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Good Governance: Some Reflections from Political Theory

A.P.S. Chouhan*

This paper attempts to critically analyse the concept of good governance in Indian democratic system in the light of important theoretical positions on the issue, their role in establishing social justice, empowerment of the weaker sections and overall development in a nation state. It attempts to make some suggestions with regard to good governance and democratic system in Indian context. This paper is an extension of some of the talks delivered by the author in the various academic forums in universities, especially on democracy in India and also on good governance.

I

Government to Governance

Democracy was never the choice of governing system to many of the important philosophers, say Plato, Aristotle, Emmanuel Kant, Karl Marx or even Mahatma Gandhi, but is considered as the best among the worst forms of the governing systems which were or are being practiced in our societies. Hence, democracy developed as a concept, theory and practice in a long evolutionary process in context of challenging the then existing feudal system and emerged also as growing demand of the mercantile community in decision making and the affairs of the functioning of the state. This paved the way for establishing democracy as a system of governing most of the

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societies in the world today, even if not democratic but which claim to be democratic in many other ways- democratic centralism and so on.

Government commonly refers to formal institutional processes which operate at various levels to maintain order, take collective decisions, by legislations (making laws); execution (implementing decisions taken/ laws made) and adjudication (interpretation of laws enacted). Many a times the government is synonymously used for administration or even the executive especially in case of Presidential form of system. Hence, governance as a concept developed in theory and practice in an evolutionary process in context of challenging the then existing liberal, welfare oriented democratic system and emerged also as growing demand of the market dominating community in decision making and the affairs of the functioning of the state and society. Hence, in the garb of neo-liberal/globalisation onslaught there has been an explosion of new terminology-terms, words, concepts or new vocabulary and so on especially after 1980 in order to create more space for such actors (non representative of people's mandate) which were not directly making the decisions or implementing policies or to some extent shaping and coordinating the social life. Hence, *governance* evolved, which in all its connotations and expansion is explained and established as much broader term/concept than the government itself; or to say government itself is one of the parts in governance which functions apart from government - with market mechanisms, hierarchies of bureaucracies and also traditional forms of government organisation with private management and evolves networks of informal relationships between essentially equal agents or social agencies. In a way it can be said that possibly there can be governance without government (Rhodes, 1996). Further this can be explained as a 'retreat of state', 'role back of the state', or a 'minimal state' (Hayek, 1948; Friedman, 1962 and Nozick, 1974). Hence governance occupies the central position, instead of government which we studied as performing the functions of legislation or execution. This phenomenon is further explained by Indian scholars as "the foregoing account suggests that the broadly defined sphere of market, on one hand, and the non-governmental sector, on the other, are the two spheres of activity which have grown and prospered as the state contemplates its own shrinkage, or at least ineffectuality. It could hardly be a coincidence that it is precisely these two domains — of the market and the non-governmental sector — that have been identified as critical ingredients in the alternative conceptualisation of governance that have marked international development discourse in 1990s. Further, it is explained referring to Jessop

(1998: 41-42) as "the new definitions of governance that have emerged in recent years include not merely institutions of national government, but also those of local and global governance. They suggest that governance is a more broad-based process which encompasses state-society interactions and partnerships, and are therefore heterarchial." (Jayal, Niraja Gopal/Sudha Pai, 2001)

There is no set definition of the concept governance; it can be categorised among contingently contested (Ball, 1997) or even essentially contested (Gallie, 1955-6). But the literal meaning of governance can be explained as governing and control. Governance may also be understood as processes of both decision making and implementation. This has been most of the time supplemented and interchangeably used for rule, administration, government and the state itself. It can be explained as the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented (partially implemented or not in context of bad governance). In more than one context governance is used from local, provincial and international (UNO, IMF, and WB etc.) to corporate governance. Since governance involves processes, the analysis of governance should focus on actors and structures both formal and informal. Unofficial advisors, relatives and friends etc. of political executives and bureaucrats in case of informal actors and kitchen cabinets, business or crime syndicates and organised brokers in the case of informal structures. The over powering influence of such informal or extra constitutional actors and structures on decision/policy making cumulatively accentuates the rate of corruption, accelerates decay and initiates illegal practices in every political system.

No longer governance is equated with civil service reforms and/or with only application of management strategies devised in private sector and applied on public sector organisations (technicism and scienticism in public administration). But now a days it lays emphasis, with the afore mentioned, on participation, decentralisation, accountability and government responsiveness to social justice, social equality, social transformation in turn social restructuring, networks, Public Private Participation (PPP) and so on. This thrusts, apart from serving the interests of the non-elected decision makers, the duty on government that the fruits of development reach the most backward sections of the society.

There are three main variables of governance: political, economic and civil society. Equal application of rule of law, accountability, transparency, right to information and checking corruption in public life constitute the political variable. Corporate governance, regulations of private sector and the financial market constitute the economic. Various manifestations of civil society (schools, property, business activities, non-governmental organisations etc.), social justice, not excluding un-civil associations constitute the civil society variable. They are directly proportionate, when we talk of governance.

Good has been suffixed to the afore discussed concept- governance: good governance. If we analyse any regime- ancient, medieval or even the modern democratic governance has always been aspiring to be good governance. The good governance can be traced in important Indian writings cutting across centuries and various rulers, especially in Dighanikaya and Anguttranikaya, Jataka Stories, Arthshastra of Kautilya, Manusmriti, Shanti Parva of Mahabharata, Tiruvalluvar's Tiru-k-Kural, Nitisara of Kamandak, Yashastikala of Somdeva, Trisastilakapurusacharita of Henchandra Suri, Shukraniti, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Barni, Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal, writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. But what we intend to discuss in this paper as good governance has been envisaged by the World Bank and supported by IMF resolutions which has eight important ingredients:

1. Participatory;
2. Consensus Orientation;
3. Transparency;
4. Responsiveness;
5. Effective and Efficient;
6. Equitable and Inclusive;
7. Rule of Law; and
8. Accountability.

The test of good governance lies, not on the imposition of some assumptions, '*guide lines*' and '*directives*' of multilateral organisations (WB and IMF) or in the quest of achieving some targeted monopolistic globalised objectives. But it lies in the goals and objectives of a government through its policies and programmes, in the manner of their execution, in results achieved and above all in the general perception of the people about the ability of functioning of its various agencies, their attitude and behaviour towards the public. Good governance is associated with efficient and effective administration in a democratic framework. It implies presence of the rule of law, freedom to choose their own representatives, safeguarding of basic human rights, presence of honest and efficient government, accountability, transparency, openness and participation. It should be admitted that good governance is committed to social transformation and social justice oriented administration aiming for improvement of quality of life of the people of a nation. As proponents of globalisation argue that liberal democratic form of governance is suitable not only for managing the state but also for mediating through the capitalist forces for global political and economic homogenisation and this monopolist perspective has been emphasised by Francis Fukuyama[1] given in his famous End of History and the Last Man as "*… government of persons will be replaced by administration of things*".

II

A discussion on good governance, from political theory perspective, cannot carry much meaning without asking three questions: What is governance? Why governance?; and How does one govern? The theorists and political commentators of different intellectual perspectives have analysed it in different but dramatically opposite theoretical frameworks. There are varied in perspectives on this whole question.

On the contrary, since Solon wrote the first Constitution in B.C. 594; ancient Greek philosophers Socrates, Plato and Aristotle have thrown light on ideals and practices of running a state, or ideal state which can be called governance or even good governance; they pointedly discussed all aspects of public life and good governance and evolved great philosophical systems in this context. Analysis of their contribution shall make this paper longer, history oriented and in many ways out of context. I would like to concentrate on modern and contemporary theorists, whose ideas evolved and shaped the present state system and democratic theory in context. Contextual distinctiveness between political institutions and practices is not only the source of confusion. The idea of good governance is not singular in its connotation in the history of theory (both Eastern and Western). Some of the confusions and ambiguity in contemporary understanding of the term are rooted in the multiplicity of meanings assigned to the term in philosophical traditions, with individual thinker imparting distinctive inflexion to theoretical use of the concept of good governance. However some individual thinkers seemed of particular importance in philosophical tradition because they introduced either specific formulation of the problem, or a special contextual reference. There are thus specific references of some of the following theorists, political thinkers and practitioner. There are in both global and Indian context there are Liberal, Marxist, Gandhian, Nehruvian, Periyarian and Ambedkarite perspectives on aspects of good governance.

Some of which are taken in discussion below to understand what good governance connotes in our intellectual discourse.

III

According to the views of theorists of liberal perspective[2] good governance is a system of representative self-government, democracy undermined and challenged privileges based on slaves and nobles. In 18th century it challenged the government endorsed property qualifications for the right to vote, they invoked at the same time, the idea of natural equality. Later they rejected theories of divine right and natural superiority. To put in another way they maintained that government derives its power from the people and holds it in trust for them. These ideas collectively formed the basis of democratic theory. It was on the basis of these ideas the right to franchise was extended to property-less class, minorities, oppressed and women. In short, it provided a means of challenging prejudices that were grounded in difference of class, religion and race.

Since the notion of good governance under discussion in the present context (even as given by the World Bank or as spelled out by the IMF in its resolutions) is part of democratic theory, so in the beginning it is imperative to note that the French Revolution and American Civil War represented the two most eloquent articulations of democratic aspirations. In theorising about democracy, it may be noted that through these great events the notion of natural equality was supplemented by the idea that all persons, as members of human species possess equal dignity and deserves equal treatment.

The writings of John Locke (1632-1714) shaped democratic theory in the 17th and 18th centuries. He was an early defender of limited, representative government. Locke maintained that man was by nature equal. Nature had granted certain rights and privileges to all man, in particular it had given to even man the power to preserve his property i.e. life, liberty and estate. Since these rights were given to man by nature they came prior to the constitution of government, in fact Commonwealth was formed to create conditions in which man could enjoy right to property more decently and adequately. The notion of natural equality and inalienable rights[3] proved to be effective tools in the struggle for democratisation.

In comparison to Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) envisaged a more direct and active form of political participation through political associations, giving political interpretation to Rousseau's conception Talmon writes "connoted above all the active and equal participation of all citizens in the shaping of the sovereign will, in the exercise of active citizenship rights, not so much his freedom, as his dignity as a member of the sovereign"[4]. No one was to be excluded or subordinated to the wish(es) of another. Everyone was doubly committed – Firstly as member of the sovereign body and secondly as member of the polity. Thus, he expands the sphere of democracy by refusing to differentiate between the government and the sovereign body of individuals. He made common good the basis of democratic discourse. For Locke, natural rights are inalienable and for Rousseau, freedom itself is inalienable, "to renounce liberty is to renounce being a man, to surrender the rights of humanity and even its duties"[5]. To renounce one's freedom is to renounce ones humanity. In the writings of Rousseau, the need to preserve freedom goes hand in hand with striving for equality. He brings the realisation of freedom as of modern age major and in this way he heralds the modern age of political discourse by assessing it the task of reconciling merit, freedom and equality. General Will is thus an expression and embodiment of equality. Rousseau sees participation through political association as the most important attribute of democratic governance. In nutshell, Rousseau's work suggests that the members of a polity are united by common purpose that emerges in the course of active and continuous participation.

Thomas Paine (1737-1809), another very important liberal thinker on rights, is almost in agreement with Rousseau that human beings enjoyed natural rights by virtue of the fact that they were humans. Paine used the idea of equal rights to challenge differences rooted in birth. He defended the universal right of citizenship. Thomas Paine wrote "Establish the rights of man; enthrone equality…let there be no privileges, no distinction of birth, no monopolies; make safe the liberty of industry and trade, the equal distribution of inheritances."[6] and denounced titles as well as the privileges that derived from their possession. Paine rejected the Edmund Burke's idea of natural aristocracy. In fact, he argued for equal civil rights "the principle of an equality of rights is", is Paine writes, clear and simple. "Every man can understand it, and it is by understanding his rights that he learns his duties; for where the rights of man are equal, every man must finally see the necessity of protecting the rights of others as the most effectual security for his own"[7] and in this way charted a new direction for democracy - one that could be followed by all democratising polities.

It is obvious that these thinkers vehemently argued that individual consent is prerequisite for governance. They also maintained that the consent for the individual is expressed through law; therefore the rule of law, inherent to constitutionalism is the minimum criterion for liberal democratic governance.

J.S. Mill (1806-1873) laid emphasis on importance of education and well being of the citizens by the government as measures of good government, he writes, "it promotes the good management of the affairs of the society by means of existing facilities, moral, intellectual, and active, of its various members and by 'improving' those facilities."[8] J.S. Mill was influenced by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), who holds that every individual has an inner domain and it is that domain which shapes his thoughts, feelings and sentiments. This domain is so private that nobody has a right, including government, to enter that domain without the prior consent of the individual. Unrestrained freedom of thought and restrained action constitute the essence of Mill's liberalism. He writes, "the sole end for which mankind is warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self protection…. The only purpose for which power can be rightly exercised over member of a civilised community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forebear because it will make him happier, because, in the opinion of others, to do so would be wise or even right."[9]

Another dimension of good governance is to put forward by contemporary liberal political theorists, known as libertarians. Contemporary political theory is sharply divided on each of these issues. One group, better known as libertarians including F.A. Von Hayek[10], Isaiah Berlin[11], Roland Nozick[12] and Friedman[13] oppose the new expression of social justice. In their view redistribution of any kind requires state intervention and this is clearly undesirable. The libertarians believe that market is the best protector of individual liberty and the state is enemy. Nozick argues that redistribution restricts a person's right to dispose his holdings in a manner of his choosing and emphasises on "minimal state". They maintain that government regulations and interventions in market are regarded as being inversely related to individual liberty. At its heart lies a strong case for "rolling back" of the state and its withdrawal from redistribution commitments.

John Rawls rejects libertarian approach. He says that social justice is and must be the central agenda of liberal democracy. His two principles of justice may be formulated as follows: (a) First Principle of Justice is: each person engaged in an institution has an equal right to the most extensive liberty compatible with a like liberty for all; and (b) Second Principle of Justice is: social and economic equalities are to be arranged so that they are both: (i) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, and (ii) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity.

To single out the least advantaged and maximise this long term prospects consistent with the liberty of equal citizenship is, in his view are the ethos of democratic society. For Rawls, all the natural assets must be pooled together and then redistributed according to the principle of fairness that is collectively arrived at[14].

The Gandhian and Marxist perspectives in contrast to liberals maintain that governance by itself should be replaced by self–regulations. Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) would trace the entire governance to the individual imperfection and failure of collective to develop its own mechanism for self-governance[15]. According to Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883) as long as there are antagonisms between individuals and the groups, humanity cannot enjoy real freedom. Marx also held that governance through the state is only to protect the self interest of the owners of means of production, who appropriate the surplus from the laboring classes. The state is embodiment of legitimate coercion. In the Marxist world view, the state and its coercive organs and apparatus require to be dismantled in the process of realising fuller freedom[16], in turn good governance.

Periyar E.V. Ramaswami (1879-1973)[17] and Bhim Rao Ambedkar (1891-1956)[18] can be located between liberal and Marxist world views, as far as the question of governance is concerned, they held that Indian social order in the existing form, would permit neither liberal democratic governance nor Marxist transformative project. They held that the European societies are founded on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. It is these values upheld both by the individual and also the collectives that rendered liberal governance possible. But in society riddled by graded inequalities, the current context become so different that polarisation of social forces, as analysed by Marx, may not hold good. The governance in Indian society draws its sustenance from these graded inequalities which could neither be liberal nor transformative. They locate the crisis of governance in the concept and practice of caste system. Both thought and practiced annihilation of social fundamentalism and caste; and end of all kinds of unjust discriminations as prerequisite for any decent governance.

The notion of good governance from Indian perspective is to strike a balance between the ideas of good governance of Mahatma Gandhi, Periyar and Ambedkar. To put in a few word the afore mentioned are some of the varied perspectives which have thrown up certain values and bases for good governance like – rule of law, liberty, equality, social justice, decentralisation and participation in the social, political and economic spheres of our society. They together create a sphere and base for a discussion and debate on good governance in Indian context.

Need is also felt at this juncture to analyse, in short, the theories of public administration given from to time for responsible and good governance. I would like to submit that Wilson, Taylor and Weber represented 'orthodoxy' in their theoretical endeavours; they supported in a way patriarchal and monopoly capitalist attitudes prevalent in our society. The alternative models of Constitutionalism and Communitarianism also have their limits in spite of that these theories are contributing to developing the ethos of New Public Administration. A need is felt to construct a new theoretical position taking into considerations the dynamics of multicultural societies. A good work is done by Fox and Miller[19] in which they have taken a new position based on Critical Theory, Phenomenology and Structuration theories. From this wide platform they developed a 'discourse theory' of Public Administration. These recent theories are anti-positivist and seek to avoid technicism. Like Communitarianism, the Discourse Theory would like to see some sort of social formation of sufficient density and strength to counter the worst aspects of monopoly capitalism.

IV

It can be submitted that India may not have achieved many great milestones in social, economic and political realms or our public and social life, but certainly yes there has been rise in our social awareness for rights and share in governance among rural poor, oppressed, exploited, illiterate masses and invisible and subordinate gender through positive role played by NGOs, self-help groups, and many other organisations and groups, to name a few - Sathin, Seva with many others.

These peoples' groups and organisations be appreciated for not only waging struggles/movements on grassroot issues but have contributed in broadening and deepening our democracy and governance in much broader sense then envisaged in the World Bank agenda. This new awareness and a quest and zeal for participation in decision/policy making by the grassroot people and organisations shall help our society to save and preserve our community and natural resources which are being targeted by the multinationals through emphasis on "better environment for private sector activity" (part of reference given below). This awareness and participation of various sections of our society can generate awareness for our own exploitation free governance.

The aims behind good governance may be underlined in the address to the UN Economic and Social Council of Michel Camdessus, IMF Managing Director on July 2, 1997 in which he emphasises the aims and objectives of good governance in the aid recipient nations as "Good governance is important for countries at all stages of development… Our approach is to concentrate on those aspects for good governance that are most closely related to our surveillance over microeconomic policies – namely, the transparency of government accounts, the effectiveness of public resource management, and the stability and transparency or economic and regulatory environment for private sector activity." In no way these initiatives are not targeted towards the emancipation of the downtrodden but to serve the interests of big monopolies and the interests of the hyper hegemon. (Emphasis added)

I want to refer another important resolution of IMF which in my opinion be analysed carefully because it underlines the motto of good governance agenda and it is basis of this policy initiative through which IMF seeks involvement in countries governmental activities is through the Role of the IMF in Governance Issues: Guidance Note as approved by the IMF executive Board, July 25, 1997.

Time and again IMF has emphasised its 'contributions' to promoting good governance in member/aid recipient countries through different channels – policy advice for liberalisation of exchange, trade and price systems and elimination of direct credit allocation, enhancing their capacity to design and implement economic policies, improving public sector accountability and with many other aspects of promotion of transparency in financial transactions and has 'helped' countries to improve governance, limit opportunities for corruption and to increase likelihood of exposing specific issues of poor governance.

This is the same type of tone, emphasis, and language which were used by the British at the time of introducing the Doctrine of Lapse, and through this the British intervened in the affairs of local princely states. It was on the basis of malfunctioning of administration and mismanagement of public funds the Doctrine of Lapse was practicalised. IMF is also using the same type of terminology for instance: doing "Surveillance", giving "Policy Advice", and "Exposing Poor Governance". This in a way also infringes the sovereignty of all those developing nations which are either in debt trap or aid recipient countries.

V

Need for good governance, as proposed by World Bank, be understood in the context of current global economic crisis (basically world economic crisis during 1990s, which was instrumental in the collapse of the Soviet Union and introduction of various concepts by western scholars and the multilateral organisations and now the present one which has compelled the decision makers to propose another agenda of post globalisation where the marginalised and the undernourished will have to share the losses and the profits shall be shared by the multi-nationals as have taken shape in the initial stages in grant of packages to various companies which nose-dived during the present global meltdown in the United States) and imposition of liberalisation and globalisation on emerging economies through IMF, WB, GATT and now WTO. Case in context is ruthless exploitation of Latin American nations through these twin monopoly capitalist designs - liberalisation and globalisation. The results are evident that these Latin American societies today are devoid of even the access to their own natural resources, inflation has shot up to more than 500 per cent in many Latin American societies, corruption is very high, democratic institutions have become defunct and they have bequeathed these problems only through liberalisation and globalisation. Now good governance rights of multi-lateral organisations and the hyper hegemon have enhanced the probability to make direct interventions through 'Surveillance', 'Policy Advice' and under the garb of 'Exposing Poor Governance' and the other like tools of monopoly capitalism. Because through this recent 'initiative' of the World Bank there seems to be a change in the lexicon of governance, which is evident from: (a) shift from structures to processes and spheres; (b) there seems to be a tug of war between state versus local governance on one hand and state versus global governance on the other or to use the phrase of Benjamin Barber (1996) Jihad vs. McWorld in context of endogenous and exogenous attacks on the state; and (c) state versus the other non-governmental actors such as market. This in a way has challenged the sovereign status of modern state and the whole range of literature from Machiavelli onwards which is state referent or is generally state centred.

The other submission is that the western approaches had always been clinical and formulaic aimed to establish hegemony of capitalist monopoly. These types of theories and concepts are evolved, produced, propagated, imposed and also die out but always with negative results as has happened in Latin American societies or/and may happen through establishment of 'civil society' in African countries and through 'good governance' in Asia.

VI

We can derive some basic postulates, at this juncture, as to what can be good governance in Indian context after understanding and analysing the concept and hidden designs of the Bretton-Woods model of good governance. I think good governance in India must include and be constitutive of:

1. The political authority by representatives of people and should be accountable to them;
2. Exercise of authority for common good, formulation and implementation of policies in direction of peoples' all round development;
3. The prime objective of the good governance in Indian context should be to:
   (i) attack on old age hierarchal social structure of society and contribute to social and democratic transformation; and
   (ii) distribute the fruits of development so that it should reach even the most down trodden sections of society;
4. It must be corruption free and free from informal actors and structures in decision and policy making and implementation;
5. It must effectively manage resources and be transparent in distribution/redistribution of resources (natural and community both);
6. It must be sensitive to the problems and issues related to discrimination of any kind specially with gender and other marginalised sections of our society;
7. Must be participative at all levels of decision/policy making; and
8. It must take into consideration the concerns of people, environment and development in a harmonious and balanced way.

To have such governance, it is suggested that the social complexion and complexities of Indian society must be taken in account. Ours is a multicultural, multilingual, multiregional, multi-caste, multiracial and multi-religious society, which in its short span of democratic experience of six and half decades could address some of its major contradictions through its responsive governance. Ours is not a society which is 'under stress', has 'crisis of governability' or 'facing a decay' as has been understood and analysed by some scholars with western perspectives like – Atul Kohli[20], Pranab Bardhan[21], Rudolf and Rudolf[22] and others. But ours is a society which through peoples struggles and various social movements, since independence, enriched our democracy[23] and in turn shaped better and people oriented governance by incorporating many such sections of Indian society which were devoid of basic needs and rights because of structural reasons of Indian society.

To conclude, I admit that good governance being an ideal concept, is very difficult to achieve in any society; first because of "man's brutish nature" (Hobbesian dictum) and secondly because of various social complexities and diversities in practically in all societies. But our move in the direction to achieve our own good governance may in future save some of our communities and natural resources. This can only be done by generating awareness and active and continuous participation of NGOs, subaltern sections specially women in decision making and policy making at all levels of governance. This may lead to establishing social/gender justice with sustainable human development through our own good governance, not the imposed and directed good governance of some so called multilateral and multinational organisations.

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Women Victims of 26/11 Mumbai Terror Attacks: A Psychological Perspective

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Terrorism can affect anyone and anywhere around the world. Over the past few decades, many people around the world have suffered loss, injury and became victims of terrorism. By attacking innocent people, the terrorist hopes to strike fear in all those who can identify with the victims. This paper focuses on the psychological imbalance caused due to the terror attack on 26th November 2008 at Mumbai. The study identifies the occurrence and persistence of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), Depressive Disorder and the Coping Strategies adopted by women victims of 26/11 Mumbai attacks. Findings reveal that women victims were affected by psychological disorders like PTSD and depression.

Introduction

Violent victimisation is often a traumatising and life-altering event with short and long-term implications for the victim's quality of life. As no individual is alike, in a terrorist incident individual levels of reaction vary. Some people are more prone to emotional situations and take additional time to return to their normal state. Many researchers have proved that women are more sensitive to traumatic incidents compared to men. The

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injured person should undergo emotional and psychological suffering of denial of the fact that she is devastated.

