

ISSN : 0973-855X



MPJSS

Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

Peer-reviewed Journal of
M.P. Institute of Social Science Research

Volume 25 | Number 1 | June 2020

www.mpissr.org

Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

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Autonomous Institute of Indian Council of Social Science Research, Ministry of Education,
Govt. of India, New Delhi and Ministry of Higher Education, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal
6, Ramsakha Gautam Marg, Bharatpuri Administrative Zone
Ujjain - 456010 (Madhya Pradesh)

Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences is a *peer-reviewed* journal published biannually by M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain. It is devoted to research on social, cultural, economic, political, administrative and contemporary issues, problems and processes at the state, national and international levels. No conditions are imposed to limit the subject matter of the articles in any manner. The journal welcomes research papers, review articles, research notes, comments and book reviews on topics which broadly come under the purview of social sciences.

This Journal is included in the UGC-Consortium for Academic and Research Ethics (UGC-CARE) - Group I.

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Subscription Rates

Annual	
Institutes	₹ 500.00
Individuals	₹ 400.00
Per Copy	
Institutes	₹ 250.00
Individuals	₹ 200.00

The subscription of the journal may be sent through Demand Draft drawn in favour of the Director, MPISSR, Ujjain.

The MPISSR will appreciate receiving journals/periodicals/ research publications from other Institutes/Organisations in exchange of the *Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences*.

We gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance received from the Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi (Ministry of Education, Government of India) for the Publication of this Journal.

The views expressed in all the contributions which appear in the journal are those of the individual authors and are not to be taken representing the views of the Editor or of the MPISSR.

ISSN: 0973-855X

Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

A Biannual Journal of

M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain

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Economic and Social Consequences of Technological Modernisation in Agriculture: Evidences from Madhya Pradesh¹

S.N. Chaudhary*

Krishi Vigyan Kendra is an initiative undertaken to propagate modern agricultural technology among the villagers and socio-economic development of the farming community in rural India. The paper analyses the impact of KVK in the three villages in Chhindwara district in Madhya Pradesh. Evidences from these three villages posit that the initiatives through KVK have contributed to economic development as well social development of the studied villages. The paper concluded that not only in agricultural technology, the KVK has indirectly influenced the traditional mindset of the people and changed their attitudes towards girl's education and modern health care practices.

The history of technological modernisation in agriculture is quite old. After green revolution not only the modernisation process is accentuated for all purposes relating to agriculture but also numbers of users were increased significantly. Introduction of Krishi Vigyan Kendra (KVK) is one of the processes for modernisation of agriculture in India. It is one of the mechanisms to ensure transfer of technology to farm. Irrespective of its positive impact on farming community, the paper analyses: (i) who are the beneficiaries of KVK in terms of caste and class? (ii) how KVK has impacted

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change in cropping pattern? (iii) whether intervention of KVK are market oriented (iv) what are the socio-economic consequences of the functioning of KVK? The paper is divided into five parts, first part deals with the concept of KVK and its history in Madhya Pradesh. The second part covers scope of the study and methods used for data collection. The third part of the paper explains social and demographic profile of villagers, changes in cropping pattern due to KVK intervention and its impact on their economic life. The fourth part analyses nature and magnitude of social change in the experimental villages through KVK initiatives. The last part concludes the paper with specific recommendations.

After independence in 1947 and introduction of new Constitution, number of area specific and target specific rural development projects rolled out in India. In the subsequent years rural development through agricultural modernisation became intense. Improvement of existing approach initiated during the British period for the so-called rural development became dominant approach during the independent India. It was realised by the dominant economic and political elites that only through the adoption of modernisation model of development in agriculture, India can meet its ever increasing food requirement for its population. For this purpose number of efforts have been introduced in agriculture sector. Community Development Project (CDP) was one of the institutional responses to this need. But CDP approach had its own limitations. It could not able to attain its prime agenda pertaining to self-reliance, self-help and self-imitation of villagers in different walks of life including farm production even for self-consumption. At that time nation had to depend on import of food grains. This dependency finally led to the birth of green revolution. Green revolution and its production based impact was not uniform across different parts of the country. The fruits of green revolution were also not reached to all social groups. However, in spite of its social and environmental cost, it was a grand success particularly from the point of view of mitigating the problem of food shortage at that particular point of time.

This fact does not mean that success of green revolution in one area led the success in all realms of life. Economic disparity and subsequently violence increased among regions, social groups and communities in different parts of the country during this period. It was realised through different impact studies that technological modernisation in agriculture through CDP and green revolution definitely increased farm production, economic development and subsequently development in other walks of life for medium or big land-owners, but its benefit was almost insignificant for

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the poor and the marginalised who constituted majority of the households. In many cases poor became poorer after green revolution. In several parts of the country farm wage workers became unemployed and their traditional knowledge became irrelevant due to shift in cropping pattern from production for consumption to production for market. An introduction of modern farm technology and costly farm inputs contributed to exclusion of number of farm labourers and small peasants from the agriculture sector.

From social change point of view impact of modern farm technology was also not uniform. In some areas it contributed to just and democratic values but in many other areas it reinforced tradition. Economic development and dowry went hand in hand during this period. The impact was not free from gender-bias. In many parts of the country green revolution led economic development also contributed to caste and class conflict and rural violence (Brass, 1990).

Krishi Vigyan Kendra (KVK) is one of the four interventions for transfer and proper use of modern farm ideology by Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) under Transfer of Technology (TOT) project for high farm production and economic development of farmers. The other three interventions are (a) All India Coordinated Project on National Demonstrations (AICPND), (b) Operational Research Project (ORP), and (c) Lab to Land Project (LLP).

Enhancing farm production in a sustainable manner needs action agenda which should be based on local conditions and circumstances. However, training and demonstration for farmers are the two basic components of KVK. The local level management committee, consisting of representatives of local agriculture university, ICAR, concerned government departments and progressive farmers are formed to keep vigil on the functioning of KVK. The achievement of KVK is measured in terms of training courses organised for farmers, villagers benefited, follow up field extension activities organised and the impact of these activities on the farming community in general and agricultural production in particular.

At the national level the first KVK was established in 1974 at Puducherry under the aegis of Tamil Nadu Agriculture University. Up to 2002 total 286 KVKs were established throughout the country of which 153,79,31 and 23 are working under State Agriculture Universities, NGOs, ICAR educational bodies and public administration respectively.

In Madhya Pradesh, Jawaharlal Nehru Krishi Vishwa Vidyalaya (JNKVV), has been working at Jabalpur since 1964. The first KVK was established in 1983 at Chhindwara under the guidance of JNKVV Jabalpur.

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Up to the year 2004, 32 KVK have been established in the Madhya Pradesh. Out of those, 25 KVKs have been working under the JNKVV, six KVKs are operating by NGOs and one KVK is working through Central Institute of Agriculture Engineering (CIAE) Nabibag, Bhopal. A list of KVKs working in the state of Madhya Pradesh is presented below:

Table 1
District wise List of KVKs in Madhya Pradesh

S.N.	District	Host Institute	Established	Location
1	Chhindwara	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1983	Chandangaon, Chhindwara
2	Jhabua	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1984	Jhabua
3	Balaghat	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1992	Balaghat
4	Shahdol	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1994	Shahdol
5	Sidhi	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1994	Sidhi, Karondiya
6	Seoni	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1994	Seoni
7	Guna	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1994	Arone
8	Rajgarh	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1994	Rajgarh, Kothi Bagh
9	Khandwa	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1997	Khandwa
10	Tikamgarh	JNKVV, Jabalpur	1995	Tikamgarh, Kundeshwar
11	Gwalior	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2000	Gawalior
12	Dhar	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2002	Dhar, Demli
13	Betul	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2002	Betul, Betul Bazar
14	Panna	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2002	Panna, Lashmipur
15	Dindori	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2003	Dindori
16	Bhind	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2003	Lahar
17	Jabalpur	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2004	Jabalpur, Adhartal
18	Rewa	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2004	Kuthalia farm
19	Ujjain	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2004	Kothi farm
20	Mandsaur	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2004	Mandsaur
21	Shajapur	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2004	Girear farm
22	Morena	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2004	Morena
23	Sagar	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2004	Sagar, Bamhori
24	Hoshangabad	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2004	Hoshangabad, Powerkhada
25	Khargone	JNKVV, Jabalpur	2004	Khargone
26	Satna	Din Dyal Research Institute (NGO)	1992	Majjhagaona
27	Vidisha	Malwa Mahila Vikas Samittee, Bhopal	1992	Sironj
28	Indore	Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, Indore (NGO)	1996	Kasturbagaon
29	Ratlam	Kalukeda Shiksha Sammittee, Ratlam	1994	Jaora
30	Sehore	DARE, Bhopal	2001	Ichhawar
31	Bhopal	ICAR, CIAE, Bhopal	1979	Nabibag, Bhopal
32	Raisen	Deen Dyal Anusandhan Sansthan	2003	Naktra, Raisen

Source: Zonal Coordination Unit, Zone VII (ICAR), JNKVV, Jabalpur, Dated, 12 Dec, 2004.

