major diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, STDs, etc and playing important role in spreading awareness on family planning practices, still they are facing many of the problems and challenges. The problems and challenges faced by ASHAs in their work place as well as in their families are described in the paper.]

National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) is a government organisation set up for improvement and development of health facilities in urban and rural areas. To improve health conditions of people, it has laid strategies and of these. appointment of Accredited Social Health

Activist (ASHA) to facilitate access to health services is most significant. In this way, ASHA has been appointed in villages, towns and cities to provide healthcare services.

Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA)

ASHA has the pivotal role to play in the whole design and strategy of this mission. She acts as a link between the community and the rural health

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system. She is the first port of call for any health related demands of deprived sections of the population, especially women and children, who find it difficult to access health services. She also acts as a promoter of good health practices, health educator, and a counsellor for women in reproductive age group. The performance of ASHA is, therefore, critical for the success of NRHM and hence of the health improvement strategy of Government of India (Bhanderi, et al, 2018).

ASHAs form the backbone of the NRHM and are meant to be selected by and be accountable to the village. They need to provide preventive, promotive and curative health facilities in the rural community. ASHA would play a key role in the NRHM by serving as a crucial link between the village community and health centre. ASHA is a resident woman of the village with formal education at least up to the 8th standard. She is selected by the Gram Sabha and is accountable to village Panchayath, the general norm of selection is one ASHA per 1000 population. The ASHA is also expected to work with the Anganwadi workers to conduct various health activities within the village. There are 7.36 lakh ASHAs have been recruited and trained and 4.95 lakh provided with drug kits as on 2015. In another estimate provided by Swathi Shet, et al (2018), as of July 2013, the total number of ASHA's in India was 8,70,089. Further, there are 33,369 ASHAs are working in Karnataka as revealed by the NRHM's update on ASHA Programme published in January 2017.

The discourse on the ASHA's role centres around three typologies - ASHA as an activist, ASHA as a link worker or facilitator, and ASHA as a community level health care provider. She will counsel women

on birth preparedness, importance of safe delivery, breastfeeding and complementary feeding, immunization, contraception, and prevention of common infections including Reproductive Tract Infection/ Sexually Transmitted Infection (RTIs/ STIs) and care of the young child. ASHA will be the first port of call for any health-related demands of deprived sections of the population, especially women and children, who find it difficult to access health services (Shashank and Angadi, 2015).

The ASHA programme guidelines envisage three different roles for ASHAs. First, ASHAs are to function as a 'link worker', a bridge between the rural and vulnerable population within the health service centres. Second, ASHAs are to function as a 'service extension worker', whereby they are trained and provided with a kit that includes commodities such as condoms, oral contraceptive pills, delivery kits and simple life saving drugs including cotrimoxazole and chloroquine. Third, they are conceptualised as 'health activists in the community who will create awareness on health and its social determinants and mobilize the community towards local health planning and increased utilization and accountability of the existing health services' (Saprii, et al, 2015).

In Karnataka state, ASHAs are women, who are recruited under NRHM with educational qualifications from 8th standard and above. They are paid monthly salary of Rs. 3500/- along with incentives. As per the institutional framework, they have to work under the District Health and Family Welfare Department and coordinate with Anganawadi Workers and Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM). Assurance of community health to women

and children is the prime responsibility of ASHA workers. Promoting institutional delivery under the national scheme Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY) is the most common ASHA task which comes with an incentive. JSY is a demand-side financing programme incentivising institutional delivery. ASHAs are paid Rs. 600 for every woman who is successfully referred for institutional delivery (Saprii, et al, 2015).

When the outside work of ASHAs are concerned, they are playing significant role in maintenance of community health and hygiene. They guide pregnant women and lactating mothers in healthcare, hygiene and nutrition. During pregnancy, delivery and lactation, they guide women, so that health babies should born and there is safety for mothers and infants and in this way, there is decrease in maternal and infant mortality. As many of the people are unaware about the welfare schemes of the Government with regard to healthcare issues, ASHAs are playing important role in providing guidance and support to such people, so that they can get benefits.

They are surveying epidemic and other diseases such as Malaria, Dengue, Tuberculosis, etc and report it to Primary Health Centres, so that these patients can get treatment. ASHAs are influencing the maternal health care and also increasing awareness among people about family planning practices and even encouraging these practices by encouraging Tubectomy, Vasectomy, distributing condoms, etc. She is taking healthcare of babies and children and vaccination of such children. As the ASHAs are native to their villages, they have awareness about

the local people and healthcare issues that may arise in their localities. In this way, ASHAs are playing significant role in encouraging community healthcare, hygiene and nutrition.

The author has interviewed totally five ASHAs in villages of Kalaburagi taluka informally so as to know about their concerns and problems. It is found that, the ASHAs are always busy at their work and even many times, they are working for whole nights also and such situations may be child birth and severe illness of women and children. Even during night, they have to visit different nearby villages so as to look after healthcare activities of affected people. But, as expressed by ASHAs, they are dissatisfied with their salaries, which are lowest when compared to their outside work.

Though incentives are given to them, they are meagre. Even their work is not recognized by the Government and hence, they are like 'workers in informal sector' under Department of Health and Family Welfare. Hence, based on these issues, the literature was searched by the author so as to find out the problems and challenges faced by ASHAs. Based on literature survey, the problems and challenges of ASHAs are identified as under.