All the more the certainty of the worthlessness of lost life of their treasured ones will collapse the female victim. When compared to other violent victimisations terrorist victims that too women victims obtain more consideration and sympathy from public. Victims of terrorists could be seen by society as "more innocent" and thus be more likely to get support (Shichor, 2007). The victims have no unique features or interactions with the militant for them being targeted. They got wounded for being in the inappropriate place at the wrong time. They are the innocent beings who became scapegoat for the politically motivated and religious reasons. If a woman is victimised, it is not just she who is shattered, but her family too. The sympathy towards the terrorised and weak female race is universal and inevitable. As the women occupies the essential and vulnerable position in society, it is crucial to know the nature and magnitude of the terror victimisation in women. This paper has made an attempt to study the extent of psychological imbalance in women victims of 26/11 Mumbai attacks.

Conceptualisation and Operationalisation

It is imperative to spell out the operational definition of the concepts used in the study to have better understanding about the research paper. The United States Department of Defense defines terrorism as "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological." Within this definition, there are three key elements — violence, fear, and intimidation — and each element produces terror in its victims.[1] The definition of "victim" can be found in the UN General Assembly Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power (hereinafter, the 1985 UN Declaration), in Article 1: "Victims" means persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within Member States, including those laws proscribing criminal abuse of power. The Council of Europe has integrated the victims' perspective in its work in the field of the fight against crime and has paid particular attention to States' capacity to restore the situation of victims of acts of terrorism. It has produced and updated a set of legal instruments to assist States in dealing with victims' needs, including:

"Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism", which establishes in Article 13 that parties shall adopt measures to protect and support the victims of terrorist acts committed within their own territory, including financial assistance and compensation for victims and their close family members. The "Guidelines on the Protection of Victims of Terrorist Acts" which recognises the suffering of victims of terrorist acts and their close family, and states that these persons should be shown material and international solidarity and support. The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence adopted by UN General Assembly in the year 1993 states women victims as, "Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty; whether occurring in public or in private life." Even though there is no exclusive definition on women a victim of terrorism, the above definition specifies and protects the rights of all women victims affected by violent crimes including terrorism.

Terrorist Attacks in International and Indian Arena

The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) (2008), maintained at the University of Maryland states that in India, 4,108 terrorist incidents occurred between the years 1970 and 2008. During this period, India ranked sixth among all countries in terms of terrorist incidents (behind Peru, Colombia, El Salvador, the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland and Spain). A total of 12,539 terrorist related fatalities had occurred in India between 1970 and 2008 at an average of almost 360 fatalities per year due to terrorism in India. These fatalities peaked in 1991 and 1992, when 1,184 and 1,132 individuals (respectively) were killed in such incidents. Terrorists in India have employed a variety of attack types over time: 38.7 per cent of terrorist events were facility attacks, 29.7 per cent were bombings (in which the intent was to destroy a specific facility), and 25.5 per cent were assassinations. The current Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism – Suicide Attack Database (CPOST-SAD) release contains the universe of suicide attacks from 1982 through September 2014, a total of 4,065 attacks in over 40 countries. The recent events in Mumbai would be classified as a series of coordinated facility attacks. Terrorism also aims at psychological causalities of the victim apart from physical attack. It is a psychological warfare and they battle against victim's psyche. The trauma affecting the victim of a terrorist attack is irrevocable and everlasting. The traumatic attack disrupts the existing schema of the person about the world they reside in. The realisation of being vulnerable to terrorism itself is harrowing to the victim. The trauma is more accelerated if the victim happens to be a woman.

26/11 Mumbai Attack

A heinous criminal conspiracy has been planned and hatched in Pakistan by the internationally banned *Lashkar-e-Taiba* to execute a series of attacks at prominent places in Mumbai, the financial capital of the country on 26th November 2008. This was with the express intention to destabilise India, wage war against this country, terrorise its citizens, create financial loss and issue a warning to other countries whose citizens were also targeted, humiliated and cold-bloodedly killed. This *fidayeen* mission was part of a larger criminal conspiracy planned in Pakistan for attacking the commercial capital of India with intent to wage war, to weaken India economically and to create terror and dread amongst the citizens of the Mumbai metropolis in particular and India in general and, thereby, through the said unlawful activities its perpetrators committed terrorist acts. Many innocent lives were lost and the vulnerable sections of the society, women and children were traumatised. There are many research studies conducted on the impact of terrorist attacks on general public. But there is a lacuna in the literature on the women victims of terrorism. This study aims to fill the vacuum in the literature and to explore the psychological imbalances of women victims immediately after the traumatising incident of Mumbai terror attack. This study intents to identify the occurrence and persistence of PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) among the women victims of 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks; to find out the occurrence of Depressive Disorder and to study the extent of active and avoidant coping strategies adopted by the women victims.

The universe of the study includes direct women victims of 26/11 Mumbai attack. To meet out the purpose of the study, a total of 65 women victims including the employees of CST railway station, Hotel Taj, Leopold Cafe and vendors who had witnessed the attack were chosen. The primary data was collected using an interview schedule. The study was conducted after six months of the occurrence of the incident to validate the persistence of symptoms of PTSD and depressive disorder. Apart from getting information through interview schedule, case studies were also collected to substantiate the quantitative data. This facilitated the researcher to acquire personal and unrevealed information regarding victimisation of the respondents.

It is really surprising to observe that, 87 per cent of the women victims were affected by PTSD. The fear of being defenceless and the recurrent thought about re-victimisation by the terrorists, craft these symptoms and they get strongly rooted in their mind. Research done on 9/11 found that after the attack, PTSD was more commonly seen in women (Neria et al., 2006). The jolt of trauma had struck the victim directly and instantly in a situation where she must have felt protected and secure till then. The awareness of herself as the most vulnerable self has panicked and disturbed her mind. The researchers prove that the saturation point of a person and the way one perceives a stressful situation differs according to one's gender too. Researches worldwide show that gender is a major factor as women are twice at the risk of PTSD compared to men (Haskell, et al., 2010 and Christiansen & Elklit, 2008). The University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) researchers from the San Francisco Veterans Affairs Medical Centre (SFVAMC) and SFVAMC based Northern California Institute for Research and Education (NCIRE) examined individuals with PTSD symptoms and found that the women in the study were more likely than the men to develop a stronger fear response, and — once conditioned to respond fearfully — more likely to have stronger responses to fear-inducing stimuli. This gender difference was primarily due to women's greater risk of PTSD following events that involved assaultive violence. They are the fragile beings and are always at the risk of being victimised. This impression given to the woman by the society itself makes her panic and dreads an exposure to an unusual condition.[2]

PTSD in women victims manifests by way of persistent flashbacks to past traumatic terrorist attack. These flashbacks were triggered by any sensory input that resembles the environment where the original event occurred. Many women victims with PTSD were constantly vigilant of their surroundings; otherwise they felt that they were suddenly transported back to the most terrible experiences of their life. Few respondents lamented that to keep flashbacks in check, they simply stay at home, where surroundings were controlled and predictable. A woman victim in Colaba stated that, "*When I was working in the restaurant at Colaba the incident occurred in front of my eyes and I escaped miraculously from the shooters' guns. After the incident, I quit the job and I am remaining idle at home. I don't dare to visit my workplace again as it would remind me of that dreadful event*."

The factors measured under PTSD are as follows:

Intrusive Symptom

Memories, images, smells, sounds, and feelings of the traumatic event can 'intrude' into the lives of individuals with PTSD. Women victims remained so captured by the memory of past horror that they had difficulty in paying attention to the present. Women victims with PTSD report frequent, distressing memories of the event. They had nightmares of the event, excessive sweating, nightmares and sometimes even acting out the dream while sleeping. They sometimes felt as though the events were happening again; this is referred to as 'flashbacks' or 'relieving' the event. They became distressed, and experience physical signs such as sweating, increased heart rate, and muscle tension when things happen which remind them of the incident. Further, trauma is an internal phenomenon; it is not dictated by the actuality of an experience, but by the individual's reaction to it. For this reason, this study also found that two women who had the same traumatic experience had different psychological reactions, one of them developed PTSD while the other has continued to lead a normal life.

Avoidance Symptom

The study found that majority of the women victims with PTSD had problems of withdrawal from the normal activities of the society. Memories and reminders of traumatic events were very unpleasant and usually lead to considerable distress. Therefore, women victims with PTSD often avoid situations, people, or events that would remind them of the trauma. They often try not to think about, or talk about, what happened, and attempt to cut themselves off from the painful feelings associated with the memories. In their attempts to do this, they often withdraw from family, friends, and society. They felt that this would help them to shut out the painful memories, but it could also lead to a feeling of not belonging to the rest of society and of no longer taking part in activities they used to enjoy. Such reaction results to depression, feelings of isolation and problems within the family.

Arousal Symptom

After the terrorist attack, majority of the women victims often see danger everywhere and become "tuned in" to threat. This leads to being overly alert or watchful and to having problems concentrating. Disturbed sleep is very common. Anger is often a central feature in PTSD, with sufferers feeling irritable and prone to angry outbursts with themselves, others around them, and the world in general. The traumatised women had been through an event that potentially threatened their life, or the life of someone else, so the mind and body stay on alert to make sure that it would not miss any sign in the future of the recurrence of such an event. They felt it was safer to get it wrong by overestimating potential threat than to risk the possibility of missing any future threat. In addition, the threat detection system also seems to be so sensitive that it was constantly going on when there was no danger, in a way that interferes with the person's capacity to live a normal and happy life.

PTSD is not the only psychological response to trauma. People may develop a range of other problems that can affect their quality of life. These problems may occur on their own or as part of the PTSD. Overall, the most commonly associated problem in PTSD is depression. The finding of the study reflects that 80 per cent of the women victims were suffering from depressive disorder while 20 per cent of women did not show any symptoms of depression. "The majority of psychopathology in the aftermath of trauma was best to conceptualise it as a general traumatic stress factor, suggesting that when PTSD and depression occur together, they reflect a shared vulnerability with similar predictive variables" (O'Donnell, Creamer and Pattison, 2004). The symptoms of both PTSD and depressive disorder are overlapping and thus, the feeble minded victims may slip from one into other disorder unconsciously. Their depression is not always followed by violent victimisation. The factors that explain this statement are reproductive, genetic, biological, interpersonal and psychological characteristics which are in the possession of females for ages. This study also confirms that there is a relationship between women and depression than in men.

Among the women victims of the attack 47 per cent had prior experience of psychological disorders. The rest 53 per cent were reported to have no psychological disorder before the attack. The results of the study vividly explain that respondents with prior psychological disorder have definite chance of being affected by PTSD when they were triggered by any traumatic incidents. This is because the existence of the trait of mental illness in a person aggravates the symptoms of PTSD.

More than half (56 per cent) of the women victims of the attack depends on avoidant coping strategies. They rely on substance abuse to avoid recurrent thoughts about the incident and for reconciliation with oneself and the society. Evidence in supporting to this statement says "out of the 3,000 adult women who have been criminally victimised were at increase of alcohol and drug abuse problems" (Bremner et al., 1996). It can be said from the above findings that the occurrence of PTSD along with depressive disorder and the habit of substance abuse (avoidant coping strategy) are inseparable. The onset of one will definitely compliment the commencement of the other. PTSD, depressive disorders and substance abuse are functionally related to one another. "The relationship between exposure to trauma and increased risk for development of a substance use disorder was found to be specific to PTSD, as exposure to trauma without subsequent development of PTSD did not increase risk for development of a substance use disorder" (Jacobsen, Southwick and Kosten, 2001). Depressive disorder may not lead to PTSD, but the symptoms of this acute stress disorder will definitely end in depressive disorders and avoidant coping strategies. The onsets of all three dreadful conditions are normally seen in women victims of violent and traumatic incident. "Among women with PTSD, rates of co-morbid depression and other anxiety disorders are highest, followed by alcohol abuse and dependence" (Jacobsen, Southwick and Kosten, 2001). Mostly the women are affected severely because of their quiet and inward nature. They bury the pain and agony within and struggle to face the world. On the whole, they will lose the fight against oneself and end up depending on drugs and alcohol hoping for comfort. One of the respondents has narrated her experience on coping strategy which she was adopting: "I have lost my livelihood and nowadays I am spending more money on buying pan and liquor".

It is analysed that 44 per cent of the women victims were trying to adopt active coping strategies which include eating healthy food, taking lots of rest, establishing a daily routine, identifying priorities and setting realistic goals, asking for moral and mental support, educating themselves about PTSD and trying to get treatment to improve their mental health, caring for their partner and their children, focusing on their strengths, taking responsibility for their illness and remembering that they are not alone and they can always seek the help of others without any inhibition and hesitation.

Fear of Re-traumatisation by Women Victims

Immediately after the attack the victim experienced panic, fear and helplessness. These excessive degrees of emotions caused hyper-vigilance in individual and they acted peculiar and strange in their habitual life. In this study, it was found that a majority of the women victims were more prone for re-traumatisation and were hyper-vigilant to observe the surrounding events. A situation associated with the trauma creates panic in the victim and hence the women tend to act strange especially in midst of a crowd. The victim was under the spell of the brutality she has witnessed and was haunted by the fear of being re-victimised. The women victims were more vulnerable soon after the incident of time as any glimpse which calls to mind the lethal incident would definitely disrupt the stability of their mind. Once traumatised, the person is more vulnerable to re-traumatisation by other events (Kinzie, 2004). The constant traumatic scenes were unpalatable for women who must have experienced the loss of her child, husband or relatives. The comparable visuals in television and intermingling with similar scenes has also reminded the victim of the traumatic bloodshed and its poisonous outcome.

Conclusion

A deadly terrorist act will tear down the existing schemes of the women about their life and the humanitarian values of the mankind. The traumatic incident of terrorism has got direct social and psychological consequences on the behaviour of the women victims. The pain and misery of the women victims is ignored or forgotten when the chaos and bewilderment is settled. No effective step is taken by the authorities to identify the outcome of such terrorised act on victims. In such a confused condition the victims' emotional and psychological life is at stake. The social support normalises and modulates the emotional and inappropriate stimulus reactions of the victim. The victim should feel safe once again in the world where she has lost everything one time. Women should believe in humanity and build her lost hope with the support and compassion of their fellow beings. Re-socialisation is the only way to reverse the victim from her wretched state of mind. To make emotional progress women should repair the existing connections maintained with the society and learn apt counter responses to the upsetting act. The victims should discard the harrowing experiences of the incident and allow the newly learned reactions to be part of their behaviour.

Recommendations

Establishment of Health and Psychological Services

It is imperative to establish easily accessible health services that can provide victims with comprehensive support over short, medium and long duration. Relevant Government agencies should work with health professionals and psychologists to institutionalise assistance to victims. This should include establishing mechanisms that provides information as well as psychological and medical treatment and support to victims.

Creation of Rapid Response Team for Victim's Support

There is an urgent need to create a rapid response team for victims' support. A group of relevant experts who are sensitised in helping terror victims especially women to be established to provide immediate assistance to the victims.

Role of Government in Combating Terror Violence Against Women

- Creating awareness to the general public on terrorism.
- Sensitising civil society to deal with terror victims.
- Establishment of victim assistance cells for women which include: i. Legal assistance; ii. Psychological support; iii. Medical assistance; iv. Moral support; and v. Holistic approach in women victim care.
- Advocacy and research on terrorism and its impact.
- Requirement of policy change to combat terrorism.

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Examining the Electoral Process in India: The Study of 16th Lok Sabha Election

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This paper is an attempt to understand the real scenario of 16th Lok Sabha Elections (2014) in India. Basically, the elections are meant to get people's representatives to operationalise democracy. In fact, democracy is nothing without elections. The electorates use their political right to vote and participate equally in the political process, which led to increasing political consciousness. During these elections, the anti-incumbancy factor was very strong due to the major shortcomings of the UPA-II regime such as corruption, price rise, policy paralysis and indecisive leadership. On the other side, the BJP was fully prepared to reign over the country under the strong leadership of Narendra Modi. Moreover, the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) emerged as the strong challenge to the UPA as well as NDA. During this time, the introduction of the NOTA provisions in the EVMs was the most inclusive factor. Now, the electorates want stable, accountable and corruption free government. Subsequently, various cases of hate speeches by political leaders in the form of threats came into limelight. The influence of money, liquor, drugs and muscle power have also assumed serious proportions. To clean the electoral politics of India, the important remedy lies in the "clean money, clean politics slogan" on the pattern of U.S.A.

Introduction

The process of regular elections, multiparty system and a free press indicate that India is a democratic country (Guha, 2007). Parliamentary democracy ensures that different multiple groups can be accommodated in

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the system of governance by providing them with an opportunity to participate in governance. India has multiple kinds of majorities and minorities and they get a feeling of "togetherness" by participating in the Indian system of governance. Moreover, this system also ensures the participation of all regions, sub-regions, dominant groups and multiple sub-groups through the representation of diverse and competing interests in the process of governance (Bhambhri, 2003). The direct democracy is not possible in the countries with larger size.

Therefore, the elections are the method to elect people's representatives with the sole purpose to operationalise democracy.[1] The right to vote is the most effective instrument in the hands of the electorates to safeguard their fundamental freedoms and human rights. It led to the politicisation of many traditional, social, cultural and religious institutions and laid the seeds of change in the whole socio-political power-structure. In this process, the citizens collectively exercise the right to elect their representatives, the elected representatives can also be legitimately proud by representing all the citizens irrespective of their religion, caste, sex, language and region etc. (Singh, 2010).

The article 324 of the Indian Constitution provided for a permanent Election Commission with the power of superintendence, direction and control of preparations and the conduct of all elections both to the Union Parliament and State Legislatures (Shankar and Rodrigues, 2011). Moreover, the Election Commission has come to play a major role in limiting and eliminating electoral malpractices including 'booth capture' and 'bogus voting'. Many of these mechanisms are concerned with the enforcement of law and order and disciplinary measures (Shankar and Rodrigues, 2011).

As per Article 325, no person shall be excluded from the general electoral roll or included in any special electoral role 'on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or any of them'. On the other hand, the elections to the house of the people take place through universal adult suffrage, a core constitutional principle established by Article 326. All the Indian citizens above the age of eighteen, who may not be otherwise disqualifiable on certain minor grounds which Parliament can regulate, are 'entitled to be registered as a voter'. These two provisions are working as the lifeline of India's constitutional framework, thereby providing the mechanism for free and fair elections in the largest democracy of the world. The qualifications for membership to Parliament are listed under article 84 of the constitution (Khosla, 2012).

The wider responsibilities of the Election Commission were constitutionally delineated through a variety of Articles, including Article 54-71, which set out the mode of presidential and vice-presidential elections, Articles 79-104 outlined the parliamentary structure and Articles 168-93 stating the composition and electoral basis of the state legislatures (McMillan, 2010). The Tarkunde Committee on Electoral Reforms (1975) suggested that Election Commission should be a multi-member body, and proposed that the selection of commissioners, rather than being in the hands of the President alone, should be put in the hands of a committee consisting of the Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha and the Chief Justice of Supreme Court. This constitutional framework was consolidated through the Representation of the People Acts (RPA) 1950 and 1951, which provided the detailed provisions for the delimitation of constituencies, administrative details of the electoral process, and basis of the electoral system (McMillan, 2010).

From time to time, the Election Commission of India (ECI) has made constructive suggestions to eradicate specific evils in the Indian democratic electoral process. To achieve these goals, the electronic machines and identity cards for voters were considered important devices for improving the quality of elections, but these steps have not produced the desired results. In fact, every political party or group has developed a great interest in money and muscle power for winning elections, from Panchayats to Parliament (Bhambhri, 2003).

Now, the far-reaching changes have taken place in the electoral process of India, because paper ballots have been replaced by electronic voting machines, which proved as more efficient and trustworthy than previous ballot papers. Moreover, voter identity cards with photographs since 1993 and lowering the voter age from 21 to 18 years are the major achievements of Indian democracy. Along with the national and state level scenario, the elections to the local bodies like Corporations, Municipalities, Zila Parishads and District Panchayats are also pivotal to taking electoral democracy at the grassroots, there is need to make the State Election Commissions also Constitutional bodies on the patterns of the ECI. The "clean money, clean politics" slogan on the lines of America is other important remedy. In U.S.A., corporate funding is totally banned since 1907. India claims to be the biggest democracy in the world, where, during polls, the Election Commission has fixed expenditure limits on individual candidates i.e. Rs. 70 lakh for the Lok Sabha candidate, but in actual practice, there is no such limit on expenses incurred by political parties. Moreover, the influence of money, liquor, drugs and muscle power on voter is also a noticeable factor.[2]

Therefore, the Election Commission is responsible for the time-tabling of the electoral process, setting dates on which elections will be held, and overseeing the candidate nomination and vote counting process. In the case of dissolution of the Lok Sabha or State Assemblies, the notification of elections is issued by the President or Governor in consultation with the Election Commission (McMillan, 2010). In the political history of India, the 16^{th} Lok Sabha elections were exclusive because of the various factors such as the highest number of eligible voters in the world, highest percentage of voter turnout, efficient Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs), relatively peaceful campaigning and polling. In Indian democracy, most of the factors during elections like caste, religion, ethnicity and language, along with ideology and commitment also shape the origin and development of political parties. The most distinctive feature of these elections, which has been described by George Mathew through the quotation, the "melting of vote banks".[3]

Due to the emergence of new ideologies and movements, the vote banks of even the established political parties is also melting. The emergence of Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) is the new phenomenon in Indian politics and the result of anti-corruption movement throughout India.[4] Moreover, the issue is not stability in the coalition era, but the Council of Minister's accountability before Parliament. In Parliament, the political parties should change their partners and make alternative arrangements for governance, if they feel dissatisfied. Basically, the accountability is the necessary pre-condition for the successful working of parliamentary democracy. The Dalits and other oppressed and exploited social groups actively participate in the electoral process and assert their rights (Bhambhri, 2003). In the recent Lok Sabha elections, some political parties have encouraged cleavage between Hindus and Muslims. To maintain unity and integrity of the country and strengthen the faith of the common man in our political process, we will have to go back to the ethos of our national movement i.e. all communities belonging to different religions and castes are equal in the eyes of the law and as laid down by the Indian Constitution.[5]

But the actual reality of the formation of 16^{th} Lok Sabha is that out of the 543 winning candidates, 186 have criminal cases pending against them. According to the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) (2002), which analysed the election affidavits filed before the Election Commission, 34 percent of the new MPs face criminal charges. Among them, about 21 per cent face serious criminal charges related to murder, attempt to murder, causing communal disharmony and rape etc. The ADR held the provisions that voters have a right to be informed of a candidate's past criminal record.[6] In the sixteenth general elections, the distinctive factor was that Priyanka Gandhi emerged as the star campaigner of the Congress by leading a spirited fight against Narendra Modi, which was otherwise the most challenging task during the strong wave of Modi. In the present scenario, the Congress needs to win back people's confidence. Basically, people want a stable and corruption free government for the country. The political analyst, Subrata Mukherjee is of the view that the Congress is in a difficult position primarily because of its heavy investment in one family i.e. the Nehru-Gandhi's.[7]

Another notable sociologist Andre Beteille also suggests that very long stint in the government for a single party is not good for democracy and for the long-term health of party system in the country.[8] The Congress Vice-President, Rahul Gandhi accused the BJP of nurturing a "strong communal and centralising tendency" that makes "it impossible for the poor and the disadvantaged to rise through hard work." He further argued, the Congress' idea of India is about inclusion, decentralisation, empowering people and building partnerships for economic growth. Anti-incumbency is always a factor for any government that has been in power for 10 years.[9] The political history of India indicates that every regional party is the private shop of a leader. Therefore, in elections, any desire to get rid of "money power" is utopian, as political players have a view of maximising their personal benefits. This face clearly shows that money has great power in Indian democracy (Bhambhri, 2003).