Research Methodology

The study was conducted in three villages of Chhindwara district viz., Semariya, Jaam and Chargaon. KVK was established in Chhindwara district in 1983 by JNKVV, Jabalpur. From 1983 to 2001, the KVK organised scores of activities of different types. This KVK organised 1816 training courses in which benefited 58108 beneficiaries and 2736 demonstrations were undertaken. During this outreach programme, 363 villages were covered and 682 extension activities were organised which benefited 72025 villagers (Status Report of KVK, Chhindwara 1983-2001). Geographically, the district is situated in Satpura mountain range. The district is inhabited by 12.2 per cent Scheduled Caste and 44 per cent Scheduled Tribe population. The total number of households in all the three villages is 754. All the households from these three villages participated in the study. Well is the main or the only source of irrigation in these villages. Electric pumps are used by most of the farmers for irrigation. Soybean, maize, groundnut, jowar and arhar are the main Kharif crop and gram, linseed, potato, garlic, carrot are other vegetables that are produced in the Rabi season (HDRMP, 2002).

To analyse the impact of KVK in the three villages of Chhindwara district, semi-structured interview schedules were administered among the villagers. Apart from the interview schedule for farmers; observation, group discussion and discussion with KVK functionaries were undertaken for data collection.

Profile of the Villagers

In Chhindwara district, all the three studied villages are semi-developed. The villages are dominated by backward castes viz., Kunbi (41.9 per cent) and Pawar (31.6 per cent). Farming is the main source of livelihood in these three villages. About 31 per cent households are living below the poverty line. 15 per cent households are landless in these villages. However, most of them are part-time share-croppers. Significant numbers of households have access to more than 20 acres of land. Some of the agricultural assets commonly found in the villages are ox, cart, cow and pump set. Tractor and thresher is available with small number of rich households. However, well is available in the land of more than 60 per cent households in all three villages. Most of the households have electric connection in their house. Toilet facility is available with very small number of houses. Radio is more popular than television although the later is also available in 44 households in these three villages. Availability of modern household assets viz., sofa and cooler television material items has created a

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scope of consumer culture in all the studied villages. It appears that with an improvement in income and an increasing degree of exposure to elements of modernisation will increase in future in these three villages.

Exposure to KVK Initiatives

Majority of villagers know about presence and functioning of KVK in their studied villages in the Chhindwara district. Majority have availed its benefit and they have experienced the benefit of change in cropping pattern in their farming system. The cropping pattern has moved from production for consumption to production for market. Farmers have not only attended training programmes regularly but also motivated co-farmers to participate in such programmes. The role of KVK scientists, training programme and frequent technical demonstration were perceived as facilitating factors for the success of KVK project. It was perceived by more than 60 per cent respondents that KVK has still to make its impact among relatively poor farmers, who have small pieces of land and who reside in remotest part of the villages where there is no access of road. Farmers living in remote part still produce crops mainly for their own consumption and not for the market. It is found that KVK has still to reach to the landless and poor wage earners. However, success rate was significantly rated high by most of the respondents, irrespective of their socio-economic background.

Change in Cropping Pattern

During this study, about half of the respondents not only reported increase in farm production after the introduction of KVK but also many of them reported change in the cropping pattern. Today productions of garlic, vegetable, etc. have become very common, particularly by the relatively big farmers. In the past they used to produce only wheat and soybean but now cropping pattern has been significantly replaced by cash crops like ginger, tomato, coriander, green chili, lady finger, brinjal, cauliflower and onion. In the rabi season peas, potato, and garlic are very common crops. Farmers produce these crops for market because all the three villages are properly connected to Nagpur market through a metal road which passes by these villages. Farmers easily carry such produce to Nagpur, Chhindwara and Bhopal markets on regular basis. In comparison to the past, frequency and number of their visit to Nagpur, Bhopal and Chhindwara have increased among the farmers after intervention of KVK. Due to change in cropping pattern the area under crop as well as income has increased among the farmers. Villagers now use their fallow land for agriculture. It is also reported that some rich farmers have encroached community land for cultivation

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purpose. In other words KVK initiatives enhanced importance of farm work which in turn promoted tendency to encroach community land by rich farmers for personal use. With reference to other experimental villages, it is also observed that land utilisation area under double crop have increased by 82.34 per cent and under triple crop area it has increased up to 78.04 per cent during last three years primarily due to the use of new farm technology (Rai, 1995). It has its positive impact on income of beneficiaries. But due to encroachment of community land, there is frustration and conflict among those who have been using such land in the past mainly for grazing purpose.

During this study, it is inferred that 72 per cent respondents, with highest number in Simariya and lowest in Chargaon, reported that because of adoption of new farm technology there is positive impact on farm production. Today people at large use fertiliser, irrigation, new storage facility, new marketing system, new instruments and new water management techniques to improve farm production and obtaining maximum benefit out of it. Use of these techniques and facilities were not popular during pre-experimental days when investment in agriculture was full of risks. The new knowledge relating to all these new technology has become very popular among villagers and possibilities of crop failure have significantly decreased in the study villages.

Change in Income

During this study, it is inferred that by KVK intervention not only farm production increased but also it has enhanced economic condition of villagers in a positive way. In these three villages, 38 per cent of households were under debt-trap before pre-KVK implementation days. The indebtedness was highest in Jaam village and lowest in Simariya village. The amount of loan ranged from Rs. 500 to Rs. 20000. Analyses of indebtedness posit that 21 per cent households had taken loan between Rs. 5000 to Rs. 10000. The natures of loan were informal and less number of households borrowed from institutional sources. In pre-KVK implementation day 51 per cent households were under debt, but after implementation of KVK programmes less than 35 per cent households remained under debt. There is a change in the intensity of indebtedness among famer after intervention by KVK in the study villages. In pre-KVK implementation day, households having loans of above Rs. 10000 was more than 12 per cent but after implementation of KVK programmes the percentage of such households reduced significantly. This shows an improvement in economic status of villagers in the three villages.

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The above finding of economic development is also supported with the personal narratives of the farmers in the villages. In this study, it is found that in the past only 5.4 per cent households perceived that their economic condition was good. After implementation of KVK initiatives in the area, 45.8 per cent households feel that their economic condition is in a good shape.² For this improvement farmers extended their credit to initiatives undertaken by KVK. Many scholars have found similar state of affair while examining interface between agricultural modernisation and economic development in other parts of the country. In his study, Acharya found that technological change was considered as a change from traditional farming to production syndrome, encompassing use of High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds, chemical fertiliser, insecticides and use of modern irrigation equipments and machineries (Acharya, 1973). Similarly Khan and Chandragowada in their study in Karnataka village observed that in one of these schemes farmers were not only imparted training regarding vegetable production but also leaflets pertaining to cultivation was distributed among them. These programmes facilitated farmers to adopt recent improved technology. Significant number of them used improved crop varieties, balanced fertiliser and need-based plant protection facilities. All these initiatives improved farm production which in turn increased their farm based income (Khan and Chandragowada, 1999).

Change in Wage and Farm Employment

In the studied villages, there are 15 per cent households who are landless. Majority of them are depended upon wage labour for their livelihood. Depending on requirement and conditions they work within and periphery the studied villages. There is seasonal variation but in about half of the labourers are paid as per the minimum wage act. In these three villages, women and children are less paid in comparison to their male counterpart. However, with an increase in farm income, coupled with increasing cases of seasonal migration, they are now paid more in comparison to the previous wage. Similar observation was made by V T Raju (1982) using the regression on employment, said that new agricultural technology had significantly contributed to an increase in the employment of labour (Raju, 1982).

Narratives from the field however posit another picture, M. Lokhande, one of the rich farmers of Jaam village had opposite view to share. According to him modernisation in agriculture has led to creation of more and more wage opportunity but the wage rate is static and also it is

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regulated by demand and supply dynamics. Under the given scenario women are paid lower wage than men and most often they are assigned labour intensive tasks such as weeding, transplantation of paddy and harvesting. Women are neither exposed to post-harvest work nor work related new technology. Lower wage and technology led labour displacements of some of these workers in Jaam village have negatively affected their income and dietary habit. They are incapable to purchase and consume newly introduced crops like carrot, garlic, coriander, brinjal and chilly in the villages.

Change in Saving

During this study, changes in the saving pattern due to intervention of KVK was analysed in the three villages. It is informed that during pre KVK days 69 per cent households had no saving from farming. Only 7 per cent households had saving more than Rs. 10,000. The place where they used to save was both informal and institutional. It is analysed that after intervention of KVK, about 50 per cent households have saving from their farms. Hence, the number of households having no saving decreased from 69 per cent to 50 per cent. It is interesting to note that 8.5 per cent households have saving of more than Rs. 30000. This shows that not only the numbers of households having surplus income increased over the time, but also amount of saving have increased significantly. Earlier only 17 per cent households used to save their money at formal institutions but now their numbers have increased up to 33 per cent. This again shows favourable inclination towards intuitional mode of saving by the farming households.

Social Change among Villagers

There is difference of opinion among researchers on the issue of relationship between improvement of farmer's income and its concomitant social change. Economic development can lead to social change but at the same time it can also promote continuation of traditionalism. It can lead to institutionalisation and effective functioning of democratic process, but at the same time it can also negate democratic process and can facilitate primordialism.