Problems of ASHA Workers

It is the responsibility of ASHA workers to look after reproductive health in different villages and remote areas. It has become indispensable for ASHA workers to visit different remote villages and even during nights. Due to insecurity at night, these workers have to go along with male members such as husbands of their own families. If there is no

transportation, it will become most difficult for ASHA workers to attend their duties during emergency deliveries. While ASHAs are at the lowest rung of the hierarchy, with the fewest educational qualifications and often with severe disadvantages with respect to class, they are meant to deal with sensitive and difficult issues in the community.

During their duty to maintain community health, it is inevitable for ASHA workers to care health of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) and under such circumstances, there are more health risks for ASHA workers. To spread awareness of family planning practices among rural community, it is the duty of the ASHA workers to guide and counsel men and women in family planning tools. In this way, there is need to distribute condoms among rural community, which is hesitated among ASHA workers and under such circumstances, men from ASHA workers, preferably husband must have to accompany them.

Under such circumstances, the cooperation of husband or male members of their families is essential. Many of the husbands of ASHA workers blames them as they are getting lower salaries with unsecured job, still they are working day and night continuously to look after community health. For ASHA workers, it is difficult to convince their husbands, but they assure that in future, their job will be regularized by increasing their salaries. There are also frequent conflicts and quarrels between ASHA workers and their husbands due to their work at nights and even such conflicts may result in family disorganization.

There is lack of respect for ASHA workers in hospitals, Panchayats, families and society though they are playing significant role in maintaining

community health. The reason for the same is lower salaries and meagre incentives for their work. Hence, though they are defined as 'honorary volunteer' under National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), they are like 'informal workers' in the Department of Health. At their work places, there is lack of support from PHC staff, no compensation for services other than institutional delivery, unclear reimbursement policy-delayed payments, poor confidence in their own ability to carry out the desired work which reflected on the lack of good training & poor clarity in how to collaborate work with the ANM and Anganwadi worker.

Medical officer, ANM considered ASHA as their subordinate and did not understand the problems faced by ASHA, they also failed to give them proper guidance and mutual respect and love. The ASHA complained regarding the lack of recognition and priority treatment of cases referred by them to MO / ANM. The disrespect shown by hospital staff and lack of access to essential medicines and pregnancy testing kits led to the loss of credibility among ASHAs affect their work performance. The Government has set the targets for ASHAs and they have to reach the targets and report to higher authorities every month. Many times, it will be difficult for them to convince their higher authorities regarding the progress achieved by them and obstacles they are facing.

Apart from these specific problems, at their work places, there are also general problems, which are also serious. They include gender inequality, discrimination, exploitation and even harassment are faced by ASHAs. In case of any severe health barriers and though ASHAs are caring people, they will be blamed by people. In this way, ASHAs are facing many of the problems and challenges in their occupational life as well as in their family life.

Suggestions

Based on the problems and challenges faced by ASHAs, following suggestions may be made from the present discussion:

- It is suggested to increase salaries of ASHAs along with incentives as per their workload.
- It is suggested to provide job security to ASHAs by fixing probation.
- It is suggested to provide promotion and extend retirement benefits to ASHAs by the Government.
- It is essential to convene periodical meetings of Medical Officers, PHC Staff, Anganawadi workers, ASHAs, etc, at least four times in a year, so as to discuss the progress of healthcare in each taluka under district and there is need to solve the problems of ASHAs in providing community healthcare.
- It is suggested to husbands and family members of ASHAs to cooperate with the work of ASHAs, so as to assure better healthcare services to people.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is clear that, there is decrease in maternal and infant mortality and there is increase in awareness among people in villages about health, hygiene and nutrition. In this respect, the work of ASHAs should be appreciated. After ASHAs are working in different villages, there is increased awareness among women on reproductive health and care of infants and children. Due to impact of awareness provided by ASHAs, women in villages are much conscious about hygiene and nutrition so as to get better health.

Consequently, there are decreased infant mortality and maternal mortality. Though, the community health has been improved, still the economic

conditions of ASHAs are not improved as they are getting lower salaries, treated as informal workers under the Department of Health, with no retirement benefits, lower incentives and job insecurity. Hence, considering the role of ASHAs in maintenance of community health especially in rural areas and towns, it is essential to provide job security, higher salaries and retirement benefits with status to ASHAs at their work places.

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Prospects and Problems of Coalition Politics in India

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[India is a federal Country. It follows the dual polity system, i.e. a double government (federal in nature) that consists of the Central authority at the Centre and States at the periphery. There are two types of political parties in India-National party and regional party. Comparing with other democratic countries, India has a large number of political parties. It has been estimated that over 200 political parties were formed after India became independent in 1947. Coalition government is usually organized when no party is in a position to get a majority in the parliament, and some parties form a coalition group or an alliance for forming a government. A coalition government is a cabinet of a Parliamentary government in which several parties cooperate. The present paper discusses the pros and cons of Coalition politics in India in the context of the era of coalition government.]

Coalition government is more democratic and hence fairer, because it represents a much broader spectrum of public opinion than government by one party alone. In almost all coalitions, a majority of citizens vote for the parties which form the government and so their views and interests are represented in political decision making. Indian politicians have figured out that coalition politics can not only be played out but also played with and lately, that is what all of them are doing.

Coalitions provide good government because their decisions are made in the interest of a majority of the people. Because a wide consensus of opinion is involved, any policy will be debated thoroughly within the government before it is implemented. Single-party government is much more likely to impose badly thought-out policies upon parliament and people perhaps for narrow ideological reasons. Coalition government is part and parcel of federal structure of politics. A coalition government is a cabinet of a Parliamentary government in which several parties cooperate.