Moreover, sycophancy has become a common factor in the functioning of all political parties. In contemporary politics, it is a proven fact by the saying of Dev Kant Barooah, a Congress leader, who arrogantly claimed in 1975 that "Indira is India and India is Indira". There is an urgent need for Congress leadership to introspect the main factors responsible for the defeat of the party in the recent parliamentary elections. Along with this, there is also the need for accountability, revamping of the leadership and a review of what the Congress stands for in a fast-changing India, within a fast changing world.[10] Most of the political parties are indulging in minority appeasement and vote bank politics, instead they need to aim at universal development and providing education and employment to all. Earlier, there was a misconception that the vote-bank politics is confined only to Muslims and Dalits. A time bound solution is required about the day to day problems of religious minorities. Even the European countries are exploring the possibilities of shifting from multiculturalism to pluralism in order to open up intercultural dialogic spaces.[11]

During the 16th general elections, the BJP manifesto was far away from the three core issues of Hindutva ideology such as the construction of Ram Temple at Ayodhya, scrapping of Article 370 which guarantees special status to Jammu and Kashmir, and the demand for a uniform civil code, rather the focus was given on economic development, reforms, good governance and jobs and so on to satisfy India's underprivileged classes as well as appeal to the changing aspirations of the emergent middle class. Earlier, the BJP's political success since the 1990s has much to do with the communlisation of Indian politics, but now, the BJP is working primarily for developmental agenda under the leadership of Narendra Modi and the corporate financial elite of India has the high expectations from the NDA government. The economic elite wants to reduce the role of government in business and ultimately minimise rights-based welfare policies.[12]

As a result, BJP under the leadership of Narendra Modi came to power with full majority by winning 282 seats on the agenda of development and employment, thereby the total tally of NDA was 336 seats. Basically, the Lok Sabha elections (2014) mark a turning point in the political history of India, which led to the formation of stable government at the centre after the gap of 30 years. The Congress was reduced to a thin majority by securing only 44 seats, the lowest tally since the history of the party.[13] The AIADMK emerged as the third largest party by securing 37 seats in the elections. The Trinamool Congress (TMC) won 34 seats, Biju Janata Dal (BJD) 20 seats and Shiv Sena 18 seats. The much publicised Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), after its stunning victory in the Delhi Assembly elections, managed to win four seats only in Punjab. Despite the clearcut majority, the BJP invited its alliance partners to join the government and some of them were also inducted into the Council of Ministers. During these elections, the total figure of eligible voters was 81.60 crores, which was nearly 71 crore in 2009 Lok Sabha elections. Apart from this, the voting percentage was also very impressive, as many as 66.40 per cent of votes were polled in these elections (Sakthivel, 2014).

The BJP received almost 32 per cent of the votes polled, which is the highest ever. In his victory speech at Vadodara on 16 May 2014, Modi said that he considered himself a "*Mazdoor No. 1*", that he would never betray the country's mandate and that he would not discriminate against any community. Therefore, people considered Modi as *Vikas Purush*, who will be able to extend the Gujarat model to the whole country. The Gujarat model of development means the availability of water and power for 24 hours on all 365 days of the year.[14] Therefore, the election verdict reflects, how deep public disenchantment has been with the UPA, whose leadership had inspired little hope. The electorates reacted angrily to relentless price rise, persistent economic slowdown, non-governance, politics of freebies, appeasement of minorities and rampant corruption. As a matter of the fact, people are fed up with political fights over non-issues and want growth to accelerate, peace to prevail and society to stay free of riots. Moreover, a large number of people were inspired by the "minimum government, maximum governance", slogan of Narendra Modi.[15]

Another significant feature of these elections was the introduction of None of the Above (NOTA) provision in the EVMs, which was used by the 57 lakh voters in order to express their dissatisfaction against the present candidates in the list. Earlier, the NOTA was introduced in 2013 as per the directions of Supreme Court during the assembly elections of Delhi, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Mizoram. Moreover, during this time, 61 women have been elected to the Lok Sabha, which is the highest number in the political history of India (Sakthivel, 2014). In India, conducting peaceful elections has always been the most challenging task, given the criminalisation of politics and the use of religion, caste and even riots in influencing the outcome. The political parties too should be restrained from obscene poll expenditure, which is largely funded by the corporate sector. Basically, non-transparent poll funding is at the root of rampant corruption. Every election is a learning experience and throws up problems and solutions.[16] The criminal proceedings should be initiated against the defaulters, who seek to exploit communal sentiments of the people only for electoral gains. More surprisingly, during the 16th Lok Sabha elections, the country has witnessed the divisive and inflammatory speeches by the politicians while addressing public meetings and rallies. In this regard, the Congress candidate from Saharanpur, Imran Masood was arrested and later on remanded in police custody, because he threatened to "chop off" the hands of the BJPs prime ministerial candidate, Narendra Modi. The BJP incharge of U.P. campaign, Amit Shah (now BJP President) made an explicit call for revenge, while addressing a meeting in riot-hit Muzaffarnagar. Besides, the leader of the Samajwadi Party, Azam Khan injected communal venom by claiming that the Kargil war of 1999 was won by Muslim soldiers alone.[17]

The Bhavnagar, Vishwa Hindu Parishad leader Praveen Togadia created a controversy by making a statement "not to allow Muslims to buy property in Hindu localities". Togadia says, "In many places in India, there is a conspiracy by Muslims to first buy one house at a high price and then buy Hindu houses at half the price. There are two ways to stop this. One is to pressurise the government to implement the Disturbed Areas Act, which is operational in Ahmedabad and other cities. When the Act is in operation, Muslims cannot buy properly in Hindu-majority areas. The other way is to encroach and put up a board of the Bajrang Dal and leave the legal fight for later".[18] These words are the clearcut violation of the Articles 14, 15 and 19(e) of the Indian Constitution (Equality before Law, Prohibition of Discrimination and to Reside and Settle in any part of the territory of India respectively). Therefore, Togadia clearly invited the Hindus to encroach on properties, bought by Muslims from Hindus. The BJP candidate during the 16th Lok Sabha Elections, Giriraj Singh said, "the critics of the prime ministerial aspirant Narendra Modi had no place in India, but belonged to Pakistan."[19]

Besides this, Samajwadi party leader Mulayam Singh Yadav created furore by telling school teachers appointed on contract in Uttar Pradesh to either vote for his party or risk losing out on permanent appointment.[20] Although, in the 16th Lok Sabha elections, the BJP has got a majority after a long period of time, but the broader trend is towards regionalism. Since 1989, the country has witnessed the rise of strong regional parties, which are united in their demand for greater autonomy and become the active partner in the decision making through the people's mandate. Therefore, in the changed scenario, India should move from a unitary type structure towards greater federalism.[21] The political analyst, Subrata Mukherjee, reiterated that Indian politics has reached a stage where it can be clubbed with other "mature democracies" of the world, following a 10 year cycle. The U.S.A is following a two term pattern. With the exception of Jimmy Carter, every president was re-elected. Further, Mukherjee argued, "If in 2004, the Vajpayee government had not overplayed the 'India Shining' campaign or dissolved Parliament before time due to overconfidence, the situation might have been different. The year 2004 was a classic example of overplaying a hand in politics".[22]

The Indian electorate suffers from well-known defects from which Western democracies are relatively free. The Indian voters are in great measure poor and vulnerable to bribery, because a day's expense for food serves to buy a large number of the poor voters. The electorates are ignorant of the connection between Government policies and their consequences in a nation's life (Guha, 2010). We cannot save democracy for India unless we make elections less expensive than what they are today. The expense to be incurred whether by the candidate or the party is far too great and we must investigate and see what we can do to make it possible for a decent man of moderate means to get elected (Guha, 2010). On the threshold of 21st century, there is a need to create awareness among the voters about the real issues that neither the issues of caste nor the construction of a Ram Temple can provide answers to their basic needs. Therefore, the politics of caste and religion will be weakened only, when the politics of "jobs and bread" finds some serious takers (Bhambhri, 2003).

In the present context, the Indian society is becoming a modern society, transcending narrow communal, religious, ethnic, language and other divides and considerations. To generate the awareness among the people, the social media and information technology has a vital role in the society. The overall analysis indicates that the electorates emerged as decision makers, thereby challenging the authority of traditional power holders and seeking immediate solution of their day to day problems. The people have a powerful weapon in their hands i.e. right to vote.[23] In nutshell, various factors can be identified for the defeat of the Congress in the Lok Sabha elections. The electorates were totally disillusioned from the corrupt practices of UPA II government. The delivery on progress and jobs may make the return of the Congress still more difficult in the near future. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) under the leadership of Narendra Modi came to power on the agenda of development and employment. Therefore, the electorates rejected the defaulters, who promised during the elections but failed to deliver.[24]

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Demand and Supply Response of Cocoon Production in Jammu and Kashmir: A Cobweb Analysis

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The supply of many agricultural commodities reflects the cobweb phenomenon, where supply reacts to price with a lag of one time period (supply decisions take time to implement) and demand depends upon current prices. An effort has been made to apply cobweb model in cocoon market in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), by assuming cocoon producers base their production on previous year price. Therefore, they set their cocoon production accordingly on the basis of forecast or anticipation. The aim of this paper is to know the behaviour of cobweb in relation to demand and supply response of cocoon market. The result stated that there is convergent or damped oscillations in cocoon production in J&K, and in long run output and price would settle at 497.64 lack kgs. and Rs. 203.63/kg. respectively. The reason behind the convergent equilibrium was high elasticity of demand for cocoon than supply. In order to make it more remunerative activity, the convergence or damped oscillation has to break down by strengthening the demand side factors.

Introduction

Sericulture is the art and science of rearing silkworm for silk production. Silk is considered as the 'Queen of Textiles' in the world, because of high durability and shine. J&K state is known for producing bivoltine silk

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of international quality. Sericulture is labour intensive industry and helps in improving the economic condition of the landless farmers and weaker sections of the society and providing employment opportunities especially for women's during pre and post cocoon activities. Sericulture supplements the income of the farmers in addition to their returns from the other crops. With the increased economic needs due to changing social status and unpredictable market trend of different kinds of produces by the farmers of the state, sericulture has assumed special significance as an important subsidiary occupation. Presently about 29,300 rural families generating income worth Rs.2026 (J&K Economic Survey, 2013-14) lakh annually and one lakh man days in private reeling sector are associated with this profession (Ganie, 2012).

Sericulture industry in J&K despite having glorious history in the past do not own a bright name in silk production and export. Inspite of having suitable agro-climatic conditions for the development of silk industry, J&K produces negligible amount of silk products every year (Fatima, 2013). Due to this reason, this topic for research has been chosen to analyse the behaviour of demand and supply response by the application of cobweb model. This model has huge number of agricultural implication, because it shows the behaviour of equilibrium in that particular crop.

The regular recurring cycles in the production and prices of particular commodities have been recognised for many years by the economists. Finally three economists, in Italy, Holland, and the United States worked out the theoretical explanation which has come to be known as the 'cob-web theorem' (Ezekiel, 1938). The model is used to explain the dynamics of demand, supply and price over long period of time. There are many agricultural commodities whose price and output are determined in long periods. As prices move up or down, output produced also seem to move up and down in same manner. The models, where decisions in one period are based on variables in another period, such type of models are recognised by cobweb which is one of the forms of dynamic models (Shone, 2002). Cobweb model is a combination of two laws, the law of demand and law of supply; both are simultaneously determined by price and the relation between supply and price is lagged one whereas demand is directly related with price. The theorem states that price on a current market, under conditions of pure competition over a given limited period of time tends to be determined by the interaction of the supply and demand on that market. It means a farmer decides the crop to be cultivated by taking into consideration the prevailing prices but the production is completed after crop period (usually one year) (Yang, 2008; Ghatak et al., 1984).

Assumptions of Cobweb Theorem

- The production is completely determined by producer's response to price.
- Price is set by supply available and demand responding to price only.
- Time needed for production required at least one full period.

Cobweb theorem gives three types of cobwebs.

Convergent Cobweb

In this type of cobweb, elasticity of demand is greater than elasticity of supply. The slope of supply curve is greater than the slope of demand curve; we get the case of damped oscillations. The equilibrium can be established only through a series of adjustments that takes place over different consecutive time periods.

Divergent Cobweb

when change in prices and quantities move away from equilibrium, due to lesser elasticity of demand than elasticity of supply. This is an explosive or unstable type of equilibrium.

Continuous Cobweb

The cobweb may be of constant amplitude with perpetually oscillating price and quantities. When the prices completely depends upon current supply and supply completely depends on previous year prices, fluctuation in price and quantities will continue in this unchanging pattern without an equilibrium being approached or reached (Xu Lingling et al., 2012).

Objective

- To study the demand and supply response in cocoon market of J&K.
- To provide policy measures for the development of sericulture industry in the state.

Research Question

What is the behaviour of sericulture or cocoon market in J&K? Is sericulture a growing industry, if not then why?

Material and Methods

The study is wholly based on secondary data which has been collected from Directorate of Sericulture in J&K. The duration of the study is of eleven years from 2003-04 to 2012-13, because of data availability and 10 years is sufficient for drawing conclusion from this study. In the present study cobweb model was used to know the status of stability of equilibrium on the line of work done by Xu Lingling (2012), Ezekiel M. (1938), and Wellford Charissa P. (1989). The demand and supply function was estimated through simple linear regression, and then cobweb model was used to know equilibrium pattern whether there is convergent, divergent or continuous oscillations in cocoon market in J&K by the following way.

Q_s=f (previous year cocoon prices)

Q_d=f (current year cocoon prices)

Result and Discussion

Let us consider the following cobweb model which assumes that today's demand (Q_d) for cocoon is a function of present price (P_t), while today's supply of cocoon (Q_s) depends yesterday's decisions of output based on anticipation of future prices. Hence cocoon output is naturally influenced by yesterday's cocoon price (P_{t-1}).

Table 1
Estimated Demand, Supply of Cocoon and its Prices during Different Time Periods

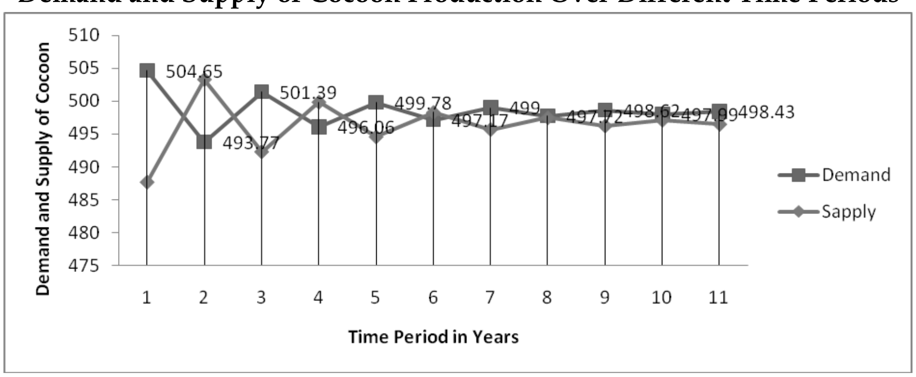
Time Periods	$\hat{p}_{t-1}$ (Rs/Kgs)	$\hat{Q}_s$ (Lakh Kgs)	$\hat{p}_t$ (Rs/Kgs)	$\hat{Q}_d$ (Lakh Kgs)
1			215	504.66
2	215	504.66	197.37	487.73
3	197.37	487.73	209.71	503.3
4	209.71	503.3	201.07	492.34
5	201.07	492.34	207.11	499.86
6	207.11	499.86	202.88	494.6
7	202.88	494.6	205.84	498.29
8	205.84	498.29	203.77	495.71
9	203.77	495.71	205.22	497.51
10	205.22	497.51	204.21	496.25
11	204.21	496.25	204.92	496.51

It can be seen from the table 1 that during round 2 supply of cocoon depends upon previous year prices such as Rs. 215 and taking this constant for next year and producing 504.66 lakh kgs of cocoon, as a result of increasing supply for round 2, demand remains constant which leads to decrease prices from Rs. 215 to 197.37. As the theorem states farmers will keep this low price constant for round 3 and produce 487.73 lakh kg of cocoon which leads to increase prices from Rs 197.37 to Rs. 209.71 per kg because of decreased in cocoon supply during that particular year. The increased cocoon prices become incentive for farmers and they will make efforts to increase production either by embodied or disembodied technical progress to make gains, as a result supply of cocoon increases 503.30 lakh kgs during round 4, which leads to decease prices to Rs. 201.07 in the same year due to increase in supply of cocoon. This process always remains there as for as cobweb theorem is concerned, the whole process can be seen from the table 1.

Figure 1 and 2, reveals that the saw-tooth cycles of erratically fluctuating of cocoon prices and production continue indefinitely, but the magnitude of the movements become smaller and smaller as the cocoon market converges toward the equilibrium where the demand and supply curves of cocoon intersect. The cobweb model assumes that farmers base their production decision on the assumption that this year's price will be the same as last year's.

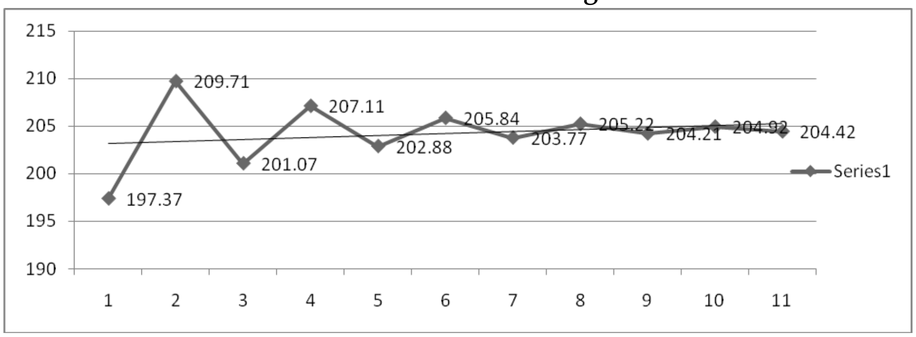
Figure 1

Demand and Supply of Cocoon Production Over Different Time Periods



A low price last year (suppose time period 2 figure 2) leads cocoon rearers to produce a very small amount of cocoon production as shown in figure 1 during time period 3.

Figure 2
Movement of Cocoon Price Fluctuation During Different Time Periods



It happens because current years cocoon production is function of previous year cocoon prices, which at harvest time leads to a high price as seen in figure 2 during 3 period. Anticipating a high price, cocoon rearers produce huge crop expecting more gains due to high price. But the large crop pulls the cocoon price down, causing rearers to wind up with a low price. The cycle persists, but converges to equilibrium point.

Figure 3
Equilibrium of Output of Cocoon and its Prices

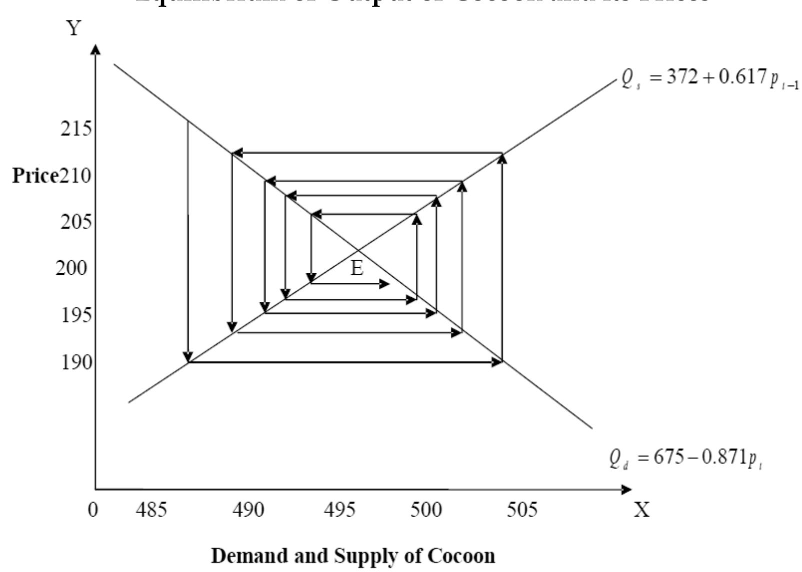


Figure 3 shows the demand and supply of cocoon at different level of prices. The equilibrium is achieved where the demand and supply of cocoon intersect each other. It can be seen from the figure 3, E is equilibrium point where both curves intersect to each other. In the long run the cocoon output would settle at E in given figure 3 (497.64 lack kg) and at the same time long run cocoon prices would settle at the same point which is Rs. 203.63. The nature of the figure shows the convergent type of equilibrium, as the supply of cocoon increases leads to fall in price and next year supply will short fall, which push the prices up and so on. Thus fluctuations or oscillations will dampen and ultimately merge with the point of equilibrium (E in figure 3).

In the long run, the cocoon market in J&K will converge to the equilibrium at the stable price of Rs. 203.63 and cocoon production 497.64 lakh kgs predicted by the cobweb supply and demand model which is calculated as under.

Let $\overline{P}$ be the equilibrium price, therefore

$$\overline{P} = \frac{675-372}{0.617+0.871} = 303 \big/ 1.488 = 203.63$$

The equilibrium output in the long run would settle at;

$$Q_s = 372 + 0.617\overline{P}$$

$$\Rightarrow 497.64$$

$$Q_d = 675 - 0.871\overline{P}$$

$$\Rightarrow 497.64$$

The stability or convergent type of market is determined when the elasticity of demand is greater than elasticity of supply, and is also known as Marshallian stable equilibrium. The above analysis states that the slope coefficients (elasticities) of demand and supply are 0.871(β) and 0.617 (b) respectively the significant both at 1% and 5% level of significance. It clearly shows that among these coefficients that elasticity of demand is higher than elasticity of supply of cocoon in J&K, i.e., why there is Marshallian stable type of equilibrium in cocoon market in the State of J&K. The question arises why the cocoon market is convergent or stable type of equilibrium in J&K? The reason behind this is high elasticity of demand for cocoon market in the state. The important factors which lead to high elasticity of demand are as under:

- Low demand for cocoons because of lack of reeling units in J&K.
- High elasticity of substitution with artificial silk.
- Cheaper imports mainly from China.
- Nature of silk is luxurious.

The factors which make supply inelastic or less elastic are:

- Farmers can not store their produce even for a short period of time; otherwise caterpillar will come out from the cocoons, which leads to wastage of the produce.
- Due to the poor status of the growers they can not wait for better remunerative prices.

Classical economists states that stable markets are self correcting in nature and have important implications for economic policy. However, some scholars state that stability of equilibrium is a futile theoretical exercise without any economic significance, because growth is not taking place. Due to this static nature of cocoon market, sericulture industry is not growing in The state of J&K, irrespective of producing high quality silk and having strong historical background. In order to make it more remunerative activity, the convergence or damped oscillation has to break down. The suggestive or corrective measures to break this stable or static equilibrium are:

- Establishment of more silk reeling units.
- To organise more auction markets at tehsil or block level.
- Removal of intermediaries and facilitating direct contact between buyers and sellers.
- Reopen the existing silk factories in the state.
- Introduction of new techniques of cocoon production.
- Spread of knowledge about the prevailing prices at different auction markets.
- Providing incentives to unemployed youth to make their own reeling units.

If all these measures are taken into consideration, this industry will definitely grow in coming days. But this is not possible without the government and private sector intervention. As a result, on one side new avenues of income and employment will come out and on the other side poverty level will decrease.

Conclusion

Sericulture industry has not shown an increasing trend during past decades and is in a static state. As a result the contribution in terms of share in national cocoon production is only about 1 per cent. This static or slow pace of growth is contributed by high elasticity of demand for cocoon production as the cobweb analysis states. Therefore, due to this static state of cocoon market, the farmers are not getting remunerative prices for their produce; as a result the sericulture industry is not growing in the state. Since the sericulture industry has the potential to grow, a carefully orchestrated policy measures will definitely help the industry in bringing back its glorious past.

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Appendix

Let the supply function be:

$$Q_s = a + bP_{t-1} + v_1$$

and demand function is given as:

$$Q_d = \alpha + \beta P_t + u_1$$

For market equilibrium $Q_d = Q_s$, it implies

$$P_t = \left(\frac{\alpha - a}{\beta}\right) + \left(-\frac{b}{\beta}\right) P_{t-1}$$

This is the equation of the price P_t on time path

if t=1, $P_1 = \left(\frac{\alpha - a}{\beta}\right) + \left(-\frac{b}{\beta}\right) P_0$

if t=2, $P_2 + \left(\frac{\alpha - a}{\beta}\right) + \left(-\frac{b}{\beta}\right) P_1$ likewise the values of the other time periods can be calculated in the same manner. In the equilibrium, it is assumed that:

$$\overline{p} = p_t = p_{t-1}$$

Let $\overline{P}$ the long run equilibrium price, therefore

$$\alpha - \beta\overline{p} = a + b\overline{p}$$

$$\alpha - a = \beta\overline{p} = (b + \beta)\,\overline{p} \Rightarrow \overline{p} = \frac{\alpha - a}{\beta - b}$$

Linear regression was used to estimate the demand and supply function given as under:

The demand function of cocoon is:

$$Q_d = 675 - 0.871\, p_t \quad \text{...1}$$

and the supply function cocoon is given as

$$Q_s = 372 + 0.617\, p_{t-1} \quad \text{..2}$$

for market equilibrium $Q_d = Q_s$

$$372 + 0.617\, p_{t-1} = 675 - 0.871\, p_t$$

$$p_t = \left(\frac{675 - 372}{0.871}\right) - \left(\frac{0.617}{0.871}\right) p_{t-1}$$

$$p_t = 347.87 - 0.70\, p_{t-1} \quad \text{...3}$$

From the above equation, we get series of different prices (P) by substituting t=1, 2, 3, 4, 5..........., the result is shown in table 1 above.