In the three villages, majority of respondents are of the opinion that interventions of KVK have brought overall improvement at the village level. The levels of economic improvement have taken place at the individual level but it has trickled down to other in societal level. Economic development was most visible Simariya and least visible in Chargaon village of the

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Chhindwara district. KVK has contributed to improvement in irrigation facility, technical knowledge, modern means of agricultural operation and living standard of people. Further, it has changed food habit, dress pattern and capacity to purchase agricultural instruments. It has also improved educational status among children of the villages. Anand Rao, a teacher who hails from Simariya village said:

"Today farmers consume more milk, green vegetables and fruit. Kheer, puri, halwa and sweets are the food which were prepared at the time of festivals in the past. Now it is very common in day-to-day meal. Nowadays, birthday, mundan, katha, marriage anniversary and small festivals are also celebrated with great joy and pomp. Villagers prepare above dishes in each of these social functions."

It is also interesting to note that because of modernisation in agriculture activities and assured income from farm, even young generation got attracted towards farming. Some of the respondents were of the view that even after receiving education they are unable to get job in either public or private sector. Therefore, they have now concentrated in farm activities. Increasing infrastructure facilities relating to farm work have encouraged youths to engage in farm work. Jamkar Lokhande of Jaam village, who is employed in Land Development Bank said:

"As improvement in agricultural production due to KVK intervention started, I am giving more and more attention to farm activities."

R. Aldak, a 46 years old progressive farmer said:

"I wish to become a social reformer and want to help farmers in every sphere through the best knowledge I have acquired through the KVK programmes".

More or less similar observation was made by Ram Khilwari of Simariya village. It is needless to mention that KVK has substantially decreased seasonal outmigration.³ This is a good sign of social change in the study villages. In these villages, 84 per cent respondents also reported improvement in their self confidence due to interaction with KVK representatives. They admit an improvement in transportation facility at the village level.

Evidences from the three villages, do not mean that such development has taken place without influencing social harmony and brotherhood in the village. In these villages, 61.5 per cent respondents opined that level of competition among villagers have increased over the

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time. In response to a question to villagers that do they feel that today village is more disturbed and degree of rivalry have increased in comparison to the pre-KVK implementation period. In these three villages 28 per cent respondents agreed that rivalry and animosity has increased, however, 65 per cent people denied the facts related to increase in rivalry. In these villages, 62 per cent respondents disagreed that KVK led development has contributed to corruption in the village. It is found that health consciousnesses have increased and women's participation in farm activities have also substantially increased. Simultaneously, some negative consequences of development process were also noticed. For instance, about 74 per cent respondents said that income disparity between big landowners and marginal farmers and landless have increased in the villages. This finding is similar to other studies which concludes that with the introduction of new technology or farm based development schemes, disparity between rich and poor or landowners and landless have significantly increased. The findings also reveal that heavy concentration on land and continuous increase in income from land have increased land cost more in the case of land for house construction. Further, amount of dowry have increased in all the three villages but it is highly evident in village Jaam and least evident in Chargaon. Respondents also feel that quality of local leadership have improved and in comparison to the pre-KVK days. They opined that today they have more access to modern means of communication and transportation.

Table 2
Respondents Views on Issues Relating to Social Change

S.N.	Particular	Villages			Total	Per cent
		Simariya	Jaam	Chargaon		
1	Improvement in living standard	144	325	183	652	86.5
2	Improvement in food habit	146	320	178	644	85.4
3	Improvement in education of children	146	327	188	661	87.7
4	Interest in cultivation	145	311	188	644	85.4
5	Self confidence improved	145	307	182	634	84.1
6	Increased competitiveness	129	216	119	464	61.5
7	Village now disturbed	111	30	71	212	28.1
8	Rivalry increased	114	30	67	211	28
9	Corruption increased	122	46	84	252	33.4
10	Consciousness about health increased	143	287	156	586	77.7
11	women's participation in farm increased	147	301	182	630	83.4
12	Dowry amount increased	133	338	180	651	86.3
13	Leadership quality increased	140	304	174	618	82
14	Now people send their children in town for education	149	329	175	653	86.6
15	Social status improved	146	335	174	665	88.2

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S.N.	Particular	Villages			Total	Per cent
		Simariya	Jaam	Chargaon		
16	Age at marriage increased	149	351	192	692	91.8
17	Religious activities increased	148	342	177	667	88.5
18	Change in sleeping and rising time	145	327	179	651	86.3
19	Guest entertainment increased	148	334	198	680	90.2
20	Self confidence among women increased	145	331	185	661	87.7
21	Small family norm more popular	136	345	185	666	88.3
22	Untouchability decreased	129	346	183	658	87.3
23	Gender disparity decreased	147	324	184	655	86.9
24	Out-migration decreased	146	309	192	647	85.8
25	Crime against women increased	5	3	20	28	3.7
26	Increased number of crime	4	4	6	14	1.9
27	Increased number of theft/robbery	2	3	4	9	1.2
28	Increased police intervention	2	3	5	10	1.3

It is interesting to note that in all the studied villages interests for children's education have increased. It is found that people have started sending children to schools which are located even outside the village. It is needless to mention here that 16 per cent members of interviewed households are illiterate even today. However, 84 per cent respondents feel that KVKs have improved educational status of villagers due to its awareness generation programmes. In these three villages, 92.3 per cent of respondents now realising that relevance of education is highly beneficial in contemporary society. This is a significant change in people's perception and attitude towards education brought out by outreach programme by KVKs. After initiatives of KVKs, majority of household (58 per cent) wish to impart education for their children according their wish.

Table 3
Expected Level of Education to Children (Multiple Responses)

S.N.	Expectation	Villages						Total	Per cent
		Simariya		Jaam		Chargaon			
		Total	%	Total	%	Total	%		
1	No response/No reply	0	0.0	8	2.2	12	4.5	20	2.6
2	As per their wish	135	84.4	243	66.2	74	27.5	448	57.9
3	Graduation	0	0.0	10	2.7	10	3.7	20	2.6
4	Technical course	0	0.0	4	1.14	0	0.0	4	0.5
5	No gain/No teaching	2	1.3	5	1.4	1	0.4	7	0.9
6	Up to 10	10	6.3	11	3.0	47	17.5	62	8.0
7	Up to 12	6	3.8	37	10.1	54	20.1	88	11.4
8	Up to M.A.	2	1.3	9	2.5	28	10.4	37	4.8
9	B.E./I.A.S.	1	0.6	2	0.5	2	0.7	5	0.6
10	Job oriented course	1	0.6	10	2.7	12	4.5	23	3.0
11	Other	2	1.3	19	5.2	15	5.6	36	4.7
12	Childless family	1	0.6	9	2.5	14	5.2	24	3.1
	Total	160	100	367	100	269	100	774	100

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Their attitudes in favour of girl's education have also changed in the study villages. The villagers started realising the advantages of girl's education in the society. It is found that 17, 16 and 13 per cent households said girl's education will help them in proper management of household activities, will increase the current level of awareness and will also help them to become self-dependent respectively. Significant number of respondents said that girls education is must because it will ensure their bright future, economic development of family and job opportunities for their self reliance.

Table 4
Perceived Benefits of Girls Education (Multiple Responses)

S.N.	Particular	Villages						Total	Per cent
		Simariya		Jaam		Chargaon			
		F	%	F	%	F	%		
1	No response/No reply	3	1.75	8	2.22	31	11.65	42	5.27
2	Proper management of household activities	25	14.62	106	29.44	30	11.27	161	60.52
3	Job opportunity	18	10.5	20	5.6	32	12.0	70	8.8
4	Self-dependence	20	11.7	43	11.9	40	15.0	103	12.9
5	Marriage in respectful family	8	4.7	19	5.3	36	13.5	63	7.9
6	Overall development in family	8	4.7	62	17.2	10	3.8	80	10.0
7	They have right to be taught	21	12.3	5	1.4	6	2.3	32	4.0
8	Bright future	0	0.0	30	8.3	47	17.7	77	9.7
9	Up to 12, so that some job may be obtained	13	7.6	1	0.3	1	0.4	15	1.9
	Total	171	100	360	100	266	100	797	100

In these three villages, use of HYV seed and fertiliser, pesticides, and use of consumer items have significantly increased after initiatives KVK in the area. In these villages, 92 per cent households feel that age at marriage for both boys and girls have increased and there is no instance of child marriages since last five years. It is also revealed that villager's involvements in religious activities have also increased. It is needed to mention that in another study in Sehore district of Madhya Pradesh, it is observed that villagers at large, irrespective of their caste background, are taking serious interest in community activities like temple construction. This type of concomitant development after agricultural development has taken place during last several years. One of the possible reasons behind this may be improvement in economic condition of a section of population along with an increasing level of anxiety and feeling of insecurity which have forced them to involve themselves in religious activities (Chaudhary: 2007).

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During the post-KVK intervention period, it is also observed that sleeping time at night and rising time at morning have been moulded by agricultural modernisation. Villagers going to bed late in the night but they have to rise early to take care of domestic animals. In post-KVK scenario, villagers are so enthusiastic with their farm income that they should invest more money in agriculture. Interestingly, with economic development, numbers of guests have also increased in the study villages. It is also observed that small family norm has become popular after programmes KVK in this area. Discussion with the villagers also ascertained that the initiatives have a positive impact on women empowerment. In the three studied villages, 87 per cent respondents stated that gender discrimination have decreased in the villages. After KVK interventions, degrees of untouchability have decreased in both public and private life of the villagers. However, on certain occasions untouchability is still practiced by some villagers. Jamkar Lokande, Mudhukar and Bhaman Rao said that since it is perceived as a tradition, on specific occasions untouchability is practiced by villagers. They reiterated that dalits do not sit with the upper castes even now.⁴ One Scheduled Caste respondent said,

"We are habitual of this practice. Late Tandekar (IAS) was extended respect by all without caste consideration because he was educated and in government job. But we do not get respect because we are poor and illiterate."