The usual reason given for this arrangement is that no party on its own can achieve a majority in the Parliament. A coalition government might also be created in a time of national difficulty or crisis, for example during wartime to give a government the high degree of perceived political legitimacy it desires whilst also playing a role in diminishing internal political strife. In such times, parties form all-party coalition (national unity governments, grand coalition). If a coalition collapses confidence vote is held or a motion of no confidence is taken.

Conceptual Issues of Coalition Government

A coalition government consists of two or more parties which must compromise on principles and share a mandate. This mostly occurs when single party becomes unable to gain a majority of seats in parliament.

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Coalitions are mostly formed through elections but coalition governments can also occur in times of national difficulties.

A coalition is an alliance of parties formed for the purpose of contesting elections jointly and/or forming a government and managing the governance by a process of seat sharing. So coalition implies co-operation between political parties and co-operation may take place at one of three different levels: Electoral, Parliamentary and Governmental.

Electoral: In which contest for election is done by coalition of two or more parties to fight against a common enemy. This may range from electoral alliance between parties at the National level to a mere understanding at the constituency level.

Parliamentary: This coalition occurs when no single party gains a majority and the party asked to form the government refers to rule as a minority Government on an agreement or an understanding with another external support.

Governmental: The Governmental coalition is an e-power sharing coalition and it occurs when two or more parties, none of which is able to win a majority of its own, combine to form a majority government.

A coalition government is one in which several political parties must cooperate in order to run a Country or region. A coalition government is often considered a very weak form of government because, there is no majority party. In such cases, the only way policy gets approved is by making concessions, hence the forming of a coalition.

The term coalition is derived from the Latin word 'coalition, meaning to go or grow together. Thus it means an act of coalescing or uniting into one body or alliance. It indicates the combination of a number of bodies or parts into one body or whole. In the political sense it is used to indicate an alliance or temporary union between various political groups for the exercise or control of political power. Prof. Ogg defines coalition in the

encyclopedia of social sciences, as “Co-operative arrangements under which distinct political parties or at all events members of such parties unite to form a government or Ministry.” Thus, it can be said that result of exigencies of competitive multi-party system in a Parliamentary democracy is coalition. It is a phenomenon where more than two political parties come together to form a government sinking their basic ideological differences in the event of the inability of any single party to command a workable majority in the lower house of the legislature.

Objectives of the Paper

The major important objectives of the paper are as follows;

1. To understand the working of coalition government.
2. To know the pros and cons of coalition government.
3. To make the suggestions to improving the working of coalition governments.

Methodology

The present paper is based on secondary data, collected from the books, journals, magazines, government reports, census reports. It employs the descriptive as well as analytical methods of research.

Discussion and Analysis

Coalition government is the order of the day. The present political turmoil called as coalition conflict. The present paper discusses the pros and cons of coalition government in Indian Scenario. It will give primary and prime knowledge of coalition governments. And it examines the importance and impact of coalition governments on the developments of Nation. Further it analyzes the myth and realities of coalition governments in India.

Reasons for Formation of Coalition Government

In India the coalition governments have mainly been the result of multi-party system. As sometimes no single political party is able to muster clear-cut majority in the Legislative Assembly the parties are obliged to seek support and co-operation of other groups to form the government. Sometimes coalitions are also formed before the elections and a number of political parties chalk out an agreed programme and contest election on the basis of the programme from a common platform. This type of arrangement has an obvious advantage in so far as it smoothen the radicalism of the parties joining the coalition without in any way effecting image.

Generally the coalitions are formed on account of one of the following three reasons;

1. No single political party is able to secure a working majority in the popular house on account of the presence of multiparty system. Under the circumstances a number of likeminded political parties form the coalition to provide workable majority and run the government. France provides a typical example of this type of coalition.

2. Secondly, in a bi-party system a deadlock may be created due to even balance between two political parties. This may lead to one of the two parties allying itself with a minor group such as neutrals or defectors to get the majority in its favour.
3. Thirdly, a coalition may be necessitated crisis when the previous political groups may suspend their political strife and collaborate in the general cause of protecting and promoting their national interests. In Britain coalition government was formed to deal with the abnormal conditions during the First World War. The various political parties sunk their differences to give a united fight to the enemies of Britain.

Prospects of Coalition Government

Coalitions are invaluable in democracy because they create structures for organizations and individuals to share ownership of common goals. Democracy work can be strengthened considerably through the use of coalitions. However, there are both advantages and disadvantages to forming or joining a coalition

One of the main advantages of a coalition government is that due to having to share a mandate, this leads to broader representation, as the two parties have to compromise on their opposing ideologies in order to create policies that result in legislation. Greater policy scrutiny is also prominent in coalition governments which could prove beneficial for the electorate as this should in theory benefit a larger proportion of individuals than a single party government as the two opposing parties reflect a boarder spectrum of voters.

The disadvantages of single party majority leadership is that the Government of the time being confident of its own strength allows the laws it frames a passage through parliament and these are made functional with insufficient debate, majority having already consented to the ‘leaders’ views. Coalition politics overcomes this defect by having to reconcile a much wider public opinion, both in terms of policy and geography, as reflected in the covenants of different parties coming together to provide the government of the country. Some of the advantages views of coalition governments are as follows.

1. Helps develop new leadership skills amongst number.
2. Provides, peer support and encouragement.
3. Brings together a diverse range of people and organization.
4. Reduces duplication of effort and resources.
5. Assists in individual and organizational network.
6. Facilitates exchange of information and skills.
7. Enhances the credibility and influence.
8. Enlarges the ‘we’ feeling among the member.
9. Provides safety for democracy efforts and protection for member.