Regression results

Coefficients	Std. Error	T-value	Significance
(β) 0.617	0.121	5.09	0.001
(b) 0.871	0.112	7.78	0.000

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Digital Inclusiveness in Auditing: A Success Story

Rajeev Saxena[*] and Preeti Tiwari[†]

Good governance practices of e-initiative in the field of audit has revealed effectively the responsiveness and accountability to public money and its usage issues. This has aired the spirit of transparency and inclusiveness with the financial governance agenda. The paper analyses the application of e-auditing application by MPSCGC and its efficacy in MGNREGS fund monitoring in the state of Madhya Pradesh.

Philosophical Background

Democracy stands not only for a common agenda, participation of masses, and opinion about common stakeholdership but also how can it be dispensed with. The existence of digital nerve has given a ubiquitous presence to surface the common ownership for realising the spirit of "digital democracy" - the "digital inclusiveness". A democratic society not only consists of the fundamental three organs of statecraft but a regulatory tool independent of the same organs. In this parlance "Audit" is a true watchdog of democracy and when it is energised with the power of digits, it happens to be a protector of good governance. It is rightly said that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, now with the use of technology in auditing the

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continuous accountability and responsiveness and that too in transparent mode has meant the good governance in flying colours. "Audit" the most potent instrument to fathom the government deliveries, unfortunately gets blurred with the passage of time whilst it is the only instrument which makes the executive (the governance) accountable to the legislature (the governors). The issue is that how can it be accomplished. How the methods, techniques and technologies be deployed to get desired results for a "General will society".

Intermingling of audit with Information Communication and Technology (ICT) and Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) may pave the path of citizen centric good deliveries and democratic responsibilities and of course 'e-inclusiveness'. The "e-inclusiveness" denotes infact not only the eco-friendly means of governance but a responsible, accountable and transparent mode of display of government activities along with a spirit of partnership also.

The 'e-inclusiveness' initiative in the field of almost less touched domain of 'audit' which attracts a lot of mental work and ancillary intervention has casted a deep influence on traditional working of government programmes, atleast inner governance in government sector has been much more sensitised.

The word 'Audit; is derived from the Latin word 'audire' which means to hear. Audit is an instrument of financial control. It acts as safeguard on behalf of the owner i.e. government"[1] thus bringing the domain of audit on digital display and e-partnership has been the prime moving force behind the project undertaken.

Project Brief

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) is an act driven biggest and ambitious rural employment generating and poverty eradiation scheme. The thrust of this scheme is on rural economy compounded with social and economic development. The right to avail a minimum 100 days employment for adult rural households in a year paves the path of self-pride and sustainability of much more vide spectrum of economic mobilisation. The scheme connotes the cannon of distributive justices in real sense. In Madhya Pradesh, the scheme is rolled out in 51 districts comprising of 313 blocks, 23006 gram panchyats and about 54000 villages. A rural population of about 5.3 crore has 90 lakh active job card holders and 99 lakh disbursement accounts and a sizeable inflow of funds. From 2005 to 2014 about Rs. 27,750 crore have been spent. This clearly focuses the importance of financial governance in general and audit in particular. At the same time huge expenditure quanta have attracted query and fury of auditing agencies as well as of common man of country.

Fair and just financial governance is the back bone of any government programme. The timely and rightly dispensation of proceeds and benefit and accountability of the same are two pillars, where in the financial governance gets activated and to confirm it audit gets activated in follow up. Madhya Pradesh State Employment Guarantee Council, under Panchayat and Rural Development Department has made the efforts in the direction to catch the vibrancy of theme. From the angle of transparency and accountability and by acting as a watch dog of democracy, putting audit on public domain, an inhouse innovative good governance initiative: the "e-audit" in the shape of “Audit Software” has been conceived and acted upon successfully.

This cyberspace tool is a repository of audit universe of scheme. This inhouse effort tracks audit objections for MGNREGA performance in the state. It is a Common audit platform between "Auditee”, “Auditor” and "Stakeholders” inter acting mutually.

MGNREGS which in implemented by Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs), is subject to be audited by Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAGI), Local fund Audit (LFA), Chartered Accountants (CAs), Internal Auditors (IAs), Concurrent Auditors (CAs) and Others. Under article 243J Indian Constitution (Basu, 1983) and Section 129 of M.P. Panchyat evam Gram Swaraj Adhiniyam 1993 (MPGSA, 1993) the three layers of PRIs i.e. Zila Panchayats (ZPs), Janpad Panchayats (JPs) and Gram Panchayats (GPs) alongwith other line agencies are subject to the financial scrutiny. It is quite clear that manual system of file making and resolution of audit paras and further consolidation and compilation of all the queries and responses were not manageable in traditional style of working. The idea of "e" penetration was thought of as some new mode of working.

Situation Before the Initiative (Bottlenecks, Challenges, Constraints etc.)

Previously there was no technique for quickly locating transaction errors, irregularities, and maintaining compliance with accounting and financial propriety. Tracing the history of auditors, objections, transaction, etc. was not possible at single click. Managers were not able to monitor quickly the entire audit process and a copy of every type of audit cannot be saved. No automated processes on financial data/fact to locate and identify errors or instances of handling of operational transaction/money etc was in place. No sophisticated security with password protection and role-based privileges were there to ensure that data remains secure. Large number of paper work, correspondences, telephonic interventions happen to be an issue. Recurring expenses and undue human interventions happen to be a big impediment in consolidation of audit results. Financial Year wise different type of reports could not be generated for futuristic planning. Nature wise analysis of audit objections over a span of time was not possible, tiring job to compile financial year wise different types of audit reports and their compliances was also a challenge. No alert generation on pendency and ultimately confusion while monitoring planning and decision making for present status and next year projection of audit. There was previously no facility to maintain Government to Government (G2G), Government to Citizen (G2C), Government to Business (G2B) and Government to Employees (G2E) relationship and vice-versa in public domain. The mind set of functionaries was also to be cultured for new mode of working, the whole situation was demanding new step.

Action and Results Achieved

The situation got analysed at MGNREGS council inhouse and simple application of ICT by using N-Tier architecture, frontend made in ASP.net using C# and SQL server as database in the backend, an audit cyberspace tool was designed. The simple use of technology made the innovation workable. A rigorous follow-up was done to consolidate every corner of audit reports and ensure their compliance. The team members worked hard for the success of this project.

Auditing software which has consolidated audit universe on real time online basis, helps quickly in locating transaction errors, detects irregularities, and displays compliance of accounting, financial propriety and other issues. The tool quickly creates an audit trail that allows tracing the history of auditors, objections, transaction, etc. Managers are now able to monitor quickly the entire audit recording process and a copy of every type of audit/compliances can be recorded and viewed online. The entry feed in the software from different levels can be viewed and monitored at any place. This auditing software provides automated processes on data to locate and identify potential errors or instances of handling of Government transaction money etc. The comparison and analysis of different types of audit objections and compliances-nature wise, district wise, year wise, auditing agency wise, are possible now. Different type of reports can be generated financial year wise and planning of future auditing can be done online thus supporting process re-engineering of "e-auditing". Auditing software includes sophisticated security with password protection and role-based access to ensure that data remains secure. It has reduced the paper work, correspondence, telephonic expenses and undue human interventions and of course recurring expenses.

G2G, G2C G2B and G2E and vice versa relationships are maintained and that too in public domain and "e-participation" has taken place whereby the citizens may vouch an active part in auditing thus evolving - "e-inclusiveness" - "digital inclusiveness". This technological innovative and scientific fervour has surfaced the feeling of social accountability, the social ownership and its benefit to common masses. The money which was to be used for upliftment of rural people and welfare, whether has been deployed in accordance to the real spirit of scheme, can be gauzed by this "e-initiative".

Stakeholders of the Project

This is an online, real time, public display complete saga. The stakeholders are - 1. Administrator at Head Office, has full control on the software. 2. District Programme Coordinator/Collector and further devolved functionary at block and gram panchayat level, have control in their respective domain. 3. The auditing agencies are responsible for feeding and uploading the scanned audit reports and the auditees are supposed to feed supporting documents of paras of audit objections, para description and their replies. For making the project move initially head office and districts have taken over the responsibility of data feeding. Because in public domain so many citizen can view the whole scenario at any time whenever they like.

Progress and Sustainability

Audit queries are posted and replies are recorded and this cycle is continuing with the zeal of officers of council as a whole. The objections of "diversion of fund", "defalcation", "theft", "loss" and "misappropriation", "accounting procedure" and "other operational procedures" have been segregated by this endeavour enabling any manager to plan the audit and plug the leakages. This has made all government functionaries sensitive towards auditing and its relevance to good governance. The project is live and continuing for more than couple of years. Sustainability is an additional feature of good governance, which generally fades by time, but the under hand project had transmigrated the myth and continues. It had been taken as inhouse initiative such as it involves no costs and continues at almost no cost.

Recognitions

Madhya Pradesh State Employment Guarantee Council has been conferred upon "Award for Excellence in e-Governance Initiatives in Madhya Pradesh, 2011-12" under the category of "The Best Application Software Developed and Implemented in Madhya Pradesh" for its project "MGNREGS-MP's Audit and Financial Management System" by Department of IT, GoMP at Bhopal.

This Software has been recognised as one of the India's awards in 2013. This software has been conferred upon 'Award of Appreciation' in the field of e-Governance by CSI Nihilent at Vishakhapatanam.

Ways Forward

Improvisation and value addition is a continuous processes; the same is true with this proto type of good governance. Version-2 and subsequent versions will be writing their own script in the coming time. The only requirement is commitment and dedication to "e-inclusiveness" just for a "common good".

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Tribal Entrepreneurship: A Socio-Anthropological Interpretation of Nomadic Community Raikas

Pragya Sharma[*] and P.K. Sharma[†]

The present paper describes an ethnographic account of economic and entrepreneurship activities among the Raika community of Rajasthan. It analyses the ownership of assets, income, expenditure among Raika community members and their interaction with the other community members, traders and credit providers. The paper concludes with policy implications for entrepreneurship development among this nomadic group.

Economic activity is an important constituent of the community life and plays a deciding role in the formation of cultural and social structure of a society. The economic life of tribal people also helps us to understand their culture. Every community has its own way to meet its basic needs for the existence of its members failing which they are threatened with extinction. Nature here comes forward and joins hands with them to fulfill their needs fashioned of course, in their way depending on their customs, traditions, demographic structure, etc. Owing to this, people with same natural surroundings have developed different economic processes to meet their basic needs of individual and collective living.

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"Economic activities do occupy a large part of the life of nearly everyone and economics endeavours to study these activities" (Hicks, 1960). He further says that the study of economics can therefore take us a considerable way towards a general understanding of human society, that is, of men's behaviour to one another. Majumdar and Madan says, "Economic activity is concerned with all such activities of man as are designed to serve his physical survival" (Majumdar and Madan, 1970). The forced entrepreneurship of nomadic tribals is the cause of their economic activities as they do not have the alternative choice due to poor education and absence of social networking to get gainful employability.

According to Bates, real income of pastoralists including Raikas depends on their performance in three markets-animal sale, wool sale and sale of manure (Bates, 1981). Their revenues result from sales in market of such products as animals, wool and animal droppings. Their gross profit can be concluded from the revenues but the prices in the market for inputs have also to be considered. Such inputs include the cost of feed and grazing, shearing rates, illegal gratifications, veterinary medicines and so on. But, their net income can be calculated only by taking into account the costs they incur on third major item namely, consumption goods.

Ownership of Assets

For studying the economy of Raikas during their sedentary as well as migratory part of life, 10 migratory flocks and 45 sedentary families have been studied during 2013-14 through ethnographic research approach. The major issues discussed in the following sections reflect the ingredients of entrepreneurial endeavours of nomadic community Raikas of Rajasthan. Assets refer to the material things possessed by an individual, which gives an idea of their economic status. For Raikas things for their housing system are: T.V., radio, fridge, cooler and so on. Most of the houses are *kaccha*. Out of the 45 households studied, 40 houses were made up of mud walls and thatched roofs. Two houses were semi *pucca* having cemented floor and rest of the others were *kuccha*. The economic conditions of the households having *pucca* house is comparatively better than that of households, having *kuccha* construction. Same is the case with the number of animals and landholdings possessed. Only two televisions were observed among the studied Raikas households. No household had fridge and only one family was observed having cooler.

Source of Revenue

Major source of revenue for Raikas depends on various economic activities as discussed below:

Animal Sale

Of the animals Raika's sell, sheep provides the largest portion of income. There are two types of animal sale: (i) sale of mature stock is a regular sale, that generally takes place every year between January and April and (ii) most of the time Raikas are in need of cash flow, animals are their ready cash and they sell physically individual animals to meet short-term cash needs. It is called distress sale. During migration Raika's do not get enough time to go to urban market and thus for them only informal market works effectively. Thus, animals are sold to the traders and agents who visit the camps now and then. Raikas, usually sell physically unfit animals to meet short term cash needs. During migration, it is necessary that animal should be fit, capable of movement and should be able to survive on low quality fodder for a long period. It is also necessary for them to discard unfit animals. Such animals are sold in early stage of migration.

First distress sale occurs in the month of November/December, which is the starting of migration. At this time, Raikas need ready cash to meet flock needs. Second distress sale occurs in the month of March. At this time, money is needed for shearing. Third distress sale takes place by the end of May-June, just before the return of migration cycle. In regular sales, the number of animals a flock leader or *Mukhiya* will sell depends on certain factors, namely, rate of lambing or births, desired size of the flock, labour available, and male to female proportion of animals in the flock.

Raikas do not sell female animals. Selling female animals to be considered as taboo and they also want to keep them for further increase in their flock. Reproductive rate, in turn depends on the availability of rainfall and fodder. Generally, 400-500 animals, of which the majority is sheep, are considered as an ideal size of the *rewar* during migration. Thus, to reach the ideal size of the *rewar*, Raikas join in groups and bring their flocks together during migration, and an experienced Raika who is called *Nambardar* heads such joint ventures.

Certain studies have been done in order to examine the question of appropriate size of *rewar*. Spooner suggests that there is an optimum size of *rewars* (Spooner, 1973). Other writings indicate that pastoralists are more concerned with maintaining a particular ratio of herders to animals rather than a fixed optimal size related to ecological variables. According, to Koster, "A Peloponnesian herder can effectively manage not more than 250 goats" (Koster, 1977). Swidler who studied Brahui shepherds in Baluchistan, suggests that concerns of expediency and convenience set upper and lower limits to grazing units (Swidler, 1972). In context of Raikas, generally the size varies from 250-500 animals. More than 500 animals could not be effectively herded by *rewar* and a size below 250 does not fare as well. Smaller flocks generate lower surplus and thus, they have to move collectively to make their migration economically viable. Raikas also manipulate the ratio of male to female animals in their *rewar* according to their needs, like by selling rams, gifting ewes and so on.

Sale of Wool

In the context of wool the major income of Rakia comes from the sale of wool of sheep. Generally they are sheared twice a year. But, nowadays, they have started shearing thrice also. First shearing takes place before migration, in the village around September/October and second shearing takes place on the migration cycle around the return point of the journey in March/April, before the festival of *Holi*. In village, generally Raikas shear animals themselves with the help of kins and neighbours. But during migration, animals are sheared by professional migrant shearers called *lavas*. Raikas always try to coordinate the work of shearing with the sale of wool during migration, because carrying it on the route is very burdensome.

In view of the quality the wool is of two types namely (i) Unwashed Wool: In their local dialect they call this wool as *bina dhuli uun*. Generally, this is the kind of wool, which Raikas sell. It is raw, unwashed wool. Animals during the migration route pass through areas, where thorny plants grow in abundance and thorny stems cling to wool thus lowering its value. (ii) Washed Wool: In their local dialect, this is called as *dhuli uun*. Wool after shearing is washed before it is sold. It is of high economic value.

Generally, many *rewars* get the wool sheared collectively. Approximately, shearing of 3000-4000 animals takes place together. Taking decisions about shearing is entirely the responsibility of *Nambardar*. First of all he has to decide the time and place of shearing. Time is chosen according to suitable climatic conditions.

Choosing the location of shearing is also important. Before shearing it is always taken into consideration that the site for shearing should have abundant grazing facilities and water sources, so that the *rewar* can easily stay there for a week. The site chosen for shearing is generally a field near a large village, where families and herds can stay together safely. Raikas do not have to pay any cash for stay because in turn huge amount of manure is deposited in fields. Another task of *Nambardar* is to arrange the buyer of wool. They establish contacts with shearers and wool traders.

Two types of sale contracts can be executed: (i) In one type of sale contract, wool is sold on the hoof and the buyer or trader gives some cash to the Raikas. In such contracts, the trader even arranges the shearing. (ii) In the other type of contract the *Nambardar* arranges shearing and the trader gives payment after shearing. Raikas prefer the second type of sale contract because in this case Raikas generally negotiate better prices. According to FAIR, "The first type of contract, makes the shearers less careful, although it improves the household cash flow. In an effort to shear very close they can nick or cut the sheep" (FAIR, 1980).

During the shearing season, many traders of wool may be seen and found around the route of migration. Generally contract for sale of wool is made to a known trader, whom they have been dealing for the past some years. Before finalising the deal, traders or their agents visit the flocks and the place for shearing and sometimes stay for some period in the camp say for a week or so. Wool is also sold to *Mahajans* or *Baniyas* from whom they usually borrow money. *Khatiks* act as agents of *Mahajans* and *Baniyas* for this purpose. Regular wool markets operate in Beawar and Bikaner but it is very rare that Raikas visit these markets to sell wool at appropriate price. They cannot do so even if they wish, because of their nomadic life style.

Raikas do not sell their wool to any cooperative or government agency or department, although *Mahajans* and *Baniyas* are also exploiting them. Most of them are aware of this fact. According to them, they do not prefer selling wool to government departments because they do not buy the wool regularly every year. Secondly, they do not want to annoy *Mahajans* or *Baniyas* by selling wool to government department, because it is only they who lend money to Raikas at the time of need on socio-cultural occasions.

Sale of Manure

Income from manure of animals is an important part, but it is generally an unrecognised portion of the total income during migration. During the sedentary part, when they are in the villages, they collect manure and sell them to village farmers for their fields. During migration, they can not sell the manure like this and it is considered as wastage. The income from sale of manure is allocated to a common fund and Raikas use it for covering joint expenses.

Like other pastoral products, in respect of manures also, sheep manure gives the highest return. It is considered to be superior in quality even to synthetic fertilisers. It is a common belief that if sheep droppings are given as input to field, it will remain fertile for at least a period of three years with no adverse after effects, as are sometimes caused by synthetic fertiliser. But the farmers are also aware of its disadvantages. For example, they believe that sheep dung carries the seeds of *Kikar* tree, which germinates in the form of weeds in the field and its clearance involves lot of labour and time, which creates problems to farmers. Sheep manure is also light weight and small and thus it gets washed away with the first rain. But its advantages weigh upon its disadvantages and farmers prefer sheep foldings. As stated earlier the proceeds of animal foldings and manure go to the common fund for meeting general expenses. At the end of the migration cycle, the balance in this fund may be negative or positive, and different flock leader or *Mukhiyas* shares it equally.

On an average, *Nambardar* is able to negotiate price between 15-25 per cent for animal foldings or manure during migration. Payment from animal manure also depends on certain factors of which the most important is the number of *dangs* in the area and the need of farmers. If the number of *dangs* in the area is small, they will get greater payment because their value increases. Similarly, if the sowing season is close, fields are irrigated and more farmers need manure, again value of folding increases and thus Raikas can receive high price. Moreover, if the number of sheep in the *dang* is high it again increases the value of manure because farmers prefer more sheep folding for their fields.

A study of the revenue generated by each of the 10 flocks covered under this research exhibited that only the sale proceeds of wool had a direct correlation with the size of the flock. In the matter of manure and animal sale the number of animals in a flock has no fixed ratio to the proceeds, although the general trend is that the larger the flock, the higher is the sale proceed from manure and animal sale.

The study shows that when the size of flock was approximately doubled the total income from all these sources was almost double. Similarly when the flock size became four times the total income from all sources rose to about seven times. Thus, we found that by and large larger the flock size, the more profitable it is. It is however, evident from the statement that the tendency of increasing returns with increased number of animals with flock does not apply constantly. At certain points when the size of flock has increased, the returns have not increased in the same proportion. It must here be realised that the method of calculating returns in the social structure of Raikas who are generally illiterate, can not be as scientific and accurate as we need for determining statistical averages for scientific predictions. Moreover, there are several factors, which influence the economy of the *dang* both in their migration and in sedentary life. The character and managerial capabilities of *Nambardar*, or the availability of appropriate medicines for moving cattle, or the number of thefts or casualties among animals might also influence the economy to a great extent. It is for this reason that in some cases where the size of flock is larger the returns are not proportionately high.

Expenditure Items

Input expenses on animal herds include feed and grazing, medicines, shearing and labour herds and herdsmen move from place to place on foot, but Kavoori emphasises, "In rare instances, Raikas are forced to transport their animals by trucks to the areas, where fodder can be found" (Kavoori, 1990). Major items of expenditure includes the following:

Feed and Grazing

In the sedentary part, during rains the animals can graze early in fallow fields or oroans, whatever available. Fodder is bought only for lambs. In the migration cycle, fodder is not uniformly available and thus, they have to give supplementary feed to their animals. Supplementary feed is also bought for pregnant animals. This situation arises mainly in winter. Major supplement, which they give to their animals are: (i) Flour kneaded into dough (while in winters this dough is made of *Bajra* flour, in summers it is of *Jau*). (ii) Jaggery, rapeseed oil, turmeric and salt, all of which are fed to the flock as a mixture. (iii) In rare cases some Raikas give factory made feed to flocks. (iv) Flour is regarded as fodder substitute, while jaggery, oil of turmeric are said to be tonics to enhance growth.

Some Raikas remain on migration the whole year round and do not return to their villages. When all other migrating group return around July/August i.e. on the onset of rains they are still on the move. Thus, they have to pay grazing fees to the forest department during monsoon months. At that time, no land is fallow for grazing and the common grazing lands or *oroans* are insufficient even for village animals. Thus, they can not graze their animals on *oroans*, because in doing so they have to face tension against local villagers. Now the grazing fees is also different in various states. In Rajasthan, forests are diminishing day by day and Raikas have to take their animals to Madhya Pradesh which still have some dense forests. But grazing fees in the state have risen during past some years. In winters, Raikas go to the states of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. The policy of the government to promote irrigated agriculture has had an adverse impact on Raikas. Prior to the arrival of irrigation, fertilisers and pesticides, more fallow lands were available for grazing and villagers used to welcome Raikas. They were paid in advance for manure. But, now the case is different - it is the Raikas who have to pay for crop stubble in the field.

Medicines

Raikas rely on both indigenous and western treatment when their animals fall ill. But they first give indigenous treatment and in case it fails they go for western treatment. Government veterinary hospitals are believed to be unreliable. Raikas also say that on check posts where government is said to have made veterinary medicines available, they are not provided with free medicines and doctors are also inattentive to animals. Thus, most of the time they have to buy western medicines from private shops.

Labour

Raika groups usually comprise of extended families or joint families. Even if the household divides, flock continues to be jointly owned and are the last assets to be divided. Thus in ideal circumstances, kins only act as labour to manage the flock. But, sometimes they have to arrange outside labour for grazing their animals either because their herd is large or they do not have enough young men in the family to take up the work. Thus labour is engaged in two forms namely: (i) One which is arranged from extensive kinship network of both maternal and paternal side; and (ii) The other arranged from outside who are called *gwalas*. Out of the 10 flocks studied, six had employed outside labour during migration cycle.

Gwalas are paid either in cash or kind. Their payment depends on many factors like, age, skill, closeness of relationship with *Mukhiya*, number of animals he brings in the flock and so on. On an average, if they do not bring any animal in the flock, they are given per animal along with food and clothing for the whole migration cycle. But, if the number of animals brought by *gwalas* to flock is more than 100, then *gwalas* are not paid at all, but are given food and clothing. One more type of payment has been noticed. *Mukhiya* makes a contract with a particular *gwala* for specific number of years and after that period he is given the ownership of a particular number of sheep or goat, camels being too expensive. Another arrangement is kinship arrangement, which is generally for those providing labour from kinship network. It is called *ardhali* arrangement. Here, the kinsman providing labours are given half the pastoral products like wool. The *gwalas* are also given some rights on animals. For example, they have complete right over milk and droppings of animals. However, wool and hair belong to the owner. Progeny of animal also belong to the owner. Owners have to pay money to *gwala* for taking herds to cattle fair. They have also to pay the fine to village council if, the animal destroys somebody's crop. Each animal has two brand marks called *kheng*, one of the owner and other one of the herdsman. Thus, different brand marks on the body of the animal give an indication of its past owner and herdsman.

An increase in the number of animals in the flock favourably effects the average expenses of the flock owner. The average expenses per animal are reduced with the increased size of the flock once the flock has assumed a certain size. So far as employment of outside labour is concerned there is no uniform pattern. While a small flock of 138 had to employ outside labour, a larger flock of 197 could do without such assistance. This is because of the availability of labour within family circles. Even the largest flock of 350 could do with small outside assistance for the same reason.