In this study, respondents also identified some unpleasant developments which have taken place in all the three villages during last several years. However, villagers do not blame only KVK interventions for these problems. In three villages, 31 per cent respondents said that pollution level have increased, 93 per cent said that level of temperature have increased and similar number of them said that both surface water and underground water table has been declining rapidly. In the study villages, 95 per cent respondents opined that during last five years number of trees have decreased in the village. Respondents expressed mixed opinion about increase of milch cattle in the village. However, it is reported by very small number of respondents that during last five years number of general crimes, crime against women have increased in the villages and simultaneously police intervention in the villages have increased.

Change in Health and Disease Management

In order to deal with various diseases villagers equally depend on different treatment procedures. These techniques inculcated both traditional

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and modern medicinal practices. During the pre-KVK time, 93.94 respondents depended on quacks or Jhola Chhap doctors. After KVK interventions also 91 per cent of them mainly depend on these un-qualified doctors. In course of discussion with villagers it was revealed that villagers have decades old trust on these Jhhola chhap doctors and they are available at their door step. It is also found that these doctors are local residents who offer treatment on credit. Jhar-Phuk (traditional procedure) technique is also followed in all the three villages. However, number of users of traditional procedure have decreased from 14 households to six households. In these villages, villagers visit to modern doctors and hospitals at distant places have significantly increased. In the last one year only 33 villagers visited hospitals in Chhindwara and Nagpur for their treatment. It is also revealed that the frequencies of villagers visit to urban centres like Chhindwara, Bhopal and Nagpur have rapidly increased after KVK interventions.

Conclusion

KVK reached to inhabitants of the three villages in a disproportionate manner. Rich farmers and big land owners have gained more in comparison to marginal farmers and landless workers. Hence, it has widened disparity among the villagers. KVK has been successful in diffusing modern farming techniques among majority of villagers which have changed cropping pattern in favour of market. Villagers now take more and more loan for agricultural modernisation from institutional sources. After intervention of KVK, most of the villagers do not taking credit for consumption purpose. Due to improvement in income from agriculture and outside contacts at Chhindwara, Nagpur and Bhopal cities villagers visiting these places frequently for selling their products. Villager's interest in consumer culture, children's education, health have positively influenced by the modernisation process around them. Expansions of modern communication system in these villages have also contributed to this process positively. It is ascertained that economic development, coupled with exposure to forces of modernisation have discouraged untouchability but it has increased vice of dowry demand at time of marriages. The KVK initiatives have increased literacy, education and age at marriage in the study village. Exposures to the outer world, improvement in income and communication network have positively changed their attitude and behaviour in favour of modern health and to disease management practices. In a nutshell, it can be said that KVK has contributed to economic development as well social development of the study villages significantly.

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End Notes

1. This paper is based on a research project entitled 'Technological Modernisation in Agriculture, Economic Development and Social Change: Case Study of Selected Villages of Chhindwara District' sponsored by ICSSR New Delhi.
2. More or less similar situation was observed in another study by the author (Chaudhary: 2012). The study was conducted in a tribal village. In comparison to the situation about 20 years ago wherein 53.5 per cent and 64.5 per cent villages perceived an improvement in their economic condition and economic condition of the village respectively. Respondents underlined different factors responsible for this state of affair (P. 100).
3. In another study also author (Chaudhary: 2014) observed the same trend. The study was conducted in two Blocks of old Jhabua district of Madhya Pradesh namely Kathiwada and Ranapur. The quality of farm land irrigation facility, quality of forest etc. is much better in the former in comparison to the later Block. As a result, the cases of seasonal out-migration, period of stay at destination etc. is shorter in Kathiwada in comparison to Ranapur villages (P. 66).
4. In other areas of Madhya Pradesh also untouchability, particularly in the private life, is in practice. One of the root reasons (Chaudhary: 2005) is that both victims and perpetrators perceive the practice of untouchability as a tradition and not as a crime.

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Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

(A Biannual Journal of M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain)

ISSN: 0973-855X (Vol. 25, No. 1, June 2020, pp. 17-27)

Public Health and Education System in Odisha: A Perspective

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Odisha was a backward state in terms of human development indicators viz. health and education. In the last two decades development initiatives have changed the health and education scenario in Odisha, due to private investments in these sectors. The author argues that though Odias are suffering from water borne diseases in the past, the improved drinking water and health facilities have improved the health scenario in the state. He argued that the grassroots health institutions should be decentralised and should be kept under local Panchayat Raj Institutions for better service delivery. He also argued that the grassroots level health and education workers should be paid properly and social security should be provided to them.

The state of affairs of public health system in Odisha is not up to the mark. Access to health services is reflecting in quality of life one enjoys in our society. It can be measured in terms of an average longevity of individuals, the mortality rate of children and the pregnant women. In all three parameters Odisha has improved a lot but it is expected to improve further as the present government is concentrating on rejuvenating public health system in Odisha. During 1960s and 1970s children used to die with their mothers in this area as there was no hospital nearby or there was no road connectivity to the nearby block headquarters where the PHC (public

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Health Centre) was located. Today access to public health services has improved the health status of children and pregnant women in Odisha in comparison to past years. For instance Odisha has registered a decline of 42 points in maternal mortality ratio. Odisha has maternal mortality ratio of 303 per thousand in 2004, and in 2011 it has reduced to 222 per thousand. However, the infant mortality rate still is very high and stands at 49 per thousand people. Average longevity of a person stands at 65 in Odisha which is 10 years less than Kerala. Odisha is much better than Uttar Pradesh or Bihar but the comparison should be with Kerala which has a similar cultural and social orientation. The present government can invest in public health system by increasing its allocation in the present budget and streamlining health administration by fixing accountability of people at various positions in institutions. Odisha government is trying to tackle the problems of health system in two ways: (i) a long term project that every district with a medical college attached with a major hospital. This has already taken roots in some of the districts as Koraput, Mayurbhanj and Balesore by establishing medical colleges, and (ii) to produce more qualified doctors who will help in taking care of people down to the rural areas. The present path is pursued by the Odisha government is hiking doctor's salary which may restrain them to join private hospitals. It is high time that the government must take third step as the private hospitals have taken land at a concessional rate and other facilities such as water and electricity from the government they must be accountable to the government health policy which should be an integral approach by which a patient with a serious ailment can go to the private hospital without any hassles. Today these private hospitals are harassing common people by charging from the both ends: they are charging hefty sum from the patient and huge subsidy from the government. Majority of Odisha population are poor, they should be provided with an effective health services at their door step with an integrated approach.

Ten years back the Government of Odisha has started reorganising of the delivery of health services. Community health centre gets reorganised at the panchayat level backed by the nurses at the village level and Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) workers at the grassroots level. The Primary Health Centres (PHC) has specialists who are supposed to monitor the community health centres. This resulted in 90 percentages institutional delivery in Odisha. The district hospital has super specialist physician. Health delivery system depends on the physicians with the support of para-medical staff. In the last five years, the private hospitals are

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playing mischief by alluring doctors from government hospitals which resulted in a dismal performance in delivery of health services in government hospitals.

In this situation, who is responsible for the dismal performances of the government health services? In an organisation the responsibility needs to be fixed but no individual is responsible for organisational problems confronted by the Health Department. As doctors get appointed by the Department of Health, Government of Odisha physicians are supposed to be accountable to the organisation. They are blindly turning into a part of powerful lobby, irrespective of that they are educated through a subsidised educational system of government. Here it is an ethical and moral issue, as the doctor has taken an oath in the name of Hippocrates to serve the patient in need in an honest manner. No administration can enter into the domain of relationship between a patient and a doctor. Here the government's responsibility lies in recruiting doctors for hospitals but government cannot monitor every day affairs in hospitals.

Hospitals need a decentralised administration that can come under the control of Panchayat Raj system as medical professionals are serving the grassroots communities at the local level. Primary Health Centres (PHC) and Community Health Centres (CHC) at the local level can be handed over to the panchayat and panchayat samitis, who can monitor their day to day activities of health centres and can control the absenteeism in these institutions. The health system depends on public institutions such as the PHC which is at the village level. This is the grassroots level hospital where physicians treat the patients with the support of paramedical staff. This PHC is supported by community health centres at the block level. The CHC refers the serious cases to the district level hospitals where better facilities are available with super specialists and diagnostic infrastructure. This is the arrangement of public health system which needs to be strengthened by the government as the majority of people go to these nearby hospitals. But it is unfortunate that Odisha Government has presented the budget for the year 2019 where the budgetary allocation for the public hospital system has declined from the 2018. It is an astonishing that many sectors which provide insurance to health service providers such as private hospitals has increased in this budget. This is a cross subsidy by the government to private hospitals. A case was reported from Apollo Hospital, Bhubaneswar which is the top private hospital of Odisha. A person paid Rs. 1,50,00 after selling his land for admitting his child in the hospital. The child with a simple disease died at that hospital. For releasing the dead body the district administration

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demanding more money. It is the intervention of a TV journalist that helped him to get his dead body. But he has signed many papers related to insurance which would be paid by the government to the private insurance company who would in return provide treatment cost to the private hospitals. This vicious trap is extracting money from the patient as well as the government. On the other hand, in this case the patient could have been treated at the district level hospital where specialists are already available. The same kinds of experiments are happening in Delhi with the strengthening of Mohala clinic which has reduced the role of private hospitals. The budget must be strengthened for the public health system by allocating more financial resources for betterment of the poor people.