Problems of Coalition Government

Conflict within governance due to conflicting ideologies of the two parties, can make a government fractious, whilst also weakening government. If parties are at a standstill on certain topics and cannot come to quick conclusions, they will not be able to work together. Their continued disagreements will slow down the power of the government.

The biggest disadvantage of a coalition government is that the end product depicted is very unstable and vulnerable as the core element of the coalition has to keep up with all the promises made to its partners and do the impossible-make everyone happy with the flatter offered to him or her. By doing so the government has to sacrifice on various key policies and important programmes. A succession of undisciplined activities, horse-trading events and defections take place which lowers the public morality, all just to serve to each party's narrow political interests. Some of the important problems of coalition are as follows;

1. Difficult to agree common objections.
2. Forming and managing a coalition can be a very time consuming process.
3. May be dominated by one powerful organization.
4. May require to compromise position and prestige.
5. Power is not always distributed, equally among the members.
6. Decision-making can be slow.
7. Coalition activities can be difficult to monitor and evaluate.
8. If the coalition process breaks down it can harm every one's advocacy by damaging members' credibility.

All these problems can be overcome and there are no reasons not to get more involved in coalition.

Coalition Government: A Critical Analysis

Coalition government has also been criticized for sustaining a consensus on issues when disagreement and the consequent discussion would be more fruitful. To form a consensus, the leaders of ruling coalition parties can agree to silence their disagreement on an issue to unify the coalition against the opposition. The coalition partners, if they control the parliamentary majority, can collude to make the parliamentary discussion on the issue irrelevant by consistently disregarding the arguments of the opposition and voting against the opposition's proposals-even if there is disagreement within the ruling parties about the issue.

Conflict within governance due to conflicting ideologies of the two parties, can make a government fractious whilst also weakening the government. If parties are at a standstill on certain topics and cannot come to quick conclusions, they will not be able to work together. This will affect the powerful government. The continued disagreement will slow down the government. Politics in India may not yet to be the last resort of the dishonest and the corrupt, yet it cannot anymore boast of the

qualities people associate with public service. Today, it is nothing more than a means to gain and exercise power. The politician at the time of independence had raised politics to a high level of moral idealism, setting aside personal and sectarian interests in favour of the common good. They sought power for the people, for the nation, and not for the individual.

Today, personal power and personal ambition have become the keywords in political vocabulary of the politicians. The public and the nation's interests have been replaced by personal and sectarian interests. This has disastrous consequences for the actual conduct of the polity.

Coalition provides bad government because the parties involved will be unable to take a long term view. Sometimes an ideological compass is necessary for governments to navigate in difficult political and economic waters, and coalitions lack such a unifying philosophy. In addition planning for the long-term often requires decisions to be made that are unpopular in the short term. Coalitions often fail such tests because temporary unpopularity may encourage one of the parties involved to defect, in search of a populist advantage.

Coalition government is actually less democratic as the balance of power is inevitably held by the small parties who can barter their support for concession from the main groups within the coalition. This means that a party within little popular support is able to impose its policies upon the majority by a process of political blackmail.

Policy Implications

It is true that the Indians did not have a very good experience with coalition Government experiments. But the coalition government in India is here to stay. In the light of above mentioned impact of coalition government on Centre-State relations. I would like to suggest few reforms for the proper regulation of the coalition form of Government.

1. The Coalition Government must be made legitimate. A broad based programme as suggested by second reforms commission must be adopted so that Socio-Economic development of the Country is met.
2. The Governor's office must be made free from the clutches of the political parties and reforms must be brought about for the same in order to maintain the sanctity of the office of the Governor.
3. Political parties must sink their ideological difference among the members.
4. Political parties must adopt Common Minimum Programmes (CMP) for welfare of people.
5. Coalition government must form coordination committee.

Concluding Remarks

A coalition with a common manifesto without any threat from any sides, working with a common goal is a dream of today and tomorrow. National parties often tend to exploit the weaker regional parties as they have had less action in the scene before.

Thus, in the end it can be said that though the coalition form of the government provides an opportunity to different socio-cultural and economic parties to participate in the Governance of the Nation, it brings about a lot of tussle between the centre and state. The regional parties at the centre attempt to articulate and aggregate regional interests' irrespective interest of National which in turn affects the overall development of the Nation. Also the most important office which is necessary for the proper maintenance of Centre-State relations that is the office of the Governor is also politicized in order to maintain the stability of the coalition government. Coalition arrangements, as these elections and those conducted since the 1990's have demonstrated time and again, have come to stay in the Indian political scenario.

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Constraints faced by Women in Sports: A Sociological Study

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[The Indian Constitution has assured equal rights in every activity to both males and females. Still, due to social culture, traditions, gender prejudices, gender bias, etc., women are lagging behind in various areas and sports is one of such area. When the historical records are analysed, it is found that, women were participating in recreational activities and few sports during the Puranic and Vedic era. Such participation declined due to restrictions imposed on women in medieval ages. After independence, though the Indian Constitution has emphasized equality, still due to orthodox social culture, the girls are hesitating to participate in sports. This paper describes history of women's participation in sports and constraints faced by women to participate in sports in India.]