Collective Expenses

During migration, certain expenses are incurred collectively by *dang* and some other expenses are shared collectively by flock leaders. Collective expenses incurred by *dang* are on guests, information collection, community feasts, fines and bribes. Flock related expenses are on feed and transport. Collective expenses constitute only a minor part of total expenses but this practice creates a feeling of unity among *dang* members. The main source for creating funds for collective expenses is animal droppings. Camp leader or *Nambardar* spends some money from common funds. He has to undertake reconnaissance missions every morning on horse or camel's back. These journeys may take three to four hours and aim at extracting details of fodder sources, water resources and attitudes of villagers. These informations are the basic format on which the daily movement of Raikas is based. According to E. Marx, the interest in advance information about rainfall and about the state of pastures along migration route is a common feature of other trans-human groups as well (Marx, 1978). Sometimes, *Nambardars* have to travel long distances, which last for several days. They have to travel even by bus or train. At other times, *Nambardars* have to go for periodic journeys to buy medicines for animals. Expenses on these periodic journeys are met collectively.

Festivals are also celebrated collectively during migration. Like on festivals of Holi, Diwali, etc., food is cooked for the whole *dang*. When guests come they are entertained collectively. Fines and bribes are also paid jointly, although this is done only occasionally. Fine does not involve great expenditure, but bribes have to be paid now and then which involves a large part of expenditure. Only a few Raikas can afford to pay the fees fixed by the state for the movement, entry and grazing of animals. *Nambardars* negotiate the amount and in certain cases the advice of council of elders is taken to pay off for reducing the fees unofficially.

Household Consumption Pattern

The flock owners spend on food and transportation. Most of them eat the same food as bread or *roti* made of coarse grain of millet or *Bazra* but nowadays even wheat is used along with onions, green chilies and sometimes vegetables. Sheep milk, fresh camel milk, butter and buttermilk is also commonly used. But, the consumption of opium involves much expenditure. It is an important part of their daily life and is ritually consumed on most of the days. Main involvement of transport expenses results from movement from camp area to their native home village. They travel by bus or train if any necessary work arises. They travel home approximately once in three to four months. Sometimes fodder, if not available in local market, is also bought from a distant place and is transported by some conveyance. Occasionally animals are also loaded in trucks and are taken to better grazing area. But, these two situations are quite rare.

Daily expenses of Raikas during the settled part are on flour, oil or *ghee*, fuel, spices, pulses, and so on. They do not buy commodities for the whole month at a time. They buy items for seven to ten days. Pulses and vegetables are never bought. They eat whatever they grow in their field. They generally eat green chilies and onions if they can not afford vegetables. An average family has five members.

Point of Economic Equilibrium

There exists a somewhat direct relationship between the size of the flock and the total consumption expenses. This is naturally so because the number of animals determines expenses on items like persons on guard, their food, transport entertainment of guests and so on. But the average expenditure determined per animal in herd will go down because the same number of persons could guard a larger flock of animals. In order to arrive at the gain or loss accruing to flock owners as a result of the difference between total inputs and total receipts, a comparative study has been made. It is evident from this statement that small size of flock is uneconomical and runs the family into deficit. The study shows that the minimum size of flock should be around 200 animals in order to yield surplus to the owners.

Exchange can take place between specialised traders, or inexperienced novices. They may take place electronically on the floors of stock exchanges or via a computer connected to the internet, in face-to-face encounters among those who have known each other long as well as between strangers. They may involve mundane, mass-produced and mass consumed items such as food grains and clothes, or paintings by old masters at auctions. The manner in which exchanges will be organised in different markets will clearly vary according to an enormous range of local, context-specific factors. But all markets have one critical element in common to which the above definition directs - exchange of goods and services (Agarwal, 1999).

Malinowski suggested that the mode of transaction among the tribals is based on reciprocity, i.e. material gift and counter-gifts based on social obligation derived typically from kinship relations (Malinowski, 1922). The degree of reciprocity is of three kinds, namely: general reciprocity, balanced reciprocity, and negative reciprocity. General reciprocity includes in itself the assistance given and taken back or returns, sharing hospitality, gifts taken, mutual aid and generosity. Values of return depend on the donor and the recipient. Balanced reciprocity is a direct exchange. The return and the goods received should be equal in value. This can be observed at the time of marital transaction between the brides and groom's kinship. Barter system of buying or selling is the best example of this degree of reciprocity. This is rather less personal than generalised reciprocity. This does not mean that value of the 'give and take' is considered only in money. Social value is also an implied unit. Negative reciprocity is the attempt to get something for nothing for example in bargaining and higgling.

Market has a great importance in their migration to an extent that it can also be said that migration would be impossible without market. Exchanges facilitate them to obtain food grains and other articles of daily use such as medicines and feed for animals. Selling of wool, manure and animals facilitates them to sell off surplus from their risky migratory life style. It provides them income, which forms an important part of household budget.

Banking Habits

Quite often Raikas are in need of money for different reasons. Most of them are aware of bank and its activities, but they do not prefer to deal with it, for many reasons. They generally go to the traditional moneylender (*Mahajans/Baniya*) at the time of need. The system of operation of traditional moneylender is very simple and convenient to the Raikas. They are the people, who are always present at the time of need. Whenever a Raika is in need of money, he has to walk a few kilometers to reach the moneylender's house, where he is always welcomed. Moreover, moneylenders also provide him money without any conditions, sureties, and guarantees. Otherwise also a Raika has little to offer by way of movable or immovable property. Moneylender easily gives him money on this small property, because he is in constant touch with them. Raikas do not have to undergo many formalities of banking system. A Raika, for borrowing money from *Mahajan*, has only to affix his thumb impression on a blank piece of paper or under a draft, which he cannot read.

In contrast to these moneylenders, other sources of credit are like cooperative credit societies established by various state governments. Most of these are found to be situated at far off places from the Raika habitat and a Raika has to encounter a number of formalities, cumbersome procedures and documents to obtain loan. Besides this security and guarantor are also needed to fulfill various provisions of credit disbursement. Normally, there occurs time lag of at least a couple of months between the date of application and date of disbursement of loan. Corrupt officials also demand their share. Government sponsored credit societies advance loans for any productive purposes like improvement in cultivation, purchase of implements, etc. but poor Raikas need loan for consumption and subsistence, to fulfill various social and ritual obligations. On the other side, banks also do not provide them loan easily, because in certain cases in which Raikas were provided with loan, they could not repay it and at last government had to send summons to them for the repayment of loan under P & R Act.

Agriculture

Most of the Raikas are either landless or have very small land holdings. When they are at their native village, from July to October in a year not clear land and try to earn something from it. Raikas do not like to own any land. This has some historical past linked to it. Westphal-Hellbusch and Westphal, says, "Rebari developed no interest in the ownership of land, even when they were allocated some" (Westphal-Hellbusch, 1975). Only in recent years, against the background of the grave problems faced by pastoral people in India, that they have shown interest in agriculture. Srivastava says, "In those areas where the Rebaris were smaller in number and lived in villages of dominant peasant castes, they switched to agriculture long time back. It is thus not surprising that Rebaris of Bikaner call themselves *kisan* (peasant)" (Srivastava, 1997).

But, while interviewing Raikas, certain reasons were extracted for the non-development of agriculture in their community. They feared that its adoption would mean a loss of their identity and that their caste council would punish those discarding traditional occupation. Moreover in government policies also they were not considered for any privilege or preference when land reforms were initiated in 1950's and land was distributed to land less peasants (Rollefson, 1995). With the small land which they possess they pursue agricultural activities. But then also problem of seeds, manure and implements always pester them. Issues for their agriculture can be highlighted as under:

- Generally the crops grown in these fields are sorghum and millet. Sometimes vegetables like potato, bringal, onion, carrot, raddish and crops such as *Macca, Bajra, Guar, Rayda* are also sown. Most of the products are for home consumption or for barter of essential commodities.
- Raikas buy seeds from the shops in the nearby villages. Sometimes government also provides them seeds at a subsidised rate or they take out seeds by themselves. A tractor, when needed for agriculture, is hired on rent from the rich landlords of the village. For giving water to crops also, machine is taken on rent, which amounts to Rs.100 to Rs.200/- day.
- In their fields manure of their own animals is used. Only two families in the area of study were noticed using chemical fertilisers in their fields. This may be due to their poor economic condition.
- Products are used for their own domestic purpose and are seldom marketed.
- There is always scarcity of water. For their domestic use itself they have to fetch water from a distance of several kilometers. For agriculture, they borrow water and sometimes even pay to landlords of the village for irrigating crops from their tube-wells.

Implications

Wool and animal sale yields cash. Markets of wool and animals are strongly influenced by national and international prices and political/ economic variables including infrequent interventions by the Indian Government to stabilise prices (Agarwal, 1999). Most of the time Raikas sell their products through middlemen who exploit them a lot because it is not possible to carry sheared wool all the way round the migratory route. As they are constantly on move, they have limited knowledge about exchange partners and fluctuations in prices. Therefore, it is said that for a successful completion of migration, an efficient camp leader is necessary in order to negotiate prices in free markets. Even from an insignificant thing like sheep dung, good money can be made and it can become black gold. But if the camp leader is not efficient, this black gold remains only sheep shit scattered in the fields.

According to Raikas the price of wool is going down every year. This is because the government imports second hand wool from foreign countries. Unknit wool for sweaters and woolen clothes is imported into our country. When there is so much oversupply in the market, the price of wool will naturally go down; sometimes to a level even less than what it costs to produce. This gives a severe thrash to their household economy and they are not able to feed their animals properly, or to meet their daily needs. Another important revenue of Raikas is manure. It generally does not involve any middleman or intermediary. Manure is directly deposited in the field of the farmers. It is not essential that only money is given in exchange; sometimes grain can also be given. Negotiation of exchange takes place between *Nambardar* and farmer. It is a face to face negotiation, confirming which Polanyi has said, "Face to face negotiations are the hallmark of competitive price setting. Cash or grains, thus earned in exchange are shared equally by members of the camp or consumed in collective expenses like feasts, bribes, fines and so on" (Polanyi, 1944). In exchange of manures the relationship between buyers and seller is short lived, and there is no interference of government regarding price.

Raikas also try to cultivate exchange relationship with particular farmers, which they have found to be beneficial during the course of time. For example, for shearing Raikas always try to return to the same one or two farmers year after year because shearing requires at least a week's stay and the company of a helpful farmer. This however, is not always possible because of the high variability of rainfall and availability of fodder. Thus, it is difficult for them to go to the same farmers each year although they prefer to do so. On the basis of the study made with regard to the earning of livelihood by Raikas it can be said that the size of the flock plays an important role in determining their economy. As the flock size increases, their economic performance also increases simultaneously. It may be due to the fact that less consumption expenses per animal occur in a big flock. It needs less number of shepherds in comparison to larger number of small flocks. For example, flock of 400 animals will just require two shepherds but if there are four small flocks of which the total becomes 400 animals, at least it will have four shepherds, one for each flock. From a large flock more number of animals can be sold, which again provides them margin over input expenses.

Above description reveals that the tribal community has been endowed with the basic peanuts of entrepreneurial endeavours. Due to inadequate education and training for entrepreneurial ventures in formal structured manner the community can not reap the benefits of risk taking and hard working behaviour. Following suggested framework may help to boost-up the spirit of entrepreneurship in Raikas:

- Creating awareness and spreading business acumen among the nomadic community through community focused short term entrepreneurial education programmes.
- Developing networking for arranging financial and marketing resources.
- Short term non collateral loan facilities through bank at lower rates of interest.
- Forming self help groups for micro financing and formation of larger groups like cartels.
- Temporary shelter homes where central business and household activities may be arranged at country level.

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Decentralised Governance and Devolution of Funds to the Panchayats in Odisha: A Critical Review

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Devolution of the fiscal powers along with functions and functionaries to the Local Self-Governments has been received enormous academic attention. In India, the local self-governing institutions have been emerged as an instrument of promoting economic development and social justice and in the case of Odisha, such process has fresh impetus towards the functioning of these institutions despite prevailing weaknesses. The state government has devolved required powers and functions to the Panchayats including the fiscal powers. However, the devolution agenda including the agenda of fiscal devolution and tax decentralisation has not been taken up sincerely by the state government. The present paper tries to examine these issues and tries to examine four broad aspects of such issues i.e. (1) evolution of the Panchayats in Odisha, (2) legal provisions and institutional arrangements associated with the fiscal devolution, (3) institutionalisation of the SFCs, particularly the 3rd SFC and their recommendations, and (4) critical gaps associated with the fiscal devolution in the state.

Introduction

The increasing global discourse on decentralised governance and fiscal devolution has attracted many scholars of the developing and

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transitional countries of the world to explore the different aspects of such discourses. It is widely believed that, in the contemporary era of socio-economic development, the decentralised self-governing institutions have been playing a prominent role while contributing immensely towards the socio-economic betterment of the poor people. In the case of transitional economies like India, the decentralised self-governing institutions have been playing a significant role while implementing a wide array of the socio-economic development programmes. These institutions have become instrumental in formulating decentralised planning for the rural areas and implementing such programmes keeping in mind the available fiscal and human resources.

The 73rd amendment act of the Indian Constitution has widely purveyed a set of legitimate powers to these institutions, with an objective to transform them as institutions of self-government. The powers and functions underlined for these institutions under the purview of the Indian Constitution have explicitly pronounced the significance of such institutions with regard to rural development, poverty alleviation and effective service delivery. However, the current trends in functioning of the rural local self-governing institutions in India provide a gloomy scenario because of their failure to address the critical human development issues such as poverty, inequality and economic backwardness. It is widely believed that despite the institutionalisation of *Panchayati Raj*, the rural areas in India still face severe challenges with regard to the governance and development. Unfinished power devolution agenda, increasing inefficiency and corruption within the *Panchayats* and prevalence of large scale inter-state disparities in the level of decentralisation in the country (Asfaw et al, 2004) have disturbed the process of institutionalisation and effective functioning of the *Panchayats* in India.

Democratic decentralisation in India has attained prominence since the 1990s after the evolution of Local Self-Governing Institutions (LSGIs). According to Rao and Raghunandan (2011), dissatisfaction with the prevailing systems of service delivery, transition from centralised planning to market economy, deepening democratic principles, focus on ensuring greater accountability and increasing need to recognise social, economic and political diversities in different regions within the countries are of the important reasons of devolving more powers to the local levels of government. However, the emergence of the free market oriented economy under the canopy of globalisation has also increasingly brought the essence of decentralisation and the effects of such process also reached in India.

The emergence of the *Panchayats* as an instrument of the self-government came into limelight in 1992 with the passage of the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act. This process gave a boost to the process of rural decentralisation through the passage of this Act, while providing institutional framework for the rural local government. This initiative also provided fresh impetus to the rural local governments of India while devolving necessary powers and functions. However, it is also observed that in the current pace of development, the functioning of the local self-governing institutions has encountered fiscal challenges, which has been crippled their functioning as self-government. Existence of structural impediments and functional incapacity has disturbed the functioning of the local self-governing institutions which ultimately encourages the dominance of the local elite in these institutions. Thus, devolution of fiscal powers to the *Panchayats* has provided no fruitful results. The issue of fiscal autonomy of these institutions seems to be *writ large*, notwithstanding the recommendations of the Central and the State Finance Commissions (SFCs) in that regard. In the absence of transfer of fiscal powers, including the power of raising revenue from the local sources, these institutions are forced to depend upon the central and the state governments for funds. Such situation has hampered the spirit of 'self-governing institutions' while reducing their functions to mere implementing agencies of the government.

Odisha, since the last few decades has taken-up extensive efforts for institutionalising the local self-governance system in the state. The evolution of the decentralised self-governing institutions is strongly linked with the political history of the state. Starting from the ancient era to the modern period, the evolution of the decentralised governance in Odisha has proceeded through the various stages while strengthening the institutional arrangements, planning and implementation of the development programmes. With regard to the fiscal devolutions, the state has taken a number of path breaking provisions while transferring powers and functions to the *Panchayats.* The SFCs have been institutionalised during the different periods of time with an objective to strengthen the era of fiscal decentralisation. However, the finances of the *Panchayats* still in the nascent stage, which shows the failure of policies of the state.

Understanding the finances of the local governments has emerged as a key area of study of the decentralised governance and devolution. In the case of India, the post-73rd amendment act has witnessed a number of studies carried out to examine the finances of the Panchayats. However, the financial status of rural local governments remains elusive despite a number of studies on rural decentralisation in India since the enactment of the Act (Jha, 2002). The present paper tries to take a departure from the conventional scholarship. This paper tries to examine the case of Odisha based on macro level data and ground realities. Examining the secondary data and synthesising the field experiences, this paper tries to understand the current pattern of own revenue of the *Panchayats* and tries to suggest the alternative revenue sources, that can be tapped for strengthening the finances of these institutions. The paper also reviews the institutionalisation of the SFCs and how their recommendations have been incorporated into an action agenda by the state government for strengthening the fiscal devolution regime.

This paper focuses on the four broad aspects of Decentralised Governance and Fiscal Devolution in the state (Odisha). Section one discusses the present status of *Panchayats* in the state including the status of the devolution of powers while section two examines the status of the fiscal devolutions in the state. The institutionalisation of the SFCs and the recommendations of the SFCs are analysed in section three while the section four offers suggestions and conclusion.

Decentralised Governance in Odisha

Odisha, since the last three decades, has been witnessing the process of the evolution and institutionalisation of the local self-governments in rural areas corresponding to the evolution of this process at the national level. The evolution of the decentralised self-governing institutions is strongly linked with the political history of the state. Starting from the ancient era to the modern period, the evolution of the decentralised governance in Odisha has proceeded through the various stages while strengthening the institutional arrangements, planning and implementation of the development programmes.

Table 1
Administrative Profile and Profile of Panchayats of Odisha

Area (In Sq.Km)	**Population**			**Administrative Set up**			
	Male	Female	Total	Dist	Block	Gram Panchayat	Villages
1,55,707	2,12,01,678	2,07,45,680	4,19,47,358	30	314	6,236	51,349

Source: Economic Survey, Odisha, 2013-2014

During the ancient period '*Grama*' (Village) was formed by a number of families in Odisha. It had popular bodies called 'the *Sabhas*' (Assembly) and '*Samities*' (Councils). During the later part of this period there was also

'*Sabha*' and '*Samities*'. The presiding officer was known as '*Sabhapati*' and its members were known as '*Sabhasad* or *Sabhyas* (Members)'. People were ventilating their grievances through discussion in '*Sabhas*' and '*Samities*'. Gradually this system evolved along with the evolution of princely rules in the state. During the rules of *Mauyras, Guptas* and *Vardhans*, the system of self-rule in the villages were gradually evolved. With the conquest of Moughals and Marathas, the policy in village administration and revenue system changed with the introduction of several legal provisions.

The emergence of the British rule in Odisha in 1803 witnessed a new era in the functioning of the traditional village self-governance. The era was started with the decline of the traditional local self-governance system in the state. The indigenous system of local government was replaced by the centralised system. However, during the British rule, certain provisions were added through the Government of India Acts of 1919 (Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms), 1929 and 1935 for strengthening the local self-governments in the country and Odisha was also included in these provisions. The Government of India Act, 1935 had made a provision for the creation of Odisha as a separate province.

The emergence of the local self-government in the form of *Panchayat Raj* in Odisha has started from the days of the pre-independence era and gradually evolved in the course of the emergence of British rule in the state. During the pre-independence period, the institutions such as the District Boards, the Local Boards and the Union Boards were created to start the process of the operation of the decentralised self-governing institutions in the state.

During the post-independence period, the era of decentralised governance widened, notwithstanding severe policy paralysis and political interference. The Orissa Gram Panchayat Act of 1948 was the first comprehensive legal framework in the post-independence era which had given birth of *Panchayats* in the state. The Act was enacted while prescribing the structure, power, and functions of the Panchayati Raj system in the state. However, the provisions of this Act were not applicable in the entire state. The provisions of this Act were further rectified in 1950 with the enactment of the Orissa Local-Self Government Act, 1950, which was enacted to govern the district boards in the state. In 1955, the constitution of *Anchal Shasan* (Local Government) was made and *Anchal Fund* (Local Development Fund) was created based on the outcome of the provisions of the Orissa Estates Abolition Act of 1951. The *Anchal Shasan* was vested powers of fund raising out of land revenue, fees, tolls, cesses and taxes. In 1961, the three-tier system of PRIs was established in the state. The Orissa Zilla Parishad Act was enacted in 1959 and was subsequently amended as the Orissa Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad Act 1959 and 1961 (Orissa Act 16 of 1961). On 1st November 1968, the Zilla Parishards were replaced by the District Advisory Council, which was altered and renamed as the District Development Advisory Board.

In 1964, the Orissa Gram Panchayat Act was amended vesting more powers to the *Panchayats* in the state. The provisions such as control of the minor forest products for enhancing the revenues of the *Panchayats* and strengthening the *Panchayat* own resources were given priority. The era of the decline of the decentralised self-governing institutions started in 1967 and continued till 1991, which pushed the functioning of the local self-governments in the state of stagnation. In 1967, in a surprise development, the government of Odisha abolished the Zilla Praishards and set up the District Development Council. This was the early era of decline of the local self governments in the state.

The Orissa Gram Panchayat (Ammendment) Act, 1991, the Orissa Panchayat Samiti (Amendment) Act, 1991 and the Orissa Zilla Parishad (Amendment) Act, 1991 were passed which rejuvenated the three-tier PRIs in the state. Such scenario resulted in the elections to the PRIs in the state in 1992. The provisions of the 73rd Amendment Act enacted through the amendments of the State Panchayats Acts and as per such provisions elections were held for the PRIs in 1997. The State Government also amended the State Panchayat Raj Acts, which started the greater devolution of powers to the PRIs in the state. Elections for the three-tier PRIs conducted as per the mandate of the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act, 1992. The Orissa Minor Forest Produce Administration Rules enacted in 2002 while providing more powers to the PRIs on the matters of the minor forest products. Such initiative helps the PRIs to enhance their own revenue from the minor forest produces in the state.

The post-73rd Amendment Act era has marked a new beginning for the institutionalisation and functioning of Panchayt Raj system in the state. The three tier Panchayat Raj system in Odisha is designed as Gram Panchayat (Village Level), Panchayat Samiti (Intermediary Level) and Zilla Parishad (District level), with devolving necessary powers and functions to function as Institutions of Self-Government. The path breaking provisions such as the devolution of powers including fiscal powers, institutionalisation of the State Election Commission and regular Elections, and

Institutionalisation of the State Finance Commissions, have pronounced the significance of the functioning of the PRIs in the State.

Table 2
Evolution of the Three-Tier Panchayats in Odisha

S.No.	Year	Status of the Panchayati Raj Institutions		
		Gram Panchayats	Panchayat Samities	Zilla Parishads
1	1961	2350	214	13
2	1963	2350	307	13
3	1966-67	3826	307	13
4	1983-84	4391	314	13
5	1991-92	5263	314	13
6	1997-98	5263	314	30
7	2002-03	6234	314	30

Source: Panchayati Raj Department, Govt. of Odisha, 2013-14.

Fiscal Devolution to the Panchayats in Odisha: Trends and Bottlenecks

Fiscal devolution to the Panchayats in Odisha has emerged as a key policy decision of the Government of Odisha with the enactment of the 73rd Amendment Act and evolution of the PRIs in the post-73rd amendment scenario. However, the issue of finances of the *Panchayats* also figured as a part of the different legal provisions framed for the panchayats in the State. The emergence of the three-tier Panchayati Raj system during 1948 and formal announcement of the Panchayats in 1964 were two major developments in the evolution of the power devolution in Odisha. Such developments also contributed to a large extent to the emergence of the fiscal devolution regime in the state. However, the real era of devolution started in the aftermath of the 73rd Amendment Act. In the recent period, the panchayats are playing a major role in the matters of development. The panchayat finance in the state based on (i) own revenue sources-Tax Sources and Non-Tax Sources, (ii) Tax shares, assignments and other central and state transfers (Central Finance Commission, National Planning Commission etc) and (iii) transfers from the state government-Loans, Grants and Tax Shares. However, with regard to powers of borrowings, the panchayats of Odisha have no such powers.

The Gram Panchayats in the state have devolved maximum powers to raise revenue from the locally available sources. As per section 93 of the Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, for every Gram Panchayat, there shall be a fund known as the 'Grama Fund'. All money received from the Government and income of the Gram Panchayat usually deposited in the Grama Fund (Xaxa, 2006). Apart from the Gram Panchayats, the finance of the panchayat samiti and Zilla Parishads are also largely based on the grants of the state and central government. However, with regard to collection of revenue, the Gram Panchayats are enjoying such powers, where as the other two tiers have only powers of supervision.