Chief Minister, Naveen Patnaik in his second term improved the state of primary schools in Odisha. He undertook this step after tackling hunger in Odisha by creating an effective public distribution system. This angered rural elite who used to exploit poor farmers on a system of *dedha* or one and a half on one KG of rice given on loan for three months. His coalition partner the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) who kept the education ministry with them in earlier regime, misused their position by opening the Saraswati Vidya Mandirs in big villages and towns. This encouraged the private players to run the private schools. The author undertook a study of some of the private schools where teaching goes on in one room set. The management exploited the teachers with meagre payment. The Saraswati Vidya Mandir schools appointed the retired teachers with a too little salary. Today we are experiencing the worst situation in Odisha, numbers of government schools have been closed because there are no students. The schools have got merged with the neighbouring village schools. What is going to happen to the closed school buildings? These buildings have multipurpose utilities like place for study of young boys in groups in night. During flood or fire hazard local people may be rehabilitated in these buildings. The government must plan to save the buildings of closed government schools. Primary schools are central to community life of villages and teacher has played a pivotal role in maintaining community life by settling disputes and helping in read out the letters from migrant labourers' to their relatives. Primary education is supposed to provide both intellectual and physical development of children. Today, most of the primary schools do not have any playground which has affected their physical growth. The Government of Odisha is stressing on sports activities but without any ground how to develop the students physically is a matter of great concern. Even the village lane has turned into a cemented one,

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which has affected children to play on the lanes of villages. The way education has been organised by parents, they do not allow their children to play. In most of the cases children go for tuition after school. This is picture of child education irrespective of their social classes. Children's evening is being lost in the process of learning from books, which is earlier slotted for physical activity. Children are not playing at all in an open environment. Once they are not active physically they are suffering from obesity at an early age. On my inquiry from a lady from our village why so many children suffer from obesity. It is reported in the Indian Express (17-7-19) that there is a significant rise in the number of obese adults in India in last four years. This is a global report which draws attention of the government of Odisha that they cannot produce more Dutee Chands as children are not involved in outdoor activities. Primary education is the crucial for all round development of children. Odisha's Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik himself was a captain of hockey team of his school and we hope that some actions can be taken by government to provide an all-round development for children by providing opportunities for education as well as physical activities.

Primary schooling is facing a challenge from Saraswati Vidya Mandir patronised by the elite of Odisha. They themselves studied in the government schools but some of them have handed over their houses for opening these schools. If one moves across the rural Odisha, he will find that several landlords have given their lands and houses for these schools. The Bhagavat which is a creative spiritual text of the 16th century is a part of Odisha's popular culture. Women self-help group workers across Odisha are reciting Bhagavat in their leisure time. Old people assemble at village choupal and listen to Bhagavat in summer seasons. Certain portions of the Bhagavat are useful to understand the divine pluralistic path of Hinduism which can confront the ideology propagated through others. Moreover, this Bhagawat will help each child to be acquainted with broad essence of Hinduism and create a sense of we feeling as a part of cultural capital of rural Odisha society.

Government of Odisha should preserve the close school buildings as citadel of village memory. It can be used to shelter the needy at the time of natural and manmade disasters (floods, cyclones, virus attacks like Covid 19). At present, Odisha Government has a double strategy for improving quality of education at the school level. The primary school system is given an autonomous position within the schooling system. It aims at an all-round development of a child both physically and academically. It has been

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providing good mid day meal with rice, dal and egg a whole meal which sustains a child's mental and physical development. This scheme reflects in child's holistic growth. Now a day, there is hardly any child with anemic physical condition studying in school. In earlier days many children used to go to school with empty stomach, which is things of past today. Provision of eggs in mid day meal is closely associated with the women self help groups as their production units working in poultry sector. Thirty years back, most of the Anganwadi workers in Odisha belonged to high castes. Anganwadi workers were closely related to powerful families of the village. Today most of the Anganwadi workers belong to backward castes and they feel to work for a child which is an additional motivation for providing food at Angawadis for children and pregnant women.

Government education system of Odisha has an inherent strength. Till 2000 it has produced numerous scientists, engineers and civil servants and teachers. They used to read in Odia medium but government schools had strength to provide quality education. The English language was a compulsory paper which was based on learning from translation from Odia to English. With the rise of private schools after 2000 an elite section started sending their children to private schools because of a strong campaign for private education. Over two decades a large number of private schools have come up in Odisha. Now, there is an impression which has created by consistent campaigns by private schools that government schools do not offer quality education. The government schools have quality trained teachers and better infrastructure. On the contrary, private school administration knows how to campaign against the government schools. The private school's agents meet the parents' a day after their child is born with an offer for joining the private schools. Most of the private schools do not have buildings nor have qualified teachers but they manage with the graduate women from the local colleges. The problem with the government schools is irregular appointment of qualified teachers. There is a lack of leadership and motivation to revamp the earlier quality education in these government schools. Still a ray of hope is there, unless cunning politicians and local elites want to dismantle the backbone of education system across Odisha.

Health outcomes of an individual or a household are closely associated with access to safe drinking water. Rural coastal districts used to suffer from regular annual flood a decade back. Most of children used to suffer from water borne disease in this belt. They are treated by local doctors with a nominal fee. There was a universal treatment for this waterborne

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ailment. A doctor used to examine scores patients in a short duration of time and treated them with similar kind of medicine. At present this can be undertaken by ASHA workers as the treatment does not require any specialist's prescription. This ailment is linked with the water supply to houses in rural and urban areas. In Odisha, a total of 75.3 per cent households are getting drinking water through tube-well and pipe water supply. Around 79.8 per cent urban households and 74.4 per cent rural households have drinking water facility. However, there is no drinking water facility for 24.7 per cent households in the State. This needs to be given a high priority as the government has made a special provision in the budget for providing water supply to these households who do not have access to drinking water.

Odisha has a share of stunted children in some pockets of Kalahandi, Balangir, Koraput (KBK) districts. Low level of nutrition has a close association with poverty. Whenever there is a poverty related death in this region, officially it is declared as deaths due to diarrhea. In the district of Kalahandi 30 children died of diarrhea, where a woman IAS officer with MBBS degree was in charge of the district but she has not probed the issue further. After in depth probing it was found that these children were suffering from malnourishment. They did not have stamina to tolerate simple diarrhea. The combination of five factors such as poor nutrition, poor health of children, poor health of their mothers, unsafe drinking water and poor health facilities at the PHCs led to deaths of these 30 children. In these backward areas, we do not need to treat these children by doctors they can be managed by trained and motivated ASHA workers who can provide them nutritious foods as prescribed by government. The ASHA can save their life by feeding them oral rehydration solution (ORS) in time. The Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS) projects can adequately provide them basic nutrition. Odisha can reduce the stunted growth of children in some district viz., Nuapada and Bolangir. One of the studies indicated that the budget allocations for direct nutrition supply in Odisha is highly inconsistent and needed to be enhanced to arrest stunting among children (Shrivastava et al., 2015). On one side in the coastal belt children are suffering from obesity because of being over fed on the other hand the KBK district children's are facing acute malnutrition and stunting. In the KBK districts some tribal groups have very low life expectancy rate which is also a matter of grave concerns for service delivery in the tribal areas of Odisha.

In Odisha open defecation was a cultural practice. It is backed with group behaviour by both women and men early morning and evening. There

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is a reference of women going for open defecation in group is reflected in famous Odia novel *Chha Mana Atha Guntha*, written by famous literary figure Phakir Mohan Senapati. This practice is slowly dwindling down because of younger women refused to practice it. Still young men have an unenthusiastic approach to stop open defecation movement. It is a fact that in last two decades campaign for having a latrine in house has gained momentum. Odisha has made substantial progress in Swachha Bharat Mission. In Odisha, two districts viz., Deogarh and Jharsuguda have been declared open defecation free districts. Detailed work plan has been made to make four other districts viz., Balasore, Gajapati, Sambalpur and Subarnapur. Gradually these districts have succeeded to produce the positive results. Odisha has started at a very low percentage of latrines (10 per cent) in home. It has been achieving targets steadily, as Odisha Government is very much concerned for making Odisha an open defecation free state.

The School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi sent its students to study the working of the health system of Odisha in Cuttack district. The team found problem of sanitation in Tangi block which caused diarrhea among children. Sanitation and hygiene practices have a close association with health of people. During last one decade situation on the front of sanitation has improved a lot in Odisha. People have built their latrines in their homes and turned down defecating near community pond or river, which earlier engenders pollution with human excreta. The coastal belt of Odisha suffers from diseases related to round worm and diarrhea. This movement has spearheaded by educated women who are demanding latrines inside their house. There are several instances of pressure created from the women to construct latrines inside the houses for successful married life. This movement has created pressure on young men who used to go for latrine in evening or morning as merry making activities. Today the foul smell caused by human excreta in the village lanes have almost disappeared which was a common scene a decade back. Gradually people have adopted to new habits of going to latrine in their homes. With construction of septic latrines, the water pollution and water borne diseases are declining. This has improved the health status of people as they do not suffer from diarrhea anymore. This has resulted in lower mortality rate among children. However, deworming tablets provided by the ASHA workers has also helped to arrest outbreak of worm and water borne diseases.