The Indian Constitution has bestowed equal rights on women. Gender and sport in India are a very vast topic. This is a reality of all aspects of human life in India. Indian women have mastered anything and everything which a woman can dream of. Between the men's and women's versions of the sport they identified, women's involvement in sport can make a significant contribution to social life and tradition development. The level of physical education and sports for females has been hampered because of the endless limitations. Their road to way is a fight to face prejudice, inferiority and traditional drama. Customs and traditions seep their way into discouraging woman achievers (Sharma, et al, 2013).

History of Women's Participation in Sports

In the year 720 BC when the ancient Olympic games was begun in Greece, there were only men; women were not allowed to participate and could only be spectators. Therefore, they retaliated against it and organised games of their own. The game was organised every four years but not in the same year of the Olympics. There was a time were competition almost turned in to war like games (Suchitra Akoijam, 2017). The Helsinki Olympic Games in 1952 was the first games in which the Indian women participated in international athletics. The eager participants were Mary D'souza (sprinter) and Nilima Ghose (Hurdler). India had a spectacular win in the 4*100m relay at the second Asian games at Manila. Mary Leela Rao performed well and earned her place in the Indian Olympic Team in Melbourne in 1956. She led the Indian – March past in the games.

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The evidences of history revealed that the women were taking part in physical activities and outdoor activities. Though competitive sports in the past were “masculine domain”, women were participating in recreational activities. The available sources enable the scholar to have only a glimpse of the recreations of girls during the ‘Vedic and epic periods. Music and dancing formed the principal indoor games. Public and dramatic concerts were often organised and girls used to go out to see them along with their elders or lovers. The Epics such as Ramayana and Mahabharat also revealed that many of the royal women, namely Shakuntala, Kunti were engaged in recreational games during their leisure time.

There are some references available to girls going out to swim as well as girls playing number of courtyard games like “hide and seek” and “run and catch”. These games were fulfilling the need of exercise and girls were getting exercise for their body-development. These games were very popular among all classes of society since very early times. The historical records revealed that, before the advent of the Muslim Rule in India, our women used to enjoy a good deal of freedom. They were allowed enough opportunities to take part in games and sports both indoor and outdoor.

The life of Indian women during the Muslim period became very much secluded due to the growing practice of purdah, and as such, they got very little opportunity to take part in games and sports. It is quite well known that Rajput princesses were adept in the use of the sword and the spear. They could lead armies, and direct the government in the hour of need. Kurmadevi, a queen of king Samarasi, took over the administration of her kingdom on her husband’s death and repulsed the attacks of Kutub-din. Javalurdevi, a queen of King Sanga, died fighting at the head of her army, while defending Chittor after her husband’s death.

The tradition of giving military training to girls continued in the Maratha royal families, which were ruling over a considerable part of India during the 17th and 18th centuries. Rani Bhimabai, the daughter of Yeshwantrao Holkar, told Sir John Malcolm that it was an incumbent duty on a Maratha princess to lead her troops in person when there was no husband or son to do so. Tarabai, the founder of Kolhapur state, used to lead her army and direct her

government. The example of queen Laxmibai of Jhansi who excited the admiration even of her opponents by remarkable bravery and sound generalship, is well known. The late Princess Kamalabai Scindia, the sister of the then Maharaja of Gwalior, was adept in all military exercises.

Constraints Faced by Indian Women in Sports

In India, it is observed that Indian women are not taking that much interest in participating in sports. Reasons for non-participation can be many. These are psychological, physiological, social, economic and of many other types. It is also observed that parents also do not allow girls participate in games and sports, though the girls are interested in participating. It is also thought that the reason may be of physiological type, as due to female body structure the women find difficulties in executing the skills required for games and sports. This can also be one of the reasons apart from social and economic reasons. The Indian society does not permit encouraging women to participate in sports and games.

Therefore, Indian women feel shy of participating in sports and games, because of prevailing Indian customs and traditions. Economic reasons also cannot be overlooked. Costly equipment and cost of travels for competitions in other cities also are obstacles in the way of participation. In traditional Indian society, women can be looked as member of the family, or a group as daughter, wife or mother or sister, and not as an individual with an identity or right of her own. The radicalism of the Constitution and its implicit assumption that every adult woman, whatever her social position or accomplishments, will function as a citizen and as an individual partner in the task of nation building, have not yet changed the status of women in our society.

Women participated for the first time in 1928 Olympics. Today they are still lagging behind men even though the coaches, the facilities, the techniques and the climatic conditions remain the same. Sports as an institution reflects society and, of course, what is valued in sports with the exception of a few small societies’ women have played a minor role in sport, if they played at all, a role characterized by dependence, passivity, frailty and nonaggression. Since society did not place value on sport competition as a part of the female role, institution,

customs and norms of society were arranged to perpetuate these stereotyped traditional sex roles.

Consequently, sexism in sport was institutionalized in culture and internalized by women in the processes of socialization. Over the ages women in sports have frequently been denigrated and always denied an opportunity. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, however, furnished a model for the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1970s. Women have broken out of the fetters of repression and inhibition in a wide area of concerns. Sex roles have changed dramatically because society has changed.

When a female chooses to participate in vigorous competitive activity, she may be risking a great deal. She is laying on the line everything she may represent as a female in much the same as the girl who first smoked in public raised her image, or the female who first appeared in public wearing pants. The female who has the courage, conviction and the security of her feminine concept, is still taking a risk when she wins a tennis match from the male opponent, any male whether it be in sports, business, or a profession dominated by the male. Competitive sports are still primarily the prerogative of the male in this society.