The finance of the panchayats in Odisha in the current facet of economic development is more or less controlled by the transfers from the state and central government. Meager allocation of funds to the panchayats with low capacity to raise revenue from the local sources have affected the finances of the panchayats in the state. Further, the complex system of transfers from the central government and the state government through the various ministries and line departments (like DRDA) have also disturbed the fiscal devolution process in the state.

The box 1 highlights the milestones of the fiscal devolutions to the PRIs in the state.

Box 1
Milestones of Fiscal Devolutions to PRIs in Odisha

1948: The Orissa Gram Panchayat Act came into existence, as per the mandate of the Constituent Assembly of India, for organizing Village Panchayats. This historic Act has laid the foundation stone for the institutionalising the rural local-self governments in Odisha.

1951: The constitution of *Anchal Shasan* (Local Governments) was made and Anchal Fund (Local Development Fund) was created as per the provision of the Orissa Estates Abolition Act of 1951. The *Anchal Shasan* was vested powers of fund raising out of land revenue, fees, tolls, cess and taxes.

1952: The community development and national extension service programme introduced in the entire country including Odisha. Such development paved the way for the creation of the Community Development (CD) Blocks in the State as unit of Government.

1961: The State for the first time witnessed the implementation of three-tier Panchayat Raj System as per the Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, 1959, Orissa Panchayat Samiti Act, 1959 and Orissa Zilla Parishad Act, 1961.

1962: The department of Community Development and Panchayat Raj was created. The recommendations of the Balawant Rai Mehta Committee paved the way for the reorganisation of the PRIs with the enactment of the Orissa Panchayat Samiti and Orissa Zilla Parishad Act.

1964: The Orissa Gram Panchayat Act amended with providing more fiscal powers to the PRIs in the State. The provisions such as control of the minor forest products for enhancing the revenues of the PRIs and strengthening the Panchayats own resources were given priority.

1967: The Zilla Parishad was abolished by the State Government through a Legislative Process. As a result of this, the two-tier PRIs were in the place which continued till 1992.

1991: The Orissa Gram Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 1991, the Orissa Panchayat Samiti (Amendment) Act, 1991 and the Orissa Zilla Parishad (Amendment) Act, 1991 were passed which rejuvenated the three-tier PRIs in the State. Such scenario resulted for the elections to the PRIs in the State in 1992.

1993: The provisions of the 73rd Amendment Act enacted through the amendments of the State Panchayats Acts and as per such provisions elections were held for the PRIs in 1997. The State Government also amended the State PR Acts, which stated the greater devolution of fiscal powers to the PRIs in the State.

1997: Elections for the three-tier PRIs conducted as per the mandate of the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act, 1992.

2002: The Orissa Minor Forest Produce administration rules enacted while providing more powers to the PRIs on the matters of the minor forest products. Such initiative helps the PRIs to enhance their own revenue from the minor forest produces in the State.

2010: The third State Finance Commission constituted by the Governor of Odisha on 10th September, 2008 submitted its report to the Governor, while stressing the importance of the grater fiscal devolutions and appropriation of the resource allocations to the PRIs in the State. The Commission in its recommendations also stressed the need to improve the financial position of the PRIs at their respective levels with assignment of taxes and duties.

Source: Compilation of the different Acts, Rules and Reports on Finances of the PRIs in the State.

Institutionalisation of SFCs and Patterns of Fund Allocation and Funds Flow

Considering the objectives of the 73rd Amendment Act, the SFCs in Odisha are institutionalised as per the Odisha State Finance Commission Act, 1993. The First State Finance Commission was constituted in the state on 21st September, 1996 which was reconstituted in 1998. However, the recommendations of the First Odisha Finance Commission's Report has not created any change in the finance of the panchayats, as there was no action taken by the Government.

The second Orissa State Finance Commission was constituted on June 5, 2003 to give recommendations on specified aspects of Local Bodies-State fiscal relations for the period of 2005-10. The commission submitted its report covering all aspects of its mandate on September 29, 2004. While emphasising on the role of panchayats for promoting better socio-economic development, the commission in its report highlighted that "Panchayats, as institutions nearer to the people, have to identify local needs and priorities and prepare plans and projects and implement them for the benefit of the people in their respective areas. It is infact a part of the devolution package that these local institutions are made effectively functional, and play a pivotal role in rural development and poverty alleviation". With regard to tax-sharing and providing grant-in-aid to the panchayats, the commission had recommended the sum of Rs. 1458.305 crore for the period of 2005-10. The commission had also emphasised on the unfinished devolution agenda, and recommended for the appropriate tax-decentralisation towards the strengthening of the own revenue of the panchayats. Based on these recommendations, the state government had prepared an action taken report, which shows the partial acceptance of the recommendations of the second SFC. Further, the state government, had placed the demand before the 12th Finance Commission of India for consideration, based on the recommendations of the second SFC. The State Government only accepted the amount of Rs. 588.34 crore against the suggested amount of Rs. 1458.305, and the remaining amount was adjusted through the assistance received from the 12th National Finance Commission (Ministry of Finance, Govt.of Odisha)[1].

The third State Finance Commission constituted by the Governor of Odisha on 10th September, 2008 submitted its report to the Governor, while stressing the importance of greater fiscal devolutions and appropriation of the resource allocations to the PRIs in the State. The Commission in its recommendations also stressed the need to improve the financial position of the PRIs at their respective levels with assignment of taxes and duties. The third Odisha Finance Commission was mandated to examine the three basic aspects of the State-Local Government finances such as the distribution of taxes, fees and tolls leviable by the state, determination of taxes, duties, tolls and fees which may be assigned, and the grant-in-aid to panchayats. The commission had recommended the devolution of state resources to the panchayats for the period of 2010-2015 with the suggested amount of Rs. 3360.64 crore. As a part of its action taken report, the Government of Odisha had placed the demand before the 13th National Finance Commission for the reimbursement of the said amount to augment the consolidated fund of state in order to improve the finances of panchayats. The 13th Finance Commission of India had provided Rs. 2756.02 crore and the rest amount of Rs. 907.45 crore was provided by State Government to panchayats based on the recommendations of Third SFC.

The Fourth Odisha Finance Commission was constituted during the 2013 and the commission is currently functioning, keeping in view the constitution of 14th National Finance Commission.

Recommendations of the 13th National Finance Commission for Odisha

13th Finance Commission have recommended the allocation to PRIs in Odisha and as a result of which for the last three fiscal years a total amount of Rs. 2592.54 crores have been allocated to state.

Table 3
13th Finance Commission Grants to PRIs in Odisha (Rs. in Crore)

Sl. No.	Type of Grant	2010-11		2011-12		2012-13		2010-13	
		Allocation	Release	Allocation	Release	Allocation	Release	Allocation	Release
1	General Basic Grant	238.31	238.31	305.29	305.29	326.94	163.47	870.54	707.07
2	General Performance Grant	0.00	0.00	104.16	0.00	224.38	0.00	328.53	0.00
3	Special Area Basic Grant	21.60	21.60	21.60	21.60	21.60	10.80	64.80	54.00
4	Special Area Performance Grant	0.00	0.00	10.80	0.00	21.60	0.00	32.40	0.00
5	Total	259.91	259.91	441.84	326.89	594.52	174.27	1296.27	761.07
								2592.54	1522.14

But the worrisome picture is being observed while looking at the way in which these funds (1. General Basic Grant and 2. General Performance Grant) are being allocated across the Gram Panchayats (GPs) in the state. Only population being considered as the criteria for distribution of grants as a result of which GPs are divided into four categories as shown below.

Table 4
No. of Gram Panchayats by Population Category

Category	Population	No. of GPs
A	Upto 5,000	3492
B	5,001-7500	2045
C	7501-10,000	572
D	10, 000 and above	125
	Total	6234

And grants were released to PRIs under the following three heads:

(a) Drinking Water Supply

(b) Sewerage/ Solid Waste Management (Rural Sanitation)

(c) Operational Expenses (Maintenance of Accounts, Conducting of Audits, etc.)

Accordingly, the funds have been allocated as follows:

Table 5

GP wise Allocation of Grants under Three Different Heads in 2010-11

Category	Population	No. of GPs	Drinking Water	Sewerage/ Solid Waste Management	Operation and Maintenance of Computer in GP
A	Upto 5,000	3492	@Rs.1.75 Lakh	@Rs.1.63 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
B	5,001-7500	2045	@Rs.1.92 Lakh	@Rs.1.77 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
C	7501-10,000	572	@Rs. 2.08 Lakh	@Rs.1.91 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
D	10,000 and above	125	@Rs. 2.15 Lakh	@Rs.1.98 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
Total		6234			Rs. 241.29 Lakh

Table 6

GP wise Allocation of Grants under Three Different Heads in 2011-12

Category	Population	No. of GPs	Drinking Water	Sewerage/ Solid Waste Management	Operation and Maintenance of Computer in GP
A	Upto 5,000	3492	@Rs.2.05 Lakh	@Rs.1.92 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
B	5,001-7500	2045	@Rs.2.26 Lakh	@Rs.2.08 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
C	7501-10,000	572	@Rs. 2.45 Lakh	@Rs.2.25 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
D	10,000 and above	125	@Rs. 2.53 Lakh	@Rs.2.33 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
Total		6234			Rs. 279.78 Lakh

Table 7

GP wise Allocation of Grants under Three Different Heads in 2012-13

Category	Population	No. of GPs	Drinking Water	Sewerage/ Solid Waste Management	Operation and Maintenance of Computer in GP
A	Upto 5,000	3492	@Rs.2.43 Lakh	@Rs.2.26 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
B	5,001-7500	2045	@Rs. 2.67 Lakh	@Rs.2.45 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
C	7501-10,000	572	@Rs. 2.88 Lakh	@Rs.2.65 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
D	10,000 and above	125	@Rs. 2.99 Lakh	@Rs.2.75 Lakh	@Rs.500 per month
Total		6234			Rs. 326.99 Lakh

From the data provided in Table-4 and further on Table 5, 6 and 7, it appears that there is no systematic flow of grants to these GPs. Similarly, there are as many as 1925 GPs and 16 out Growth/Census Town/Industrial and Educational Township being covered under Scheduled Areas in the state and these were eligible to receive funds from 3- Special Area Basic Grant and 4- Special Area Performance Grant. More or less same kind of trends are observed while looking at the allocation of funds to the GPs under these heads.

Conclusion: A Note for the 14th Finance Commission

This paper finds the missing cases of horizontal equities and efficiencies, which has disturbed the fiscal position of the Rural Local Bodies in the State. This paper, based on the field level data and State level secondary data, has tried to unfold the implications of the recommendations of the SFCs of Odisha, particularly focusing the recommendations of the 3rd Finance Commission.

The SFCs have a responsibility to recommend measures to build up the financial capability at the local level. Otherwise, fiscal autonomy cannot be promoted. On the contrary, if local governments are allowed unrestricted transfers without an appropriate system of checks and balances, fiscal profligacy can emerge. In addition, the vicious practice of 'financial irresponsibility' should not be allowed to develop among local governments. The 14th National Finance Commission should consider the above mentioned issues and should take measures accordingly in order to strengthen the pillars of the fiscal devolution in the state.

Note

1. Government of Orissa, Finance Department(n.d), Explanatory Memorandum As to the action taken on the recommendations made by the second Orissa State Finance Commission in its report submitted to the Governor on September 29, 2004.

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Determinants of Fertility in India: Some Observations from Rural Areas in Punjab

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Fertility is one of the factors of population change along with mortality and migration. It is a crucial factor responsible for a high growth rate of population in India. The prevailing high birth rates and the declining death rates leads to increasing gap between birth and death rates and results in a high growth of population. Thus, to control the growing population, a focus should be laid on to control the high fertility rates, particularly in rural areas where a majority of the population lives. Rural population is characterised by illiteracy, poverty and unemployment which cause failure of many family planning programmes being run by the government in these areas. The understanding of the determinants of high fertility and the rational implementation of family welfare measures to control the fertility seems to be the only alternative to bring down the high growth rate of population in a country like India. In the present study, an attempt is made to explore and identify the determinants of fertility in the rural areas of an economically developed state of Punjab. The main focus of the study is to highlight the fertility differentials among various socio-cultural groups of the society in rural areas in Punjab.

Introduction

India is known as a land of many religions, many cultures, many races, groups, castes and classes. India is divided on regional, linguistic and on religious backgrounds. The Indian society is dominated by the Hindu society and is constituted by many minority groups of population such as

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Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists etc. The meaning, the philosophy of life and the culture in determining the behaviour of the individuals differ among themselves. Any policy whether it is on fertility or on any other area requires the understanding and change in the behaviour of the people of different groups of population in the direction of modernisation. So, a proper understanding of the socio-cultural, economic, psychological, and other determinants of demographic characteristics of fertility, mortality and migration is essential for the successful implementation of any policy and programme to control fertility.

Fertility, generally is referred to as the number of children a woman gives birth to during the process of her reproductive career by taking in to consideration the mortality conditions of the population. It is one of the most important variables of population growth and very complex phenomenon which is determined by a large variety of social, economic, cultural and behavioural factors in a particular society. Some scholars emphasise on societal or community level variables for studying the fertility behaviour while others give more emphasis on the individual and family level variables. However, both the sets of factors operating at the personal or familial level as well as at the community or societal level are important determinants of fertility. Empirical research related to the determinants of fertility both at the micro and macro levels, shows increasing significance of non-economic factors in the analysis of fertility behaviour (Macgreevy and Birdsell, 1974; Birdsell and Faruquees, 1977).

The study of fertility behaviour patterns holds a prominent place in the state of Punjab, which is known as one of the economically most advanced states in the country. The population of Punjab state is dominated by the Sikhs. In the rural areas most of the people belong to the Scheduled Castes and backward castes apart from a small proportion of Muslims and other minority groups. These people have similar poor social and economic status. Poverty and illiteracy are the predominant features in majority of the rural masses in the state. This social, cultural and economic backwardness in addition to their involvement in traditional professions makes them to think more about their daily needs and basic necessities of life. That is the reason why these people allow their children to cultivate their traditional professional skills from their childhood to make use of these child labours for economically productive purposes. The social environment of these people never cultivates the parental aspirations towards the education and proper upbringing of their children. They do not think of raising their standard of living by proper planning in the matter of limiting or spacing of their children. These tendencies lead to a higher fertility among Scheduled Castes and other minority communities living in the rural areas. In this background, the present study provides some observations from the field in rural areas of Punjab, which highlight the factors responsible for fertility differential among various socio-economic groups.

Methodology

The study is based on the primary data collected through a structured questionnaire and a field work conducted in the sampled villages from Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts of Punjab. For this purpose a total 200 currently married women in the reproductive age-groups from 10 villages were interviewed. The information on their socio-economic and cultural background as well as their sexual and reproductive behaviour was gathered and processed. This followed application of various quantitative techniques such as correlation matrix, variability and factor analysis to identify the strength of various factors affecting the fertility among different socio-economic groups. The results, however, obtained from a limited geographical area provide a broad picture about the fertility behaviour prevailing in the rural areas of Punjab.

Major Findings

Age at Marriage and Fertility

Age at marriage was found to be negatively correlated with the fertility level as late marriage helped the females to reduce their fertility period and reduce the total number of children they eventually bear. The Khanna study also indicated that age at marriage had a direct influence on the reduction in fertility rates. The women who began their effective marriage in 1959 would have 17 per cent fewer children, because of their older average age at nuptials, than did their mothers and grand mothers (Wyon and Gordon, 1971: 154).

The Khanna study also noted that "the striking change in the age of women at marriage is more important. The people themselves found reasons for delaying their daughter's marriage. If maintained, this could appreciably affect birth rates; it bodes well for the future practice of birth control" (Wyon and Gordon, 1971: 298- 99).

Education and Fertility

Among the social factors that influence fertility, the education of females is most effective as it helps in bringing down fertility more quickly and with continuing effect.

- The survey indicated that women who have attended high school have significantly fewer children, on the average, than those with less education. The general tendency is for fertility rates to go down as the number of years in school goes up.
- Female education generally keeps them busy with their studies and delays their marriage as well as their fertility period.
- An educated couple is more interested in raising the economic standard of living rather than increasing the size of their family.
- Educated females are more conscious about their health and that of their children. They participate equally with their husbands in the process of family planning and use of contraceptive measures.
- There is a general change in the mindset of an educated girl than that of the uneducated. They have a perception towards building security net rather than dependence on their children in the old age.

Nutrition Level and Fertility

It was found that a better nutritious status led to a significant reduction in the fertility levels. However, before taking a decline fertility increased for a time. This fact was also observed in the earlier studies. Those poor families whose members begin to attain better nutrition and health resources increase their fertility for a time before taking on higher status behaviour patterns that lower fertility (Datta, 1961: 78).

Infant Mortality and Fertility

It was observed that both the higher and the lower infant mortality rates have intensifier effects on fertility rates. That is, those couples who follow a high fertility pattern tend to produce even more children if many of their infants die, because a mother then has a shorter infertile period following termination of pregnancy. The earlier studies also projected that "the higher the birth rate, the higher the infant mortality rate. The obverse is also true: the higher the infant mortality rates, the more off springs are produced" (Chandrasekhar, 1972: 260- 261). For couples who follow patterns of lower fertility, whether through traditional controls or modern ones, low infant mortality helps assure them that their children have a good chance of surviving and so they need not try for additional births as insurance.

In the Khanna study, the number of children borne by couples of both the wealthier Jat farmers and the poorer Scheduled Caste leather workers was affected by the number of children each couple had lost. "Among wives of the farmer caste, particularly, survival of most of their children born early during the process of family building was associated with relatively few subsequent births" (Wyon and Gordon, 1971: 197- 98).

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

S. No.	Characteristics		Scheduled Caste N = 128	Non-Scheduled Caste N = 72
1	Mean Age (years)	Husband	29.71	30.14
		Wife	26.32	26.53
2	Mean age at the consummation of marriage	Husband	22.43	25.30
		Wife	19.07	19.73
3	Average duration of married life (years)		15.21	13.07
4	Average number of pregnancies		3.54	2.97
5	Number of live births		3.46	2.89
6	Number of living children		3.05	2.63
7	Mean age at the birth of first child		20.17	22.29
8	Average interval between the age at consummation of marriage and first birth (years)		1.52	1.66
9	Average interval between the first and subsequent births (months)		19.14	29.40

Source: Field work, 2012

Table 1 indicates that despite having a similar demographic background in terms of age and nuptial patterns, the fertility level among the scheduled caste women was relatively higher than that among the non-scheduled castes. There was a slight difference in the age at the marriage, age at the consummation of marriage and age at the birth of first child between the two groups of respondents, the scheduled castes being at the low level in terms of all the three variables. However, a significant difference was recorded between the two in terms of average interval between the first and the subsequent birth. This was observed that among the scheduled caste women, the interval between two births was much below (19.14 months) as compared with that among the non-scheduled castes (29.40 months).

Family System and Fertility

Generally it is believed that in a joint family system, fertility is high because the responsibility to raise children is shared jointly by the grand parents.

But in Punjab, this association seems to be reversed. Women living in joint families apparently have fewer children on an average than those in nuclear families. That finding has also been reported from studies on rural people in Puri district of Orissa (Bebarta, 1961: 34- 35), in Delhi state (Pakrasi and Malakar, 1967: 455), in West Bengal (Datta, 1961: 80), and elsewhere in

India and Bangladesh (Nag, 1965; Stoeckel and Choudhury 1969: 194; Burch and Gendell, 1971: 91). It has been suggested that because couples living in joint families have less privacy, they are likely to have less frequent intercourse and therefore fewer children (Hashmi, 1965: 103; Nag, 1965: 136; Gould, 1972: 250).

However, the relation between privacy and coital frequency with the number of children produced needs further investigation as there are other social factors like poverty and illiteracy operating simultaneously on the fertility patterns.

Female Employment and Fertility

In the field investigations it was established that females' employment particularly in the secondary and tertiary activities helped to reduce the fertility levels significantly as the working women had less time available with them to look after the children. Moreover, the working women were more conscious of their career rather than of producing an additional child.

Desire to have a Son and Fertility

In Punjab state and in other states of northern India, desire to have a son was stronger than in other parts of the country. In rural areas of Punjab, at least one or two sons were necessary to inherit and look after the property, to perform the last rituals of the parents and to continue the family name. In want of a son, people in rural areas go on producing children, in some cases five or six daughters.

In-migration and Fertility

The survey indicated that a large segment of the population in rural areas belonged to the in-migrants from eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and other states of the country. These migrants are poor, illiterate and belong to the scheduled castes. For them, children have economic value and social advantage. This tendency leads to a relatively higher fertility among the migrants and the overall fertility levels.

Concluding Remarks

The present study indicated that fertility in rural areas of Punjab was associated with a large number of social, economic, demographic and behavioural factors. Prominent among them include age at marriage, female education, status of women in the society, use of modern contraceptives, female participation in economic activities, nutrition level, infant mortality rates, family system, desire to have a son and proportion of in-migrants to the total population.

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Female Infanticide and Declining Sex Ratio in India

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Discrimination against women is a universal phenomenon. All cultural spheres: familial, religious, political, economical and social are male-centered and organised in such a way to exclude women's participation in walks of life. The advancement of medical technologies, in forms of Pre-Natal Diagnostic Tests and amniocentesis, has resulted in the practice of destroying female foetuses and resulting in adverse sex ratio against women in India. This paper will focus around the facts that support and oppose the idea of sex selective abortion and add a synthesis or response towards the practice of sex-selective abortion and concomitant demographic changes in India.

Introduction

Indian society is based on extreme patriarchal beliefs. The identity of a woman in Indian society is not independent, but dependent on men. They are either known as the daughters, wives, or mothers. Of these three identities, the role as a mother is the most important one. "It is not only that motherhood brings status to woman but also it is an attribute without which she is useless" (Patel, 2007). Being a mother is an achievement for Indian woman. However, the gender of the child plays a big difference in the pride of being a mother. “The birth of a son is perceived as an opportunity for upward mobility while the birth of a daughter is believed to result in

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downward economic mobility of the household and the family" (Patel, 2007). The birth of the girl comes as a burden to the parents especially during the marriage. It's a tradition in India to give dowry to the groom's family by bride's parents. Since dowry is an unaffordable factor, parents choose not to give birth to daughter. The advancement of medical technologies, in forms of Pre-Natal Diagnostic Tests and amniocentesis, has resulted in the practice of destroying female foetuses, a sex-selective abortion. Being a woman from same part of the world and belonging to the similar tradition and religion, this issue needs to be brought up and analysed in detail. Moreover, this is a humanitarian issue that deserves attention. This paper will focus around the theories that support and oppose the idea of sex selective abortion. It will further discuss the sources reviewed and add a synthesis or response towards the practice of sex-selective abortion in India.

India, with 1.21 billion people is the second most populous country in the world, while China is on the top with over 1.35 billion people. The figures show that India represents almost 17.31 per cent of the world's population, which means one out of six people on this planet live in India. Every year, an estimated 26 millions of children are born in India which is nearly four million more than the population of Australia. It is significant that while an absolute increase of 181 million in the country's population has been recorded during the decade 2001-2011, there is a reduction of 5.05 millions in the population of children aged 0-6 years during this period. The decline in male children is 2.06 million and in female children is 2.99 millions. The share of children (0-6 years) in the total population has showed a decline of 2.8 points in 2011, compared to Census 2001.

Causes of Declining of Girl Child

A major pattern among families in India is the pervasive son preference. An unfavourable female-male sex ratio, where males have outnumbered females has been an important indicator of gender bias in India. However, Monica Das Gupta and Mari Bhat show that with reduction in family size, the sex ratio becomes even more adverse, illuminating the existing gender bias (Dasgupta, Mari Bhat, 1997).

The girl child realises that the preference shown to male children is because they are permanent members of the family, and are inheritors of the family name. Her stay in the paternal home is limited; she grows up knowing that she is regarded as a liability whereas the son is a valuable resource. She is taught to be humble and submissive and is treated as a second class citizen, this results in a deep rooted inferiority complex in her young mind. The discrimination begins prior to her birth and continues till her death. She is neglected from the womb to tomb, the girl children have been labeled as the 'most wasted asset'. This is largely due to our traditional and social conditioning that 'women's place is within the four walls or her sweet home'.

The root causes leading to female foeticide are complex and reflect diverse political, economical, social, cultural and religious practices, none of which justify such a violation of human rights.