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In Odisha large number of poor Women Self Help Groups members expressing their intense desire to educate their children. They are sending their children to primary schools in which government provides books, dress and mid-day meals. They are very enthusiastic about changing their fate by their children education which can facilitate them with good working opportunities in the future.

Recently, Odisha Government has introduced Mamata scheme for providing additional food to pregnant women. The ICDS project gets a grant from the Women and Child Department of the Central Government. The study undertaken by Ritika Khera on the working of these schemes for small under five children in the district of Mayurbhanja stated that 'good education and training, decent employment conditions for them are crucial to make ICDS work' (Khera, 2015). She stated that these schemes are not working properly in KBK districts especially Nuapada and Balangir. These two districts suffer from drought without any irrigation facilities and controlled by feudal lords and also suffer from poor nutrition to children and pregnant women. For providing additional food to stunted children the present Government of Odisha has announced a project recently. But provision of additional food requires financial allocation which is insufficient for these new projects. Nuapada district administration is not well organised to deliver the services for the children and pregnant women. Local people complain that the administration very often remains headless. In these two districts administration is being controlled local elites who often demoralise the district officials.

ASHA workers of the Odisha are working very hard with the help of nurses and midwives for providing health services at grassroots level. It is through their effective intervention, in Cuttack district 90 per cent of pregnant women go for institutional delivery. This has significantly reduced the mortality rate of women and pre-natal deaths for children. Odisha has *Shikshakarmis* who are succeeded to provide 80 percentage literacy rate in Odisha. Community resource persons of National Rural Livelihood Mission have turned Women Self Help groups into independent producers and helping them in creating own enterprises. All these workers are very low paid workers without any social security. For the first time a woman Member of Parliament Mrs. Pramila Bisoi from BJD (Biju Janata Dal) highlighted the issue in Parliament. In her first speech she raised the issue of working conditions of these women workers in various sectors of government. She pleaded that the Central Government should increase salaries of these grassroots women workers and provide them with social

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security. The Government of Odisha in collaboration with the Central Government must create an institutional framework for settling the grievances of these grassroots women worker by improving their working conditions. In public health delivery system, the ASHA workers, paramedical staff, nurses, midwives and doctors should all together establish their relations to orient themselves to serve the needs of people. The system should not be physician centric which unnecessarily creating imbalances in the system. To prove the point the efforts of the ASHA workers in Koraput district have created wonders by reducing the impact of malaria to large extent. They are being provided training and health kits which help them to detect the malaria and empowered to treat the patients. Therefore, there is no point of creating too much dependence over the qualified doctors which has reduced the capacity of health system in Odisha. On other hand by empowering ASHA and ANM, the preventive measures can be taken by arresting spread of the malnutrition and diseases. This will decentralise the pressures on PHC and CHC in Odisha.

The Chief Minister of Odisha Naveen Patnaik has two good qualities: One he is a sharp political leader and secondly as the head of administration he functions as true head of government executive. Once policy gets formed and order gets passed then implementation of these orders easy to implement because of his strong will power. Let us examine two policies for farmers, one by Prime Minister Modi known as *Pradhan Mantri Kisan Samman Niddhi* (PM Kisan) and another has been initiated by Chief Minister of Odisha *Krushak Assistance for Livelihood and Income Augmentation* (KALIA) scheme: both the schemes are meant for the farmers but KALIA is meant for all types of farmers as defined by anthropologist that anybody who earns livelihood by working on soil. The aim of the scheme is to accelerate agricultural prosperity and reduce poverty in the state through payments to encourage cultivation and associated activities. The KALIA scheme caters to the need of agricultural labourers to rich farmers. This has served the labourers, share croppers and land owning households. The PM Kisan is meant for only landowning farmers who are small and marginal farmers. In term of scope of the policies, KALIA is a more comprehensive whereas the PM Kisan is confined to a section of farming community. On the level of implementation the money allocated under the PM Kisan has not reached the target group whereas the initial installment of KALIA has already reached farmers of Odisha. On both levels Chief Minister of Odisha has combined political leadership who understands the pains of farmers of Odisha. He implemented the policy in a time bound

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manner. In concluding our discussion on access to health services, nutrition and education and employment, Naveen Patnaik has the capacity to deliver services to the all sections of society. He handled the redistribution of resources controlled by these two classes without troubling of them much. He succeeded to implement the social security schemes like Public Distribution System, Mamata, KALIA and fruits started reaching at the poorest of the poor. In his second term, he succeeded to improve the primary education system by proper monitoring and providing government teachers in time. In his third term he succeeded to create an effective health system in Odisha which reflected in 90 per cent of institutional delivery in coastal districts of Odisha. However, time will tell whether the development will be trickled down to backward and tribal areas of Odisha. In his fourth term, it is assumed that as a political leader he could keep promises to deliver the services where every citizen can have an access to health, education and nutrition.

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Civil Society in India and Aspects of Good Governance

Giriraj Singh Chauhan*

The concept of civil society has a complex trajectory in the field of governance across the globe. In India, especially in last two decades the civil society movement has got momentum to affect the area of governance. Innumerable administrative reform commissions and committees have produced no appreciable impact on quality of governance. The emphasis now is on facilitating external pressure from citizens on the system to improve through the Right to Information Act, Consumer Protection Act, Citizens Charters, e-governance, Democratic Decentralisation, Performance Appraisals, Public Interest Litigations, etc. The paper tries to analyse how in India civil society organisations are converting aspects of good governance into reality and also in the process the quality of governance.

The Civil Society

The famous American political scientist Milton Esman identified four agencies of development viz., political system, administrative system, mass media and voluntary organisations or civil society. He felt that the involvement of civil society in the developmental process has three merits: a sense of solidarity, participation in decision-making, and opportunity to interact with agencies of development including government. He termed these organisations as constituency organisations (Esman, 1978). The term civil society has come to enjoy much political, administrative and intellectual

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currency in recent years. But it has a fairly long history. Civil society, though not a novel phenomenon, has been reinvented in 1990s primarily as a reaction to the disillusionment with state led development. Initially the two terms 'state' and 'civil society' were used inter-changeably and treated synonymously. This usage continued till the eighteenth century. The credit of separating and differentiating civil society from state goes to G.W.F. Hegel. He was instrumental in separating state from civil society and thus made a clear cut distinction between the two terms. In nineteenth century Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels followed Hegel in terms of conceptualising the civil society. In twentieth century, famous Italian Marxist theorist and politician Antonio Gramsci analysed the concept of civil society. Civil society has meant different meaning at different times in history. Many people have tried to define it but few definitions needs special mention as they have tried to explain the most comprehensive meaning of it. First one is given by Michael Walzer who describes civil society as the sphere of uncoerced human association between the individual and the state, in which people undertake collective action for normative and substantive purposes, relatively independent of government and the market (Walzer, 1995). Another definition is given by Larry Diamond who defines civil society as representing the realm of an organised social life that is voluntary, self generating, largely self supporting and bound by a legal order or set of shared values. These two definitions largely cover the entire gamut of civil society (Diamond: 1997). Thus it can be said civil society is conglomeration of intermediate associations of society-academic, cultural, religious or charitable-that are separated from family, and from the institutions of state and market. These intermediate associations can be charities, non-governmental associations (NGO), social movements, traders' associations, social service initiatives and faith based groups. Based on above definitions the following can be the features of civil society - they are non-state institutions, covers a large space in society, refers to the organised society, are intermediary between the state (political society) and the family (natural society), autonomous in working but subject to the authority of state, opposes authoritarianism and totalitarianism, promotes citizenship by educating the individual, facilitates citizens' participation in the politico-administrative affairs, formulates public opinion and sets the demands which are general in nature, are based on voluntarism, advocates pluralism to reduce the domination of the state, and lastly serves as moral referent in the community value system.

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Types of Civil Society

Several types of civil society has emerged over the last few decades which can be broadly classified into the non-profit sector civil society, developmental NGOs grassroot associations, social movements, social enterprise and social entrepreneurs and global civil society (Edwards, 2011). Lets' talk about the first one, the non-profit sector - non-profit organisations form a specific category of associational life in civil society, and are usually defined by their high level of formality in terms of legal registration, by the preponderance of external funding in their budgets (as opposed to membership support) and by their roles as intermediaries that sit between grassroot constituencies and communities, and government and other agencies. Non-profit sector constitute an important element in the ecosystem of a civil society. The second type is developmental NGOs - since the mid-1940s, the non-governmental development organisations dedicated to promoting long-term economic, social, and political progress have proliferated across the world. Over the last 25 years, their numbers, reach, and profile have expanded dramatically. These organisations are separate in legitimacy and governance from governmental bodies; they acclaim and utilise the tenets of international aid as a substantive basis for their existence; they gain direct or tax- based public support, in part because they are not established to generate wealth for their owners; they operate at any or all levels of socio-political organisations from the individual, family, household, and local levels to transnational and global concerns, presence and relationships and are not partisan in the politics of their endeavours. The third type of civil society is the grassroot associations. Grassroot associations are a subset of associational universe and in many ways they capture the ideal of civil society. These are groups where people come together voluntarily to advance a concern or interest, solve a problem, take an action or connect with each other based on something they share in common. Grassroot associations are characterised by more democratic and less hierarchical forms of governance and accountability, the predominance of volunteers as opposed to paid staff, and a local focus, factors which distinguish them from non-profit, staff driven organisations. They are light on ideology but strong in their commitment to teaching people the skills of democracy and participation. The fourth type of civil society is social movements, they are informal networks created by multiplicity of individuals, groups, organisations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts on the basis of shared collective identity. The fifth type of civil society is social enterprise and social entrepreneurs. They develop, fund and

implement solutions to social, cultural or environmental issues. In other words they apply commercial strategies to maximise improvements in human and environmental well being - this may include maximising social impact rather than profit for external shareholders. The sixth type of civil society is called global civil society. This type of civil society that is global civil society includes multiple forms of association such as international networks, social movements and campaigns; international federations and confederations of churches, professional and business associations; cross border membership based organisations of the poor; and non-governmental organisations that are oriented towards the global arena. Beside these there are several other organisations which may be included under the umbrella concept of civil society viz., trade unions, religious associations, youth groups, think tanks and research institutions etc.