At present the women are taking interest in all the athletic events, games and sports. Women are also taking part in pole vault, triple jump and other activities which are supposed to be the activities for men only. By going through all these historical evidences regarding participation in sports, it is observed that women are very much interested in participating in games and sports but due to male-dominated world women were getting less chances for better exposure in participation.

Women's inclusion in all sporting activities will ensure proper propagation, proliferation and rejuvenation of sports. Their approach to women's empowerment can be considered through sporting event as a new phenomenon which is being considered by countries across the globe. Women's participation in all categories of sporting activities can promote the application of practical skill as it enables them to acquire individual competency, teambuilding, personality building and health improvement. This can facilitate enhancing women

empowerment, empowerment of community and socio-cultural inclusion with confirmatory consequences (Gayathamma, 2015).

Conclusion

In these modern times, there has been an increasing trend of women participation in sports, particularly in India. However, besides their participation and achievements in sports, it is felt that the extent of women participation in sports shall also be addressed. Most of the literature reviewed and government authorities promote only the merits of sports for women by which they are motivated to participate in sports. Their participation in sports also has some damaging effects on family and relationships, children which were addressed very little in few literatures. It is for the male family members to realize the importance of physical education and participation of women in sports at the national and international level.

For this purpose, gender inequality in society should be removed. It is suggested to open special schools and colleges for women in sports, physical education and recreational activities. It is suggested to the Government to provide concessions and incentives to sports women so that such women can participate in sports events at the national and international level. It helps to curb gender bias in sports in India and society at large.

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The Bahua Dance- a Unique Folk Dance of the Sonowal Kachari Tribe of Assam

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[The North-eastern region of India, where people belonging to different tribes and communities live together. The Sonowal Kachari is one such tribe having its folklore and folk customs. This is a sub-group of the great Kachari group of Assam who inhabit in various districts of Upper Assam. Regarding the origin of the Kacharis Rev. Sidney Endle stated.]

The origin of the Kachari race is still very largely a matter of conjecture and inference in the absence of anything entitled to be regarded as authentic history. From their appearance they approximate very closely to the Mongolian type and Tibet and China to be the original home of the race.' (Endle: 1997, P. 3)

L.A. Waddell in his book 'The Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley' opines regarding the physical appearance of the Kacharis as 'Physically they are a sturdy stalwart people. They have distinctly Mongoloid eyes, with scanty face hair.' (Waddell: 2000, P. 45)

The Kacharis are a group of people found chiefly in the Brahmaputra valley. The Sonowal Kacharis who live mostly in the Brahmaputra valley belong to the Great Bodo group. The Kacharis call themselves Bodo or Bodo Fisa (son of the Bodos). In the North Cachar Hills they call themselves Dimasa, a corrupted version of 'Dima Fisa' or 'sons of the great river' (Gait: 2010, P. 367)

As the word 'Sonowal' means golden in Assamese language, it is believed that the prefix Sonowal in the name of the tribe came to be used during the regime of the Ahom Kings when the Kacharis in the Brahmaputra Valley took to the trade of gold washers (Thakur 1972, P. 40)

There is no authentic literature available about the origin, migration and the settlement of the Sonowal Kacharis. Even though Edward Gait has mentioned about the term 'Kachari' in general, there is no specific mention about the Sonowal Kacharis in the history books. Various mythical and legendary interpretations are there which speak about their

origin. These myths and legends have been transmitted from one generation to the other in oral form.

The Sonowal Kacharis of Assam are very rich in their culture and tradition. The folklore of this tribe has made them unique and different from other people living in Assam. This plain tribe of Assam is the worshipper of Lord Shiva and practice Pujas and offerings to the deities and the gods and goddesses. They have their local deities for performing the rites and rituals. But after the revival of Vaishnavism in Assam, under Srimanta Sankardeva in the late 15th century, there were changes in their religious beliefs and practices. Of course, a section of the Sonowal Kacharis became devout followers of this and the other section of people still retain their own customs and tradition.

The paper aims at studying the folk dance of the Sonowal Kacharis of Assam. This tribe has got many dance forms but one of the unique forms of dance among them is the 'Bahua dance'. The dictionary meaning of the term 'Bahua' is a mimic, Buffon as a clown. (Barua: 2013, P. 930)

The 'Bahua' dance is performed in the Assamese month of Bohag (April) any time after the bihu celebrations. This is celebrated like a festival every year in different areas of the districts of Upper Assam. They celebrate and perform this dance form with the belief that influence of the evil spirits could be eradicated and that they would lead a peaceful and prosperous life. Origin of the Bahua Dance: A legend about the origin of this dance form is to be mentioned here:

In Hindu mythology, the king Daksa, son of Brahma had a daughter named Sati. She wished to marry

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Lord Shiva but the king was against this marriage. King Daksa knew the nature of Lord Shiva so he forbade their marriage. In spite of his reluctance, he had to give his daughter to Lord Shiva, as she was obstinate in her decision to marry him. Later, the king invited some guests to his palace and his son-in-law was also present there. As soon as the king entered the room everyone greeted and showed their honour to king Daksa. But Shiva did not do so. King grew furious at his behavior and pledged that he would take revenge upon him. So the king organized a Yagna and invited everyone except his daughter and his son-in-law. When this news reached Sati, she could not stop herself from visiting her father's place. As soon as the king saw her there, he started insulting her and her husband. Sati could not tolerate this and she died at that place itself. Lord Shiva immediately came there along with his followers and servants. The tale says that when a drop of sweat of Lord Shiva fell on the ground a very courageous man named Virbhadrha appeared. He was ordered to cut off the head of king Daksa and to put the head into the fire. The Queen pleaded to Lord Shiva and he cooled down and gave back his life by placing the head of a goat onto the body of king Daksa. Getting back to life, Daksa was overjoyed and forgot about what he was wearing. So, he was given banana leaves in order to cover his body. Based on this tale, the Bahua dance is performed by the Bahuas by wearing banana leaves as a dress.