Recent Studies on Socio-Cultural Background of Son Preference and Neglect of Daughters

Recent studies have revealed that, in South Asia, we have inherited the cultural legacy of strong son-preference among all communities, religious groups and citizens of varied socio-economic backgrounds. Patri-locality, patri-lineage and patriarchal attitudes manifest in, women and girls having subordinate position in the family, discrimination in property rights and low-paid or unpaid jobs. Women's work of cooking, cleaning and caring is treated as non-work. Hence, women are perceived as burden. At the time of marriage, dowry is given by the bride's side to the groom's side for shouldering 'the burden of bride'. In many communities female babies are killed immediately after birth either by her mother or by elderly women of the households to relieve themselves from the life of humiliation, rejection and suffering. In the most prosperous state of Punjab, the conventional patriarchal preference of male children leads to thousands of cases of sex selective abortions. Recently a man drowned and killed his eight year old daughter and also tried to kill his wife for having borne him the girl child. According to the Chandigarh (Punjab) based Institute for Development and Communication, during 2002-2003 every ninth household in the state acknowledged sex selective abortion with the help of ante-natal sex determination tests (Patel, 2005).

Recently, Voluntary Health Association of India has published its research report based on fieldwork in Kurukshetra in Haryana, Fatehgarh Sahib in Punjab and Kangra in Himachal Pradesh that have the worst child sex ratio as per 2001 Census. The study surveyed 1401 households in villages, interviewed 999 married women, 72 doctors and 64 Panchayat members. It revealed that "The immediate cause for the practice of female foeticide is that daughters are perceived as economic and social burden to the family due to several factors such as dowry, the danger to her chastity and worry about getting her married" (VHAI, 2003).

In this context, commercial minded techno-docs and laboratory owners have been using new reproductive technologies for femicide for over two and half decades. Among the educated families, adoption of small family norm means minimum one or two sons in the family. They can do without daughter. The propertied class do not desire daughter/daughters because after marriage of the daughter, the son-in-law may demand share in property. The property-less classes dispose off daughters to avoid dowry harassment. But they do not mind accepting dowry for their sons. Birth of a son is perceived as an opportunity for upward mobility while birth of a daughter is believed to result in downward economic mobility. Though stronghold of this ideology was the North India, it is increasingly gaining ground all over India.

Table 1
Index of Son Preference for Major States in India,

States	Index of Son Preference*	Rank
Andhra Pradesh	13.8	11
Bihar	24.5	4
Gujarat	23	6
Haryana	14.3	10
Karnataka	20	8
Kerela	11.7	12
Madhya Pradesh	27.1	2
Maharashtra	18	9
Orissa	23.4	5
Punjab	20.3	7
Rajasthan	25	3
Tamilnadu	9.2	13
Uttar Pradesh	21.6	1
West Bengal	14.3	10
All India	***20***	

Index of Son preference =100 (E/C)
Where, E =the excess number of sons over daughters considered ideal C= the ideal family size.
Sources: Rajan S.I., U.S. Mishra and T.K. Vimla (1996) "Choosing a Permanent Contraceptives: Does Son Preference Matter?" Economic and Political Weekly, July p.20, p.1980.The Third All India Survey of Family Planning Practices in India, ORG, Vadodara,1990. Calculated by Eapen and Kodoth (2001).

Cultural Factors

India

India has an age old fascination with the boy child. The culture in India is profoundly patriarchal and is a feudal society where women are neither seen nor heard. There is societal pressure for women to have male children and as a result women are often considered failures and tend to feel guilty after giving birth to a girl. Women who are considered to have less value because they did not give their husbands a son are at risk of being beaten and rejected by their husbands. Giving birth to a girl can lead to rejection by in-laws and by the community as a whole. "If you do not kill your girl, you are rejected by the community and/or by your in-laws"acccording to Manjeet Rathee, an English teacher (Aravamudan, 2007).

In the Hindu religion, the son is responsible for lighting his parents' pyre, in order for them to reach Nirvana, and having only girls in the family amounts to being condemned to a lower caste in the next birth. In Punjab – where the illiteracy rate is close to 70 per cent – there are places of worship called Son temples, exclusively for people who want a male child.

The superstitions are various and some are very detrimental to girls. For example, 'Blessings and curses' of Eunuchs, who travel from village to village to curse mothers who have girls while blessing those with baby boys. Another superstition is that if the first child is a girl and that girl is killed, the next child will be a boy.

Social and Economic Factors

Among the factors which lead to a consideration of females as less valuable, the following are of special importance: In many regions of rural India there is a strict social taboo on a daughter inheriting land, since if she does so the land is lost by her father's lineage. If a woman attempted to exercise her legal claim to her share of her parents'immovable property, she would be likely to lose the affection of her brothers together with their sense of obligation to support her in a family emergency or in the event she is widowed without sons. The recent Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act 2005 which deleted the gender discriminatory clause on agricultural land only benefits Hindu women leaving intact the obstacle faced by non-Hindu women. Furthermore, women in many rural areas are economically reliant on men who are traditionally the breadwinners, custom which in turn impacts the imbalance in the employment sector. Having a boy allows the father to achieve better status in society, whereas having a baby girl is seen as a curse. Not only has the girl child been traditionally considered inferior to boys (she only does domestic chores) but also as a liability – a bride's dowry can financially cripple a poor family. Moreover, the dowry practice can deteriorate into a method of extorsion of wealth from the bride's to the groom's parents, leaving many daughters' parents in debt. Raising a daughter is like watering someone else's field: deep-rooted saying among rural people in China where elderly peasants traditionally can only depend on their sons. Nevertheless, in the richest states like Haryana (India), sex-selective abortions are very common and also apply to well-educated women, for whom the girls' deficit is even twice as high as for illiterate women. So, illiteracy and poverty are not the only factors, though we know that much can be achieved through education and improved living conditions. There is evidence that although the dowry was banned in India in 1961, and the caste tradition has been abolished, all these customs are deeply rooted in society and still prevail. In some other areas of Asia, humiliation and even death are often the punishments for a mother who gives birth to a girl, because of the economic hardship and social stigma caused by a female child.

Consequences

Over the next 20 years, in parts of China and India there will be a 12 to 15 per cent excess of young men leading to an obvious bride shortage: between 2015 and 2030 there will be 25 million men in China who have no hope of finding a wife (Appeal, 1996).

This can give rise to: A substantial increase in aggressions and organized crime. Rape and other forms of violence against women. Drug and alcohol abuse. Situation where all men of the family share the same wife. Women being viewed as commodities: for example kidnapping and trafficking of girls across borders.

In 2011, the total number of children in the age-group 0-6 years is reported as 158.79 million which is down by 3.1 per cent compared to the child population in 2001 of the order of 163.84 million. The share of children (0-6 years) to the total population is 13.1 per cent in 2011 whereas the corresponding figures for male children and female children are 13.3 per cent and 12.9 per cent.

Table 2
Population (0-6 years) 2001-2011 -India

Census	Children (0-6 yrs) (in millions)			Total population (in millions)			Share of children (0-6 yrs) to the corresponding total population (%)		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
2001	163.84	85.01	78.83	1028.74	532.2	496.5	15.93	15.97	15.88
2011	158.79	82.95	75.84	1210.19	623.72	586.47	13.1	13.3	12.9

Source: Census, Office of Registrar General of India

Twenty States and Union Territories now have over one million children in the age group 0-6 years. Uttar Pradesh (29.7 million), Bihar (18.6

million), Maharashtra (12.8 million), Madhya Pradesh (10.5 million) and Rajasthan (10.5 million) constitute 52 per cent children in the age group of 0-6 years.

The decadal decline in population was more for female children (3.8 per cent) than male children (2.4 per cent) in the age group 0-6 years.

Table 3
Child population in the age-group 0-6 years by sex, India

Census	Persons	Male	Female	Decadal decline in child population		
				Persons	Male	Female
2001	163837395	85008267	78829128			
2011	158789287	82952135	75837152	5048108 (3.1%)	2056132 (2.4%)	2991976 (3.8%)

Source: Census, India, Office of Registrar General of India

As per Census 2011, the State/ UTs with alarmingly low (<900) child sex ratio are, Haryana (830), Punjab (846), Jammu & Kashmir (859), Delhi (866), Chandigarh (867), Rajasthan (883), Maharashtra (883), Uttrakhand (886), Gujarat (886), Uttar Pradesh (899). Though, the overall sex ratio is favourable to females in the State of Kerala (1084) and UT of Pondicherry (1038); there are no such States when child sex ratio is considered. The State/ UTs which are having better (> =950) child sex ratio are Mizoram, (971), Meghalaya (970), A&N Islands (966), Puducherry (965), Chattisgarh (964), Arunachal Pradesh (960), Kerala (959), Assam (957), Tripura (953), West Bengal (950).

The divide between the north and south has got even starker with the child sex ratio in 2011. With the exception of Himachal Pradesh, no state in north India now has a child sex ratio above 900. Jammu and Kashmir has seen the most severe drop of 82 points in its child sex ratio, making it the third worst state after Haryana and Punjab. In 2001, Jammu and Kashmir had a better child sex ratio than the Indian average. Haryana (830) and Punjab (846) remain at the bottom of the table, but have improved over 2001. India's north-east seems to have a much healthier attitude to girl children than the rest of the country: Mizoram, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh have the highest child sex ratios among the states followed by Chhattisgarh, Puducherry, Andaman & Nicobar and Kerala.

The State/UTs which showed significant decline in child sex ratio during 2001-2011 are, J&K (decline of 82 points), Dadra Nagar Haveli (decline of 55 points), Lakshadeep (decline of 51 points), Maharashtra (decline of 30 points), Rajasthan (decline of 26 points), Manipur (decline of 23 points), Jharkhand (decline of 22 points), Uttarakhand (decline of 22 points), Madhya Pradesh (decline of 20 points). Eight State/UTs have shown improvement in child sex ratio during 2001-2011 with Punjab showing biggest improvement among States/UTs (increase of 48 points), followed by Chandigarh (increase of 22 points) and Haryana (increase of 11 points) Himachal Pradesh 906 (increase of 10 points), A&N Islands (Increase 9 points), Mizoram (Increase of 7 points), Tamil Nadu (Increase of 4 points), Gujarat (Increase of 3 points).

Rural-Urban Differentials in Child Sex Ratio

During 1991-2011, child sex ratio declined in both rural and urban India. Though, the child sex ratio in rural India is 919 which are 17 points higher than that of urban India, the decline in Child Sex Ratio (0-6 years) during 2001-2011 in rural areas is more than three times as compared to the drop in urban India which is a matter of grave concern. However, the gap in rural urban child sex ratio has been reduced from 27 points in 2001 to 17 points in 2011.

Table 4
Child (0-6 years) Sex Ratio: 1991-2011 – India

Census year	Total	Rural	Urban
1991	945	948	935
2001	927	933	906
2011	914	919	902

Source: Census, India, Office of Registrar General of India

In the rural areas of 25 States/UTs, the Child Sex Ratio (0-6yrs) has declined in 2011 Census over 2001 Census, in nine States/UTs Child Sex Ratio has improved in 2011 Census and no change has been observed in one State (Gujarat). Trend is slightly better in urban areas as compared to rural areas as in 13 States/UTs Child sex ratio has improved, in 21 States/UTs, it has declined, and there is no change in one state (Kerala).

In the rural areas child sex ratio is higher as compared to urban areas in 26 States/UTs in 2011 Census. In urban areas of nine States/UTs (Highly urbanised NCT Delhi, Chandigarh, Puducherry, Punjab, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, Mizoram & Manipur) Child Sex Ratio is higher when compared to their rural areas.

In rural India, there are 74 districts with CSR < 850 in 2011, whereas, there were 54 districts in this group in 2001. Also in rural areas of 516 districts, sex ratio was above 900 in 2001, whereas only 378 districts fall in that group in 2011. In urban areas, decline in CSR <=850 category at District level in 2011 is due to increase in urban sex ratio in 13 states, which is reflected increase in the number of urban districts in the category CSR >850. These are positive trends unlike the situation in rural areas.

Table 5
Child Sex Ratio: Distribution of Districts in Rural and urban India

Districts by ranges of Child Sex Ratio in Rural India, 2001- 2011			Districts by ranges of Child Sex Ratio in Urban India, 2001- 2011		
Ranges of CSR (0-6 years)	Census Years		Ranges of CSR (0-6 years)	Census Years	
	2001	2011		2001	2011
Total	640*	640	Total	640*	640
Nil (No rural)	9	9	Nil (No Urban)	18	9
Up to 850	54	74	Up to 850	86	59
851-900	61	188	851-900	110	121
901-999	500	363	901-999	417	447
1000+	16	12	1000+	9	4

*O/o RGI generated 2001 results for the 640 districts of Census 2011.

During 2001-2011, child sex ratio declined in 461 districts which is about three fourth of total districts of the Country. In 38 districts, the decline in CSR has been more than 50 points. In 51 districts, there is increase in CSR with 20 or points.

Table 6
Change in Child Sex Ratio (0-6 yrs) 2001-2011- Districts

Child Sex Ratio (0-6 yrs)	Number of Districts
Total number of districts	640
Decline	**461**
More than 100 points	7
50 to 99 points	31
20 to 49 points	178
1 to 19 points	245
No Change	**20**
Increase	**159**
Up to 10 points	74
11 to 20 points	34
21 to 30 points	17
31to 49 points	19
50+	15

Source: Census, Office of Registrar General of India

Decline in Child Sex ratio 2001-2011 (District wise)

Due to decline in CSR (0-6 years) in majority of States/UTs (27) in 2011, the gap between the results of Census 2011 and 11th Plan goals has further widened. Himachal Pradesh and Andaman & Nicobar Island have achieved 11th Plan goals set for sex ratio in the age group 0-6 years. Four states (Punjab, Mizoram, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat) are close to the targets with difference of 1-5 percentage points.

Sex Ratio at Birth

Sex Ratio at birth denotes the number of female live births to 1000 male live births. Sex ratio at birth is an indicator of the discrimination against girl child, and heinous crimes such as female foeticide. Compared to 2000-2005 period, where sex ratio dipped continuously (from 892 to 880), the period 2005-10, has showed slight improvement (from 892 to 905) (GoI, 2012).

Among the major States, as per SRS 2008-10, sex ratio at birth is lowest in Punjab (832) followed by Haryana (848) and highest in Chattisgarh (985), followed by Kerala (966). Comparing the results of 2002-04 and 2008-10, Sex ratio at birth declined in Tamil Nadu (decline of 19 points) and Orissa (decline of 6 points) whereas all the other bigger States showed improvement during this period.

Among the Annual Health Survey (AHS) States, sex ratio at birth was highest in Chattisgarh (951), and lowest in Uttrakhand (866). Across all AHS States, except Rajasthan, Odisha and Assam, Sex ratio at birth was significantly higher in rural areas than urban areas.

A view of the district wise data on sex ratio at birth and sex ratio at 0-4 years from AHS for Chattisgarh and Uttarakhand is indicative of the within state variations. In Chattisgarh, which is having a sex ratio at birth at 951, there are three districts with sex ratio at birth favourable to females namely Kawardha (1008), Rajnandgaon (1004), Dhamtari (1003) while the sex ratio at birth is lowest in Koriya (876) along with seven more districts having sex ratio at birth less than 950, out of the 16 Districts. In Uttarakhand with sex ratio at birth 866, the district with highest sex ratio is Neonatal (918), and the lowest sex ratio at birth was reported from Pithoragarh (764). For all the remaining 11 districts, sex ratio at birth was reported between 823 and 890.

Table 7 indicates that, the survival rate for girl children is more than that of boy children in the younger age groups.

Table 7
Child Sex Ratio (0-6) – Comparison: (AHS in EAG States & Assam)

State	Child Sex Ratio (0-6 yrs) Census 2011	Sex Ratio (0-4 yrs-AHS)	Sex Ratio at Birth (AHS)
Uttarakhand	886	877	866
Rajasthan	883	870	878
Uttar Pradesh	899	913	904
Bihar	933	931	919
Assam	957	956	925
Jharkhand	943	937	923
Orissa	934	933	905
Chhattisgarh	964	978	951
Madhya Pradesh	912	911	904

Source: Census, Office of Registrar General of India

Conclusion

We need to counter those who believe that it is better to kill a female foetus than to give birth to an unwanted female child. Their logic eliminates the victim of male chauvinism, does not empower her. The technodocs do not challenge anti-women practices such as dowry, instead display an advertisement, 'Better Rs. 5000 now than Rs. 5 lakhs later' i.e. Better spend Rs. 5000 for female foeticide than Rs. 5 lakhs as dowry for a grown up daughter. By this logic, it is better to kill poor people or third world masses rather than let them suffer in poverty and deprivation. This logic also presumes that social evils like dowry are God-given and that we cannot do anything about them. Hence victimise the victim. Investing in daughter's education, health and dignified life to make her self dependent are far more humane and realistic ways than brutalising pregnant mother and her would be daughter. Recently series of incidents in which educated women have got their grooms arrested at the time of wedding ceremony for demand and harassment for dowry, is a very encouraging step in the direction of empowerment of girls. Massive and supportive media publicity has empowered young women from different parts of the country to cancel marriages involving dowry harassment. They have provided new role models.

Female infanticide is not a new practice; it has been committed in many parts of the world during the time of famines and disasters. However, the practice of sex selection through abortion raises a moral question. Is the life of an unborn not valuable because it's a girl? Is a girl not to be born because one day she will become the burden to her family? How is the nature going to continue if there are no or less women to reproduce? These are some serious questions which need to be addressed immediately.

Sex selective abortion is the result of son-preference and the dowry system; however the major cause is the social status of women in India. Women are still the subject of domination and subordination. They are still subjected to their husbands' decision. The cultural and social context of India does not provide the base for women to stand up for themselves. They are taught to be subordinates to their husbands and in-laws. The gender issues in India, be it sex-selective abortion, or women violence, will not be successfully addressed until and unless women themselves value their being and their identity. Government regulations are important to control the number of sex-selective abortion. Nevertheless, government should make policies that empower women and support their identity as a human being rather than someone's wife or a mother.

The changing sex ratio of children and youth in the world through, the issue of sex-selective abortion is a major human rights issue regarding the 'say' of women whose fetus is being aborted. In order to address this issue, Government of India along with many other interest groups and organisations should make an effort to uplift the situations of women of the country by making women of India realise their importance and the importance of their womanhood.

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School Enrolment and Girl's Education among Marginalised Community: A Special Focus on Nabarangpur and Khordha Districts of Odisha

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School enrolment in India has been showing steady increase since last decade. Still majority of the children especially in rural areas who belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are deprived of the basic education. The proportion of girls' enrolment in education varies with regional difference, noticeably lower in rural areas. The poor enrolment of girls leads to an unequal attainment of education in comparison to boys. Despite some exemplary achievements in girl's education and female literacy, the situation is still dismal in various states as well as among different social groups and between urban and rural areas. Although the national scenario depicts a substantial increase in girl's enrolment, the number of girls leaving school without completing the primary schooling is very high; 41 per cent of girls compared to 38 per cent boys dropped out in 1997-98 (Nayer, 2002). Government of India exhibits commitment towards accelerating the education of girls especially the ones belonging to SC/STs and rural areas. This paper attempts to examine the context of girls education and their continuity in education system; the paper focuses on the institutional facilities and enrolment in primary schooling in Odisha and also discusses the issue in the backdrop of broader socio-cultural aspects.

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Introduction

India has a well established education system in the world with a total enrolment of 114.6 million children at primary and 41.3 million at upper primary levels; out of which 47.52 million and 18.72 million are girls at primary and upper primary levels respectively. Government of India sponsored many flagship programmes in which Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan (SSA) is a significant programme to achieve Universal Elementary Education (UEE), by bridging the social category gaps at primary level by 2007 and at elementary level by 2010. Girl's education is the prime focus of SSA. In view of elementary education being a fundamental right for all the children in the age group of 06-14 years as per the constitutional amendment act, 2002 and Right to Education Act, 2009, UEE is the target that has to be achieved by Government of India. Numerous strategies pursued and adopted to universalise primary education include availability of schooling in close proximity to residences, community participation, participatory school mapping along with specific schemes including Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya, Mahila Samakhya, Mid Day Meal Scheme and State Basic Education Programme etc. (GoI 2000).

Education of girls in India, particularly in rural areas is one of the major concerns of the educationalists, administrators and policy makers. Out of the total children who are not attending the schools, more than two-third of them are females. Thus, it is considered that there is a need to visualise the status of education of girls at elementary level and the problems that usually hamper their education. Government of India is committed to accelerating the education of girls especially the ones belonging to SC/STs and rural areas. Despite this, much need to be done to improve the educational status of girl children particularly in rural India. During 2002-03, the enrolment of girls at primary level was 38.09 million, at upper primary level 24.31 million, and at secondary/higher secondary level it was 28.59 million. At all levels, enrolment status of girl children is lower than that of boys and this difference goes on increasing as we move towards higher level. Though participation of girls at all stages of education has been increasing steadily since 1951 to 2003 (primary level from 28.1 per cent to 46.8 per cent, middle level from 16.1 per cent to 43.9 per cent and secondary/higher secondary level from 13.3 per cent to 41.3 per cent) yet the girls' participation is still below 50 per cent at all stages of education. It is also reported that dropout rates among girls are at higher rate than that of their male counterparts. Hence the issue of existing gender gap in terms of enrolment requires to be addressed and explored with special attentions.

Prevailing Inequality

Reproduction of inequality in education remains a classic concern in the sociology of education. A number of ethnographic studies (see for example Willis, 1997, Mc Robbie 1978, McLaren 1986, Benei 2008) discuss the ways in which the school becomes a crucial site of identity formation, as well as a site where inequalities of class, caste, religion, race and gender play out. The Indian scenario is too complex and varied to be effectively captured through aggregate national figures in relation to the availability of schooling facilities across the country. At one end, Kerala is the only state, where every child is completing elementary school and move to secondary school; and almost every school has at least five teachers and five classrooms. At the other end, state of Bihar where only one out of two children in the relevant age group is in school; the majority of children entering school fail to complete an elementary education (DISE, NEUPA, 2008). The seventh All India Education Survey (AIES) also shows that the percentage of habitations having primary schools was less than the national average in 2002.This condition is specifically noticed in states such as Assam, Jharkhand, Odisha and Rajasthan, where educational indicators are also often lower. The problem of education in Odisha is more dismal in comparison to the national level, though the state has implemented all important central schemes and programmes. Particularly this paper attempts to understand the context of girls education among marginalised sections and the process involved in transition from one level to another level of schooling against the socio-cultural backdrop in Odisha.

Context of Girls Education

The overall literacy rate in Odisha has increased by about 10 per cent, while comparing the 2001 and 2011 census data i.e., from 63.08 per cent to 73.45 per cent. This increase is on par with the all India level literacy rate and some states like Assam, Meghalaya and Karnataka which had a comparable level of literacy in 1991. The overall literacy rate is the highest (87.51 per cent) in Khordha district which is situated in the eastern part of Odisha and the lowest is Nabarangpur (48.20 per cent) in the southern part of Odisha. There is also significant disparity between rural and urban Odisha in literacy rate. The literacy rate of urban males' is 91.83 per cent and rural males' is 80.41 per cent whereas urban females' is 80.70 per cent and rural females' is 61.10 per cent. The gender disparity is observed more in rural areas than in urban areas. Most of the literature on girls education in Odisha is limited to study on problems of girls' access to schooling (Khora, 2005). Pandey (1992) notes that in Odisha, the stereotype attitude of society towards the girl child, the prevailing social taboos and dogmas, poverty, lack of proper programme and planning on the part of government has identified these as important factors effecting girls' education in Odisha. Chanana (2001) argues that the educational policy fails to integrate functions like equity for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes children, mainstreaming of the minorities and equality for women which remain unfulfilled even at the conceptual level.

Theoretical Perspective on Gender and Girls' Education

Since mid-1990s, the ongoing discourse on gender and women's issues has captured the theme 'gender, education and development' Heward (1999) and similarly, Akila (2004) highlighted some gender concerns and issues regarding primary education scenario in Tamil Nadu with respect to the availability of schooling, funds for primary education, male-female disparity, rural urban differences and also inequality between OBCs, SCs and STs. Social and gender equality can be achieved only by creating better awareness of primary education among the underprivileged and minority groups in every district. There is a need to bridge the gap of lower and upper primary schooling. She further added that integrating gender perspectives in all functional areas is required. The currently-used gender focus for increasing female enrolment should get sharper to ensure their retention and attainment. Gender dimension alone is not a matter of concern whereas factors such as socio-economic differences, ethnic origin and language intersect with gender to influence educational performance. Chandrasekhar & Mukhopadhayay (2006) argue that there are other direct and indirect costs that can deter children from going to school. They found that socio-economic background of household and some determinants of school attendance like cost of schooling may be too high, followed by economic well-being of household which affects the likelihood of going to school. Further they added that parental education has a strong positive influence on schooling outcomes and in particular for the girl child. The impact of mother's education is more pronounced for the girl child than boys. Access and retention as a major problem area is brought out to the study by Kaul (2001). In a sample of 93 schools studied across Karnataka reveals that access to primary education and its quality, retention and drop-out rates are closely associated with caste, class and gender divide of the region. It is important that access and equity should go together in order to make UEE a reality and indeed a special focus is needed on children who have historically remained excluded from system.