Role in Good Governance

In recent years, there has been a widespread acknowledgement of civil society's role in improving governance. United Nations Millennium Project Report (Investing in Development), for example claims that strong civil society engagement and participation are crucial to effective governance (Bhattacharya, 2008). The one dominant view is that the state and markets have left the communities behind and have created the imbalance as far as the welfare of the communities is concerned. Therefore the role of civic communities becomes vital in the process of governance (Rajan, 2019). Governance is a process by which a society manages itself through the mechanism of the state. The core ingredients of good governance are: people's effective participation, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity and inclusiveness, the rule of law, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strategic vision. These core ingredients constitute the bedrock of democracy (Doraiswamy, 2007). The styles of governance are undergoing major changes in recent decades under the impact of rising public demands for social services that the state alone is unable to meet successfully. Also there are strong socio-economic forces challenging the hegemonic position of the state as the sole decider and supplier of social services. The globalisation trend has further fuelled the urge to look for alternative ways for making provisions for social services beyond the known exclusive role of the traditional supplier – the state. Liberalisation policies under the impact of what is called 'neo-liberalism' have widened the roles, responsibilities and burdens of social actors outside the state. They have led to a refocusing of the relationship between state and

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non-state actors in shaping and implementing public policy. Also in post cold war period, the collapse of the soviet system led to resurgence of the idea of civil society as a necessary social space for building and sustaining democracy through the capacity building of freedom loving citizens as the bulwark of a strong democratic state. The prominence of civil society can also be traced to successive waves of democratisation, beginning in Latin America and Eastern Europe. Spreading across the developing world, civil society has been characterised as acting as increasingly crucial agent for limiting authoritarian government and working toward popular empowerment. The other praiseworthy aspects relates to reinforcing democratic accountability and improving the quality and inclusiveness of governance. Civil society's role in the provision of public goods and social services in supplementation of state or government provision, and its particular role during civic emergencies like floods and earthquakes have received universal acknowledgement and acclaim. Against this backdrop, civil society has been considered to be essential prerequisite of 'good governance'. Its contribution has been particularly recognised in nurturing an ethical and open democracy by working steadfastly toward ensuring transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness, and accountability; the rule of law, and acceptance of diversity and pluralism. Civil society has also a glorious track record of espousing the special interests of the excluded sections of society - the marginalised, the poor and the women. The contribution made by civil society to good governance is essentially concerned with the means by which organised interests seek to influence and engage with institutions. In doing so, they usually help to strengthen state legitimacy and relations of trust between public officials and ordinary citizens. There are many ways of looking at the relationship between civil society and governance. One influential view of the positive democratising and developmental role of civil society linked to Robert Putnam's well-known research on 'social capital'. To quote Putnam "Participation in civic organisations inculcates skills of cooperation as well as a sense of shared responsibility for collective endeavours. Moreover, when individuals belong to "cross -cutting" groups with diverse goals and members, their attitudes will tend to moderate as a result of group interaction and cross pressures ..." (Putnam:1993). In his view, citizen participation in different social groups together contributes directly and indirectly to social cohesion and democratisation. Apart from this democracy strengthening value civil society can also play major role in following aspects related to good governance: it promotes democracy, improves the quality of aid and

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livelihood of poor, promotes sustainable development, promotes transparency and accountability, brings marginalised sections into mainstream, enhance civic competence and social capital, replaces rigid rule driven bureaucracies by mission oriented organisations, promotes bottom-up democracy, helps fight against negative effects of globalisation, promotes administrative reforms, enhances people's participation, increases administration's responsiveness, promotes equity, makes development inclusive, promotes human rights, sustains democratic decentralisation, enhances transparency and accountability of administration and improves efficiency and effectiveness. Civil society's functional contribution to good governance could be: watchdog against violation of human rights and governing deficiencies, advocate of the weaker sections' point of view, agitator on behalf of aggrieved citizens, educator of citizens on their rights, entitlements and responsibilities and the government about the pulse of the people and it could be a service provider to areas and people not reached by official efforts or as government's agent and could also be mobiliser of public opinion for or against a programme or policy.

Civil Society in India

The growth of civil society in India can be divided in to two categories i.e., before independence and post-independence. According to Neera Chandoke the evolution of civil society in pre-independent India can be divided into seven categories (Chandoke, 2011). First category belongs to nineteenth century social and religious reform movements such as Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj which worked for women education and widow remarriage; opposed the caste order, ritualism and idolatory; and tried to rationalise and restructure a hierarchical and discriminatory Hinduism. Second category belongs to those in the early decades of twentieth century, in which Gandhian organisations engaged in what was euphemistically termed the social uplift of the doubly disadvantaged castes and the poor. Third category belongs to a number of self-help organisations grew up around trade unions in industrialised cities such as Bombay and Ahmadabad, for example Swadeshi Mitra Mandla and the Friends of Labourers Society. Fourth category belongs to movements against social oppression like the self-respect movement in Tamil Nadu sought to overturn the hierarchical social order and establish the moral status of the so called lower castes. Fifth category belongs to professional English - speaking Indians who formed a number of associations to petition the colonial government to extend English education and employment opportunities to

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the educated middle class such as the Bombay Presidency Association. Sixth category belongs to the Congress party that led the freedom movement to establish a number of affiliated groups such as women and youth organisations. The seventh category belongs to social and cultural organisations committed to the project of establishing a Hindu nation, such as the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS). The second category belongs to the growth of civil society in post-independent India. In post-independent India in initial years since the political leadership was seen as legitimate, civil society organisations did not feel the need to politicise the population, make them conscious of their rights, or create a civic community in which newly independent citizen of India could engage with each other and with the state. But after two and half decades the civil society movement in India started gaining momentum due to prevailing political conditions. The first of these was the 'Total Revolution' movement of Jay Prakash Narayan who could tap the simmering discontent against Mrs. Indira Gandhi for her policies and authoritarian style of working. Interestingly when emergency was declared by Mrs. Gandhi, the opposition to emergency by people led to consolidating the civil society in India. Civil society organisations in India took root to confront violation of democratic rights and to fill in the developmental deficit of the state. From the late 1970s, civil society mobilisations took place around the struggle for caste and gender justice, the protection of civil liberties and the environment, the struggle against large development projects that have displaced thousands of tribal peoples and hill dwellers and the rights to food, work, information, shelter, primary education and health. These movements have brought people together across social and class divides and confronted state policies. According to Ghanshyam Shah, by the year 2000 it was estimated that grassroot groups, social movements, non-party political formations and social action groups numbered between 20,000 and 30,000 nationwide (Shah, 2004). In the 1990s a striking shift from the vocabulary of social service and reform to that of empowerment, rights, development, governance, and accountability heralded the advent of new forms of civil society organisations and activism political democracy has been institutionalised throughout the country, yet large numbers of people continued to exist on the margins of survival. Consequently a large number of civil society organisations became involved in development. Experiments in alternative models of development had been initiated in the 1970s by educationists, scientists, engineers, environmentalists and social activists.

Civil Society in India and its Role in Ensuring Good Governance

In India the civil society has played an important role in ensuring good governance. These organisations have played important role in areas of right to information, consumer protection, citizen's charters, whistleblower protection e-governance, report cards, democratic decentralisation, public interest litigation etc. (Manjunath et.al. 2004). Under civil society auspices a series of proactive and cohesive efforts advocating good governance have been launched since 1990s. Some of the milestone that are related to civil society's active engagement in the process of governance are: (a) The fight against corruption by Anna Hazare led movements in Maharashtra and passing of Lokpal bill at the centre, (b) The enacting of Right to Information Act at the centre and in the states primarily due to the efforts of Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS), Parivartan (Delhi) and Common Cause (Delhi) and also active engagement by common people and conglomeration of civil society organisations, (c) Public Interest Litigation: Common Cause (Delhi) and Consumer Education Research Centre, Ahmadabad, (d) Report card studies on public services: Public Affairs Centre, Bangalore, (e) Campaign for electoral reforms and Citizens' charters: Lok Satta, Hyderabad, (f) Jan Sunwais (Public hearings) on public works: Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) and Parivartan, Delhi, (g) Campaign for effective municipal decentralisation: CIVIC, Bangalore, (h) Public discussion on the state of municipal and state budgets: several organisations in Gujarat and Bangalore, (i) Campaign for Citizens' Charters: Praia, Mumbai, (j) Voter awareness campaigns: Catalyst Trust, Chennai, Public Affairs Centre, Bangalore; Lok Satta, Hyderabad, (k) Participatory municipal budgeting experiments: Janagraha, Bangalore, (l) Public-Private Partnerships: Bangalore Agenda Task Force, Bangalore, (m) On the issue of Police Reforms, Prison Reforms, and Right to Information: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI), Delhi, (n) Advocacy and campaigning for protection of human rights: Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), (o) For Social Policy, Right to Food, Urban Poverty: Centre for Equity Studies, Delhi, (p) For Rights of Children including Right to Education: Bachpan Bachao Andolan, New Delhi, (q) For Electoral and Political Reforms: Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR), New Delhi. Beside these there are many civil society organisations which are working for various rights and entitlements for people. They are also working for the rights of women, tribal, dalits and on the issues of livelihood, environment, displacement, etc.