Two males are selected as Bahua and Bahuani (symbolizing the King and Queen) and these two fast on the previous day of the performance of the dance. About sixty to eighty banana leaves are required to make the dress of the Bahuas. The leaves are slit into strips and then tied with a special kind of rope to form the dress. The shell of pumpkin is used to prepare masks for the Bahuas. These are then painted with colour. Along with the Bahuas, many other are painted with black colour and they wear a dress made of banana leaves only in the lower part of the body. Usually the males take part in this performance. The performance from the jungle accompanied by instruments mridong (kind of drum), dhol (traditional drum), cymbals, banhi

(flute) etc. Along with then a group performs bihu dance and enjoy this celebration. During the study in one of the places known as Dhamal village, Jamira in Dibrugarh District of Assam, it has been observed that local people and villagers gather in large numbers in the field to have a glimpse of this performance. The entire field was given a boundary and the dancers performed the dance around the field twelve times. At the end of the performance, the performers walked to a pond or a river and dipped themselves in the water and shed their dress of banana leaves in the water. While returning back they should not look back. This is a ritual among the Sonowal Kacharis and this is still prevalent among this tribe.

Folk belief associated with the dance

They believe that there will be no rainfall on the day of the performance of the Bahua dance. Moreover, if there is any misfortune in the village, they would get rid of that if they offer prayer on that day. The performance of the dance form will enable them to get good production of crops in that year. There has been changes in the performance of the dance form with the passage of time. Certain modifications and changes have been observed in the celebration of the Bahua. Yet the Sonowal Kacharis are trying to retain the age old tradition and customs related to the dance form. This is the reason why they organize this like a festival annually and some others do it according to their convenience. Thus, the Sonowal Kachari tribe of Assam, by celebrating this unique dance form is trying to preserve their culture, which is a rare form of art.

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Indian Higher Education Sector

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India, today, is considered as a talent pool of the world, having qualified and educated human resources in abundance. This has been one of the primary reasons for transformation of India into one of the fastest growing economies in the world since 1990s. The Economist Clark Kerr observed, “On a global level wealth and prosperity have become more dependent on the access to knowledge than the access to natural resources.” India’s aspirations to establish a knowledge society in the increasing globalisation, is based on the assumption that higher and technical education empowers people with the requisite competitive skills and knowledge. It has been realized that it is the quality of education that prepares one for all pursuits of life. As a result, increasing attention has been given to quality and excellence in higher education.

The top seven states in terms of highest number of colleges in India are Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Telangana. Seventy six per cent Colleges are privately managed; 61 percent Private-Unaided and 15 percent Private Aided. Total Enrolment in higher education has been estimated 33.3 million with 17.9 million boys and 15.4 million girls. Girls constitute 46 percent of the total enrolment. Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Higher Education in India is 23.6 percent for 18-23 years of age group. The GER for male population is 24.5 percent and female it is 22.7 percent. For schedule castes it is 18.5 percent and for schedule tribes, it is 13.3 percent as compared to the national GER of 23.6.percent. Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) has shown significant improvement from 19.4 percent in 2010-11 to 23.6 percent in 2014-15. 30 per cent GER by 2020 as envisaged in 12th plan would be achieved.

“The Union Minister for Human Resource Development highlighted that this data base acts as rich depository that gives direction while devising policies to improve higher education. He also suggested that State universities in conjunction with regulatory bodies like AICTE, UGC should strive

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to update curriculum, which may include industry participation, use of ICT enabled education, collaboration with international organisations to make education more dynamic and increase employability.”

Distance enrolment constitutes 11.7 percent of the total enrolment in higher education. Of them 46 percent are female students. About 80 percent students are enrolled in undergraduate level. 1.13 lakh students are enrolled in PhD that is about 0.34 percent of the total student enrolment. Pupil Teacher Ratio in Universities and college is 1:24. The total of teachers is 14.18 lakh. Out of which more than half of about 61 percent are male teachers and 39 percent are female.

Recent Trends in the Higher education

Over the past few decades, the global economy has shifted from being manufacturing centric to a knowledge driven one and as countries move up to the ladder of development.

A successful education policy forms the foundation of all fields of national development including political, social, economic, technical, scientific, and environmental. Thus, higher the quality of university education in a country, the more prosperous and competitive are the people. The 12th Five Year Plan focuses on expansion, inclusion and quality to achieve the national goals in education. The planning commission’s focus is on instilling “inclusive growth” in making headway. The plan is expected to be one that encourages the development of India’s education sector through government spending.

Higher education is essential to build a workforce capable of underpinning a modern, competitive economy. The process of broadening access, making higher education inclusive, and promoting excellence initiated during the 11th Plan needs to be consolidated and expanded during the 12th Plan, particularly expansion and quality improvement. Higher Education system needs to be built such that it would sustain rapid economic growth, promote international competitiveness and must

meet the rising expectations of the young enterprising Indians.

While India has made significant progress in ensuring access to primary education, the proportion of students who remain in higher education is considerably less. Ensuring equitable access to higher education is a challenge with disparities seen across gender, regions and socio-economic groups.