Khora (2005) described about how Odisha's some tribal groups have historically shown consistently low literacy rates and the author attributed some factors like limited availability of women and SC/ST teachers are responsible and the other major reason being cultural empathy. Another factor is the language, that teacher should be familiar with local tribal language. In the same way, Bhatty (1998) argues that in spite of free and compulsory education in the directive principles of the Indian Constitution, India is still educationally backward even after 68 years of independence.

Contextualizing the Problem

In this backdrop, the paper attempts to examine the relationship between availability of schooling, educational facility, educational policy and enrolment in the rural belts of Odisha considering female literacy and participation at elementary level in Nabarangpur and Khordha districts of Odisha. The analysis is based on secondary information available through National DISE report and State Report Card (Child Tracking Card from Odisha Primary Education Programme Authority (OPEPA), State Government of Odisha and empirical field survey. The scope of the study is confined to two selected districts on the basis of their performance in literacy levels. One is Nabarangpur, the poor performing district in terms of female literacy with 37.22 per cent (Census 2011) and the other district is Khordha which tops the list in female literacy with 82.06 per cent. The analysis proceeds by taking into account the enrolment of students, teacher student ratio, number of schools etc.

Discussion and Analysis

Table 1

District Profile of Khordha and Nabarangpur

Description	Khordha	Nabarangpur
Population	2,246,341	1,218,762
Area Sq.km	2813	5291
Density/km2	799	230
Rural	51.89%	92.80%
Urban	48.11%	7.20%
Male	1,166.949	604,046
Female	1,079.392	614,716
Sex Ratio	925	1020
Child sex ratio(0-6)	910	989
Average Literacy	87.51%	48.20%
Male Literacy	92.55%	59.45%
Female Literacy	82.06%	37.22%
Average Literacy Male (rural)	89.83%	57.20%
Average Literacy Female (rural)	75.99%	34.45%

Source: Census 2011

Khordha district spreads over 2,813 sq.km. of area and has a population of 22,46,341 out of which 51.89 per cent resides in rural areas. The density of population in Khordha is 799 per sq.km. and its sex ratio stands at 925 which is low compared to Nabarangpur. Average literacy rate of the district is 87.51 per cent, whereas the male and female literacy is 92.55 per cent and 82.06 per cent respectively. The child sex ratio of Khordha stands at 910.

Nabarangpur district covers an area of 5291 sq.km. and its population is 12,18,762. The rural population of Nabarangpur stands 92.80 per cent which indicates that larger population lives in rural areas. The density of population in Nabarangpur is 230 per sq.km. The average literacy rate of Nabarangpur is 48.20 per cent and male and female literacy rate is 59.45 and 37.22 per cent respectively which indicates that female literacy is very low in Nabarangpur district, which requires attention and deeper analysis at the appropriate levels.

State capital is located in selected Khordha district which is adjoined and surrounded; therefore selected area is more populated in comparison to Nabarangpur. In terms of area, Khordha occupies less space compared to Nabarangpur having attributed to high density. One half of Khordha's population dwells in rural areas whereas, more than 90 per cent of the population lives in rural areas of Nabarangpur district. Nabarangpur with its low density requires a larger investment towards infrastructure facilities; unlike in denser areas where with a minimum input, people can draw advantage to avail maximum benefits. Despite Nabarangpur having an advantage in terms of adult sex ratio and child sex ratio the district lagging behind both in terms of overall and female literacy rate and is unable to take advantage of the situation. Alongside, female literacy especially mother's literacy is supposed to be strong fact taken for better educational attainment of girl children (Chandrasekhar & Mukhopadhayay 2006). It is observed that in Nabarangpur, overall literacy of females in comparison to males and specifically the rural female literacy is as low as 34.45 per cent which shows sharp contrast to Khordha. There are some of the demographic variables and regional disparities and imbalance that correlate with low literacy attainment of Nabarangpur.

Both private and government schools were captured in rural sector to understand the enrolment pattern. It is clearly evident that government schools representation is higher as compared to private schools in rural areas. But private schools have occupied larger space compared to government schools in case of schools having primary, upper primary, secondary and higher secondary. Those schools having only primary or primary with upper primary have got highest enrolment in rural areas. Similarly, private schools in all categories have higher enrolment rate compared to government schools. Only primary or upper primary schools in government category have best record in terms of enrolment ratio. It is distinctly marked that private school's enrolment is relatively higher compared to government schools. It is suggested that more number of schools are needed in rural areas to increase the enrolment ratio in government schools across all categories. The enrolment figures at primary, upper primary and secondary levels in rural schools is considerably good compared to Nabarangpur. Khordha district records an increase in number of private schools, though not very high; there are many people yet to avail the educational opportunities. There is no doubt, Khordha district has advantage where private companies and corporate sector extend their hand to set up schools. We can now examine the situation of Nabarangpur district which is located in tribal pockets. Situation is completely different in Nabarangpur district if it is compared with Khordha district.

Table 2
Profile of Schools in Khordha District, Odisha

School Category	Total Schools		Rural Schools		Total Enrolment		Rural Enrolment	
	Govt	Private	Govt	Private	Govt	Private	Govt	Private
Primary only	905	51	788	31	76,905	5,437	61,572	2,628
Upper Primary only	115	46	99	44	12,930	3,268	11,392	3,148
Primary with Upper Primary	425	44	349	17	94,701	7,856	70,371	2,486
Primary, UP Sec & Higher Secondary	11	36	2	3	6,256	21,564	548	989

Primary: I-V; Upper Primary: VI-VIII; Secondary: IX-X; Higher Secondary: XI-XII
Source: DISE, 2009-10

Nabarangpur district has higher concentration of public schools in comparison to private schools at primary and upper primary levels. An examination of enrolment shows that there is high enrolment in schools which have primary, upper primary and higher education level. But availability of such schools is less in number. In terms of rural schools and rural enrolment, it is seen that more number of government schools at primary level are available in rural areas. The number of government schools at higher secondary level are very few in rural areas thereby resulting in overcrowding which is evident through Table 3. Unlike Khordha district, schools of all categories have good representation in government category. Private schools in Nabarangpur district did not capture the space much compared to Khordha district since it is a tribal hamlet. It may be assumed that private sectors investment lies in developed area to gain profits out of it. This poses a serious question about the intention and value of education provided by the capitalist society and corporate sector. Is it really worth to invest in education? Since Nabarangpur district is backward and regionally isolated, it requires free and compulsory education even by the private means. Apart from these, looking at enrolment figure, similar trends also found. Even if passed from primary level to Upper primary level or secondary level, still what happens during the transition period from primary to secondary level of schooling? This indicates that least number of schools limiting the possibility of students get enrolled after completing their primary education.

Table 3
Profile of Schools in Nabarangpur District, Odisha

School Category	Total schools		Rural schools		Total Enrolment		Rural enrolment	
	Govt	Private	Govt	Private	Govt	Private	Govt	Private
Primary only	1,159	10	1,123	9	78,408	796	75,641	766
Upper Primary only	28	4	27	3	3,383	286	3,186	234
Primary with upper primary	544	9	529	5	100,886	1,413	97,013	587
Primary with UP Sec/Higher.Sec	8	6	8	4	4,211	1,084	4,211	905

Source: District Information System for Education (DISE), 2009-10

Table 4
Enrolment Figure Per Schools of Khordha and Nabarangpur

School Category	Khordha	Nabarangpur
Primary only	78.13	67.35
Upper primary only	115.07	118
Primary and Upper primary only	183	201.63
Primary with Upper primary and Higher Secondary	274	526
Primary only (PTR)	29	33
Primary with Upper primary (PTR)	39	43

Source: Field Survey

Considering the student enrolment and the number of schools, it is observed that on an average there are about 67 children in primary schools of Nabarangpur and 78 in Khordha. While in upper primary schools there are about 118 and 115 in Nabarangpur and Khordha respectively. There are marginal difference in case of both primary and upper primary schools of Nabarangpur (183) and Khordha (201.63). But a significant difference is noticed with regard to the total number of children studying in school with combination of primary with upper primary and higher secondary category. About 526 children are enrolled in each school of Nabarangpur, while only about 274 are enrolled in each school of Khordha. This indicates that pupil teacher ratio (PTR) is not on similar bars with Khordha district. The data available for pupil teacher ratio of primary and upper primary schools of Nabarangpur and Khordha shows that teachers in Nabarangpur have to cater to a slightly higher proportion of students. Specific observations on primary with upper primary and higher secondary schools highlights the likelihood of having an uneven PTR with 526 children per school in Nabarangpur and 274 in Khordha. Therefore, it is required to increase PTR in tribal hamlets in the state of Odisha.

Table 5
Performance Indicators in Relation to Nabarangpur and Khordha

Indicators	Nabarangpur		Khordha	
	Primary	P + UP	Primary	P + UP
% Enrolment in Govt. Schools	99.0	98.6	93.4	92.3
% Enrolment in single - teacher schools	18.8	1.3	6.8	1.8
% No female teacher Schools	48.8	46.8	20.2	14.1
% Govt. schools with kitchen – shed	53.5	74.8	20.1	28.7
% ST enrolment	61.7	51.8	7.7	5.4
% ST girls to ST enrolment	50.3	45.9	50.3	38.9
% SC enrolment	15.8	22.4	17.4	14.3
% SC girls to SC enrolment	49.8	49.5	50.0	48.6
% Girls enrolment	49.3	48.6	49.4	49.5
Pupil teacher ratio (PTR)	33	43	29	39
Student class room ratio (SCR)	29	37	28	36
% Schools with <= 50 students	36.0	2.0	36.1	1.3
% Female teachers	24.3	28.4	58.1	56.2
% Single classroom schools	8.0	3.6	7.3	1.3
% Single teacher Schools	22.2	2.5	11.2	1.7
% Schools with common toilets	95.9	59.3	94.7	90.8
% Schools with girls toilets	11.8	71.4	92.4	94.2
% Schools with drinking water facility	87.8	97.5	94.9	98.5

Source: District Information System for Education (DISE), 2009-10

Enrolment in government schools of Nabarangpur and Khordha shows a negligible difference particularly at the primary and upper primary level. Enrolment in single teacher schools at upper primary level is considerably low in both the districts. Not much difference is observed in the enrolment of girls in both the district. Percentage of SC/ST girls' enrolment at primary and upper primary level both at Khordha and Nabarangpur shows not much variation. Percentage of female teachers in primary and upper primary schools of Khordha is relatively high. This data also supports the fact that female teachers' presence enhances the enrolment.

Enrolment rate between Nabarangpur and Khordha in single classroom schools with primary and primary with upper primary schools shows relatively negligible difference. Similarly not much difference is observed in percentage of schools with common toilets in both districts. In Nabarangpur, percentage of schools with girls toilets at primary level is 11.8 per cent which is considerably low compared to Khordha district. The infrastructure of government schools was provided under SSA which is clearly visible and the school infrastructure has a great impact on girls access and participation in school education. Children seek the education with love and affection. Few literatures suggest that female teacher presence influence the kid's behaviour and so that they can be brought back to schools. Though there is a strong relation between female teacher participation and student's presence and attendance in the school, there is a greater need to have more female teachers instead of male teacher in Nabarangpur district compared to Khordha district.

Literacy and Enrolment

After independence, the educational policy of the Government of Odisha radically changed. Educational facilities expanded very rapidly, with a remarkable growth in enrolment of students. According to 2011 census, the male and female literacy rates of Odisha are 84.40 per cent and 64.36 per cent respectively. Female literacy continues to be an area of concern despite notable achievement during last decade. Similarly the literacy rate among SCs and STs is also a major concern for the state. Whereas the literacy rate of Nabarangpur stands at 31.97 per cent for SC females and 11.12 per cent for ST females and for SC males 58.53 per cent and ST males it is 36.86 per cent. The study area Nabarangpur has an increase from 33.93 per cent in 2001 to 48.20 in 2011 which is much lower than the literacy rate of the state. The following discussion leads us to know the reason for the lower rank in the literacy rate of Nabarangpur, which performs well in the primary education sector.

In Nabarangpur number of students' enrolment in primary education has increased at phenomenal rate with nearly 100 per cent enrolment in primary education. Negligible difference is there in the enrolment among social groups like SCs, STs and other communities. Even while considering the drop-out rates, not much difference is observed among the social groups. Comparatively SC drop-out rate is much lower than the other communities and the ST which stands at 1.58 and 2.92 respectively, whereas SCs is 0.25 per cent which is considered to be an appreciable fact. There is huge regional disparity persist in different corners of the country resulting from socio-economic as well as political background of that region. Murshidabad district of west Bengal shows not only poor quality of primary schooling but also immense regional disparities among several blocks of the district (S.K. Kandu, 2012). In the southern region of Odisha the literacy rate is 57.58 per cent, whereas in north and coastal districts the literacy rate is 72.21 per cent and 81.54 per cent. While the male literacy rate is highest in coastal region i.e., 88.69 per cent and females are 74.14 per cent while it is lowest in the southern region i.e., 69.53 per cent for males and 45.89 per cent for females. Thus, both male and female literacy rates are lowest in the backward southern region of the state. There is also significant disparity between rural and urban Odisha in the literacy rate, i.e., 70.78 per cent and 86.45 per cent respectively.

Parental and social attitudes are major demand-side sources of gender inequality in India, but other factors are also important like the child's motivation, the household's ability to bear the costs of schooling, and the demand for the child's labour raising the opportunity cost (Drèze and Sen 1995; Probe 1999; Kingdon 2007). Though study is concerned on gender issues in general, education in particular, the religious belief among the different social groups in Nabarangpur district have affected on gender as well as the decision of parents to have girl preference in terms of sending them to school and even for higher studies.

Educational Policy

Thus, it has been clear from the above analysis that Odisha government implemented significant policy measures and schemes like SSA, NPEGEL and KGBV to reap better results. The high priority given to primary education, decentralised educational policy making and its implementation, and awareness about the education have contributed the current state of primary education in Odisha. In order to spread the education among the backward sections of the society like STs and SCs, the ST & SC Department has taken a number of special measures including establishment of schools both in the scheduled and non-scheduled areas, provision of scholarships to meritorious students, and supply of books, reading-writing materials, and uniforms. From the data, it is apparent that Odisha government attained nearly 95 per cent enrolment both in primary and upper primary education particularly in Nabarangpur district. Though Nabarangpur attained nearly 100 per cent enrolment in primary and upper primary education but its adult literacy is found very low and considered to be the least performing in the state. It is evident that adult literacy is found as 48.20 per cent whereas the overall literacy rate of Odisha is 73.45 per cent according to 2011 census. Even after implementation of several policies in Nabarangpur district, it seemed that socio-cultural ties among marginalised could not comply with state's policy therefore resulted for low performing district in terms of literacy rate. Therefore, the gap is widening between male and female education in the study area. To ensure a cent percent enrolment of girls in the district, it is imperative to identify gaps persisting at institutional level, to raise awareness about the gender gaps, implement effective laws based on socio-cultural context, developing strategies to minimise the flaws by putting adequate resources and necessary knowledge and lastly, proper monitoring need to be required to review the process.

Conclusion

Gender inequality is the biggest challenge that India facing today. It has become a significant social phenomenon which transcends all barriers of caste, class and community. A very strong bias is entrenched in the cultural heritage of Indian society. Discrimination against girls is carried out not only at the household level with households engaging in a variety of practices that diminish girls' educational status and reduce their survival but it is evident at the school level even in terms of lack of infrastructure and faulty educational policy.

Therefore, social exclusion of girls perpetuates poverty at individual and household levels by denying them access to education, services, and resources. It was evident from the above analysis that Khordha and Nabarangpur district of Odisha has experienced the same problems in this regard. Expectation and actual experiences of exclusion and inequality can cause feeling of powerlessness among the girls, which may result in low self esteem and diminished aspiration for future. For example if parents expect that their daughter are discriminated, they may not choose to invest in their education. The social exclusion of girls has consequence at national level. Even when national economics grow, excluded groups are left behind. Therefore, social isolation and relative economic deprivation in study area could be taken care if state addresses female education in marginalised area and minimise gender gap in terms of accessing schools.

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Book Review

Poverty and Progress: Realities and Myths about Global Poverty

Deepak Lal

Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2015, Page: 268, Price: 495

Vinod Sen*

Professor Deepak Lal is well-known author and is famous as a development economist. His book entitled "Poverty and Progress: Realities and Myths about Global Poverty" had been launched at the Federation House on May 13th 2015. This is much needed contribution to the development studies especially in Third World. It is a significant contribution to the existing knowledge and literature on the issues related to poverty. This book sweeps them all up into a rational and seeping look at economic history. Professor Lal's contribution is much richer than they have ever been in the history of poverty around the world. Author has emphasised on the role of government aid centralised economies on poverty.

Professor Lal has already contributed on various aspects of poverty in his notable contributions. Some of the significant contributions are; Reviving the Invisible Hand, The Poverty of Development Economics; The Political Economy of Poverty and Equity and Growth and many more. This curiosity towards his renowned work may be expressed in his own words, "At the start of my seventh decade, as I look back over the past 50 years, during which I have studied, engaged in various debates, and travelled in

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the Third World, I am amazed at the transformations that have lifted billions out of poverty. One of the saddening experiences in writing this book, and of reading what younger scholars have written during the last 20 years, is the realisation that many of them have little sense of this amazing achievement or its causes."

Professor Lal through this book tried to provide insight in the much needed debate between development, progress, climate change and forgotten poverty. The developed nations are pushing the agenda to reduce energy consumption which will cause even more hardship to the poor. This book unwrap my ideas on global poverty and make us realise that we are close to success aside from self-inflicted growth. A wide range of data has been given in the book. Even though the book was published in May, 2015 but the data used for analysis were only up to 2003. There is wide gap for data which required to be filled by the next edition of the book.

This book is divided into two parts. First part of the book deals with reality issues which are covered in first four chapters of the book. The second part of the book from chapter fifth to tenth examines some myths and the conclusion of the book has been given separately.

The first chapter starts with making a distinction between three types of poverty: structural, conjunctural and destitution poverty. The author has summarised the evidences that most credible to assess the current state of third world poverty. According to the now conventional head-count of those below a $ 1 per day poverty line using 1993 purchasing power. Author also analysed the data since 1980, to know how rapid growth generated in the second period of globalisation, had led to the greatest alleviation of mass structural poverty in human history.

The second chapter focussed on the global spread of wellbeing in developing countries the West with the help of indicators i.e. life expectancy, population, literacy, education, health and per capita food supply.

The third chapter looks at the two other type of poverty-conjectural and destitution. Author further examines how public transfers compare with private ones deals with them. It also looks at international transfer: private and public.

Chapter fourth of this book critically analyses the world political economy of poverty alleviation. It also summarises the novel features of the architecture of the Lal-Myint comparative study in terms of two classification schemes: one was relating to the relative abundance of land and natural resources the other to their polities. He also examines the effects of the current episode of globalisation on economic policymaking in developing countries, on which their economic growth rates and then poverty reduction depend.

The chapter fifth of the book highlights the numbers game played by the international organisation, which overstate the extent of word poverty and minimise the extent of poverty alleviation that has already taken place in the current second historical period of globalisation since the late 1980s. Author also examines how sensible are the new estimates of the word and country income? He moreover gives his arguments on brittleness of the international purchasing power parity estimate since 1950s. He pointed out that young researchers are using these databases for their academic statistical analyses unthinkingly.

In the chapter sixth, author concentrates his focus on statistical snake oil which is now peddled by young development economist. He also tries to get the answer for the question does foreign aid promote economic development and alleviate poverty? Many other young scholars also give theoretical econometric techniques to formulate various weak answers of this question. It also looks to encompass a whole host of variables including formless one like institution and politics based on cross-country regression using the econometric technique of instrumental variables. In the end of the chapter, the author provides some suggestion and policy implications to eradicate poverty in the third world.

The chapter seventh discusses about theoretical curiosities. It deals with poverty traps in the third world countries. An even more impudent attempt to explain the whole of human economics history based on the Malthusian poverty trap. He advocates the big push theory, which is totally discredited by the early 1980s have recently been resurrected to provide various dirigisme panaceas to eliminate world poverty. Author also supported the new trade and new industrial policy for the economic development of third world nations. One of the abiding failings of 'development economics' has been its fascination with theoretical curiosa and the dirigiste policy conclusions that can be drawn from them.

Chapter eighth titled micro everything, which is very innovative and interesting one. In this chapter author considered a third group that seeks to use more microeconomic instruments to delineate and tackle Third World poverty. He states that microeconomic methods embodied in social cost-benefit analysis would be able to improve the selection of investment project in developing countries, thereby improving the lot of poor. But at the same time he also provides evidences to prove that microfinance is not panacea for ending Third World poverty. In this chapter, some of the insights from more careful studies based on microeconomic household surveys are highlighted.

The chapter ninth examines the growing literature on saving Africa. With a host of pop stars, different Western politicians and celebrity seeking economic support as massing foreign aid for Africa on the line of the post-war Marshall plan for Europe. This chapter critically examined the desirability and practicability of these latest pleas for international public charity by the world's great and the good.

The chapter tenth of the book is dealing with the contemporary issues of world economy which is global warning. He has explored various issues including decline in the global temperature, climate change over the last 1000 years and politics behind poverty. The ethical issues which are connected with global warning also discussed and presented as greatest potential threat to the world's poor. The final chapter of the book is on conclusion and provides some suggestions on how to deal with the third world poverty.

The first part of the book is on poverty and progress which evaluates poor-country realities by tracking growth through globalisation and the rapid rate of change in indicators of standard-of-living over the last half century. Furthermore crucial issue discussed is how political economy distresses economic growth rates in developing countries. In part two, Professor Lal has examined the myths and confusion about deprived countries, including calculations and facts that exaggerate the extent of poverty; overstated claims made on behalf of micro-finance; the resurrection of discredited theories, such as vicious circles of poverty; and the need for massive foreign aid to save Africa. Unique among these that have emerged in recent years on world poverty, poverty and progress directly confronts intellectual fads of the West and dismantles a wide range of myths that have obscured an astounding achievement: the unprecedented spread of economic progress around the world that is eliminating the scourge of mass poverty.

Professor Lal has shown his curiosity to see the Third World poverty and how it is alleviating in last two decades. This book is based on secondary data. Author has critically analysed these information and secondary data at world level. Author has also provided lots of literature on poverty especially from the developing economies. He argued cogently that globalisation, good governance and liberal economic policy have led to phenomenal success in many countries over the time, and therefore slowly growing country need to rectify their own economic policy.

Central massage of Professor Lal's book is that efficient economic growth is the only means to alleviate the ancient structural poverty of the Third World and that if countries grew rapidly with per capita income growing above 3 per cent per year, the much derided processes of 'trickle down' would rapidly diminish structural poverty. He justifies this opinion by giving example of India and China that the largest reduction in poverty seen in human history in the last decades. These two countries have adopted classical liberal economic policies, which leads to large increase in their growth rate, per capita income, gross domestic production, life expectancy and literacy rate etc.

The secondary data provided in the book is very extensive but at the same time there is high requirement of updating of the data. These data are looking quite old that is why in current situation of world poverty could not be identified. The author has also given detailed note at the end of the book. All the technical word, phrase, citation, references were given nicely chapter wise. The indexing and referencing has been done in proper manner.

The poverty and progress is an interesting topic for every social scientist, policy maker and at the same time it is challenging to the government. The vicious circle of poverty is not only present in developing countries but also the fact for developed countries too. Despite various schemes and programmes to eradicate poverty in India, the incidence of poverty with progress is not declining at the expected rate, this is also true when it comes to world poverty scenario. The new concept of multidimensional poverty index was introduced in 2010 by the Oxford Poverty, Human Development Initiative and the United Nations Development Programme. It used different indicators to decline poverty beyond the income based lists. This aspect of poverty has been left out by the author in this book.

To sum up, this book on Poverty and Progress: Realities and Myths about Global Poverty, it can be stated that it is a great work on Third World poverty. The strength of the book is that it has covered many issues related to poverty and problems related to poverty especially mass poverty, capitalism, wellbeing indicators, poverty alleviation and income transfer, political economy of poverty, statistical snake oil, poverty trap, trade theory, industrial policy, micro everything, saving Africa and global warming in the Third World economies. The analytical aspect is also up to the mark as an excellent comparison of data at intra-regional at world level has been done. The language of book is very tough but written in a systematic way. The author also gives some good suggestions for eradication of poverty for policy makers. Secondary data was not updated but while analysing the secondary data the author has justified the reasons behind the data, and even interpretation of data has done nicely. This book is an appropriate work and is highly helpful for the beginners, researchers as well as academicians. This book helps the readers to get comfortable with the concepts, problems and various challenge of Third World poverty.

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