Enrolment: In terms of GER in higher education, India with a GER of About 23.6 percent lags behind to a great extent as compared to the developed world, and with some other developing countries. With the rising levels of enrolments in school education, the supply of higher education institutes is insufficient to meet the growing demand in the country.

Quality: There are various dimensions of quality in education, including content, mode of teaching, infrastructure and facilities, employability, etc. Ensuring quality in higher education is amongst the foremost challenges being faced in India today, with few institutes having achieved global recognition for excellence.

Curriculum and Pedagogy: A key concern in higher education institutes is framing course curriculum. The curriculum is often not oriented to encourage entrepreneurship and innovation among students. Also the adoption of new mode of delivery, such as technology-enabled learning, has not yet become widespread.

Infrastructure: higher education institutes run by the public sector suffer from poor physical facilities and infrastructure. The higher education system also suffers from misalignment of supply of courses in which the demand is in excess of the available number of seats.

Faculty: For Many years faculty shortages and the inability of the state educational system to attract and retain well qualified teachers have been posing challenges to quality education. The quality of teaching is often poor and also there are constraints faced in training the faculty.

Accreditation: Among the accredited, only 30 percent of the universities and 45 percent of the colleges were found to be of quality to be ranked at

“A’ level. Only 25 percent of the total higher education institutions in the country were accredited (NNAC,2011)

Industry linkages: There are poor levels of meaningful industry participation in aspects like curriculum development, research and faculty exchange programmes. Placement services in many universities are very limited resulting in a lack of co-ordination between employment seeking graduates and prospective employers who are looking for suitably qualified candidates.

Employability: The Indian education system on the whole is not aligned to the skill and man power needs of the market. Skills shortage across sectors is accompanied by high levels of graduate unemployment, highlighting the need to include employment-linked modules in courses. In addition to job related skills, graduates are often reported to be lacking adequate soft- skills such as communication and inter-personal skills.

Research: There is inadequate focus on research and innovation in higher education institutes. The causes include insufficient resources and facilities, limited numbers of quality faculty to advise students. Enrolment of PhD constitutes only 0.48 percent of enrolment in higher education in India (MHRD, 2009)

Governance and management

The regulatory environment governing higher education in India has been the subject of debate. The envisioned role of the private sector needs to be defined clearly the need for more financial resources in higher education. The higher education system also suffers from an over centralised structure. The regulatory climate governing higher education in India is characterised by uncertainty and conflicts between multiple regulatory authorities. The role of the private sector in higher education is essential in the context of a shortage of financial resources for this segment. There is lack of clarity on funding pattern, incentives, and regulatory oversight. There remains regulatory confusion relating to the role that foreign higher education institutes can play in the country.

The 'not for profit' tag associated with the higher education sector has been a major block preventing private/ foreign investment. The higher education sector is capital intensive in nature with requirement under law for procurement of minimum land, construction of built-up infrastructure/ libraries/ hostels etc. It would be challenging for any private entrepreneur or company to commit huge investment without any return. However, the government can address this issue by ensuring adequate checks are put in place to avoid any such situation leading to commercialisation and lack of quality.

Financial Resources: a shortage of financial resources for higher education is the key concern in this sector. "state universities and their affiliated colleges that account for more than 90 percent of the enrolment suffer from severe fund constraints and poor governance leading to poor quality. 1.12 percent of GDP is spent on higher education (about 18 Percent approximately), while the requirement is for these levels to increase to 25 percent of total education expenditure by the government.

Management of Indian Higher Education

Management of the Indian education faces challenges of over centralisation, bureaucratic structures and lack of accountability, transparency, and professionalism. As a result of increase in number of affiliated colleges and students, the burden of administrative functions of universities has significantly increased and the core focus on academic and research is diluted.

Quality Teaching

Quality teaching involves several dimensions, including the effective design of curriculum and course content, a variety of learning contexts including project based learning, collaborative learning, experimentation, pedagogical techniques to produce learning outcomes for students. Availability of trained faculty to meet the increased demand, to balance performance on teaching and research is essential in fostering quality teaching.

Conclusions

Despite the huge potential in the higher education sector, not everyone has been able to achieve success. There are few globally renowned

educational institutions and huge demand for Indian students in overseas markets. The estimated 150 million population is in age group 18-23 years, growing economy with numerous employment, and growing middle class with increasing incomes are some of the strengths in India. India is expected to emerge as a global hub in education in Asia Pacific region.


The challenges facing in the Indian higher education are lack of infrastructure, shortage of trained faculty to meet the increased demand, highly complex and unclear regulatory frame work at Central and state level, and regional imbalances. Time lag in introduction of reforms due to various reasons, over regulations with regard to curriculum, entrance tests, fees, etc. lack of availability of trained faculty are some threats to our country. Therefore the government can provide more funds to this sector in terms of investment and permit private/ foreign investors to play a larger role.

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जानकारी
यानी भूकंप से निपटने की तैयारी



झुको, ढको, पकड़ो



जैसे ही भूकंप के झटके लगें :

- फौरन किसी खुले स्थान की ओर दौड़ें
- यदि यह संभव न हो तो तुरन्त झुका कर अपने डेस्क या मेज के नीचे धले जाएँ
- अपने सिर को किसी मज़बूत चीज़ या अपने बस्ते से बचाएँ
- दौड़ कर किसी कोने में खड़े होकर अपने आप को बचाएँ

राष्ट्रीय आपदा प्रबंधन प्राधिकरण
भारत सरकार