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Issues Related to Civil Society Organisations in India

There are broadly two categories of issues related to civil society organisations. First set of issues are related to the working of civil society organisations viz., lack of sufficient financial resources, lack of trained and professional workers, inadequate information base, limited functional perspective, and many are based on narrow and myopic vision. The problem of unaccountability and corruption is also prevalent in these organisations. In January 10, 2017 the Supreme Court of India ordered audit of 30 lakhs NGOs who were getting public funds as to ensure transparency and accountability to curb corruption. Second set of issues are related to the opposition faced by civil society from government. Both political and administrative executive have never been comfortable working with civil society organisations. No government likes dissent, for example many civil society organisations have alleged that recently under the garb of Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act rules; the Central Government has targeted many civil society organisations that were critical of government (Haider, 2016). While giving written reply to a question in Lok Sabha in July 2016, the Central Home Minister for State said that in the year 2015, 10,020 civil society organisations were deprived of taking grants under FCRA rules as allegedly they were violating rules of FCRA. The United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights has raised serious concerns about this. The UN experts called on the government to repeal the FCRA law as its provisions are increasingly being used to “silence” groups that are critical of government policies. They categorically said “we are alarmed that Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) provisions are being used more and more to silence organisations involved in advocating civil, political, economic, social, environmental or cultural priorities, which may differ from those backed by the government.” It is important that the governments understand the increasing role of civil society organisations in ensuring good governance. Government should give them more space to make democracy viable and vibrant and be more tolerant and patient while dealing with them.

Conclusion

It would be appropriate to quote Larry Diamond, who observed “Democracy - in particular, a healthy liberal democracy- requires a public that is organised for democracy, socialised to its norms and values, and committed not just to its myriad narrow interests but to larger, common, civic ends. Such a civil public is only possible with a vibrant civil society”

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(Diamond, 1997). A democratic state needs a strong civil society, but a strong civil society can only exist within a democratic framework guaranteed by the state. This is symbiotic relationship, which should also mean that one does not trespass into the others domain. Thus, civil society is going to stay in democracy but only requirement is to remove certain demerits they have and also there is requirement of a synergy between the government and civil society for the better welfare of people.

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Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

(A Biannual Journal of M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain)

ISSN: 0973-855X (Vol. 25, No. 1, June 2020, pp. 38-58)

Experience of Dalit Children in Schools: A Sociological Study in Telangana

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The paper is based on an empirical study conducted in Warangal district of Telangana. The salient objectives of the paper are: to analyse the idea of quality education from the Dalit perspective, to examine the expectations of Dalits boys and girls from government and private schools, to map out the experiences of Dalit children on academic and non-academic issues and in challenges faced by them in government and private schools. The paper also highlights future expectations and ambitions of the Dalit students.

Introduction

In mainstream society, education has become one of the major issues to discuss and debate. There are different types of government and private schools that are offering education in different types of curriculum. In the states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh 'mother language,' Telugu is a vernacular one which is being taught in government schools. But the schools which gave entry into rural villages have attracted different sections of social groups to educate their children in private English medium schools. However, most of the rural people irrespective of class, caste and gender are sending their children to private schools and because of that; the enrolment in government schools is declining day by day. Not only the medium of instruction but there are several factors like good infrastructural facilities,

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quality of education in private school and low educational standards school, teacher absenteeism, inappropriate teaching methods, lack of proper supervision, sense of dignity and social respect, etc. have attracted the people towards the private school. Keeping the facts in the background, the study tries to explore the experiences of the Dalit children who are studying both in private and government schools in Telangana.

At the most general level, the term 'school' is referred to as an institution for educating children (Pearsall, 1999). Sociologically speaking it is a social unit devoted specifically to the process of education. It ordinarily includes some physical setting, particularly a building or buildings and persons particularly participants divided into the two categories of teachers and students (Fairchil, 1976). Research suggests that a large number of female and Scheduled Caste (SC)/Scheduled Tribe (ST) children attend government schools (including formal and non-formal), while children from upper castes and boys are more likely to attend private schools (Aggarwal, 2000; Kumar et al, 2005; Mehta, 2005; PROBE, 1999). N. Jayaram argues that education in India, both in its structure and content is oriented to the developed countries of the West, and it is offered in the medium of an international language namely, English (Jayaram, 2015). The private unaided schools now 'span a vast array of operations with varying fee structures, from low-fee to elite, high-fee schools' and 'maybe run by voluntary organisations, missionaries, philanthropic bodies, or individual owners as business enterprises' (Srivastava, Naronha and Fennell, 2013: 4).

R. Govinda and Madhumita Bandyopadhyay point out that the increasing demand and massive expansion in recent years have brought more children into the folds of schooling, the task is far from complete. Still, a large group of children is excluded from schooling due to various reasons exposing equity in accessing elementary education (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay, 2012). The concept of 'efficiency' underlying the 'outcomes as quality' idea has received further prominence with this approach to quality being used to compare provisioning and outcomes of public versus private schools. These studies claim that private schools even low-cost private unrecognised schools, provide better inputs in terms of both infrastructure facilities such as toilets, desks and teaching-learning processes such as teacher's presence and time-on-task (Goyal, 2009; Kingdon and Teal, 2007; Muralidharan and Kremer, 2006; Tooley and Dixon, 2006). Geetha Kingdon argues that the demand for schooling by SCs and STs families has not been matched by the supply of quality education. On the contrary, the quality of education and environment in government schools has declined

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over by years and today, not just the rich but also those with middle-income families send their children to private schools (Kingdon, 1996).

J.B.G Tilak opines that there is nothing like 'free' education in India. He reports that household expenditure on education is sizeable; households from poor socio-economic backgrounds (i.e., SCs/STs) often spend considerable amounts of their income on education (Tilak, 2002). Rahman argues that English medium schools have been referred to as 'passport to privilege' in Pakistan (Rahman, 2005). Miller points out that in the context of Delhi over the last decade, there has been a mushrooming of private schools, which are often referred to as 'teaching shops' and are aimed for the urban poor (Miller, 2005). The key selling point for these teaching shops is that they provide education in the English medium. Ramachandran points out in her study of working children that both children and parents are categorical in stating that teachers treat poor children differently that they do not appreciate the predicament of children who have to work before and after school hours (Ramachandran, 2003).

Taylor Chris points out that the demand for school choice in the United Kingdom has started in the early 1980s. From this study, he has brought out new perceptions in understanding the trends in social segregation in schools in the United Kingdom (Taylor, 2009). The geographical areas have been developed with the establishment of schools and access to these schools has become easy for the students who are from the upper social class. He argues that due to the social and economic status the inclusion of students from low-income families is partially denied to get admission into such schools. Jay P. Greene and Marcus A. Winters observed that in the present global world due to the growth of recognised schools no child is left behind the requirements that are available in public schools with low performance (Greene and Winters, 2006). The selection of school choice for children has become important. The economic status plays a vital role in the selection of school choice for their children and most of people do not know about it.

Robert G. Houston Jr. and Eugenia F. Toma point out that there are multiple factors for declining of public schools across the world. According to them, it may be caused by the global economy, information technology, or other factors. In this context, the parental choice is increasing for the enrolment in better schools (Houston and Toma, 2003). Carl Bagley and Philip A. Woods point out that the key factor for the selection of school choice is that the students and parents are getting the quality education that is required for them. The other aspect of selecting the school choice is that

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the school environment which provides security and safety which would encourage their children's growth socially and personally with different knowledge skills in their overall academics (Bagley and Woods, 2001). James Tooley and Pauline Dixon's study suggests that private education is meeting the needs of the United Nations Millennium Goals. There is an enormous increase in private schools and the low-cost private sector is meeting the demands of poor households and the private sector is only the one which can provide quality education (Tooley, Dixon and Gomathi, 2007). In this context, there are hardly any studies that are particularly focused on the education of Scheduled Tribe in the global as well as the national context. Hence the study is envisaged to unfold the experience of Dalits students in the Telangana state of India.

Objectives of the Study and Methodology

The salient objectives of the paper are: (i) to analyse the idea of quality education from the Dalits perspective; (ii) to examine the expectations of Dalit boys and girls from government and private schools; and (iii) to map out the experiences of Dalit children on academic and non-academic issues and the challenges faced by them in government and private schools.

Warangal district is the locale of this study in Telangana state, which is adjacent to the capital city of Hyderabad which has emerged as one of the education hubs in the state. The study was conducted in four Mandals of Warangal district viz., Station Ghanpur, Parkal, Wardhannapet, and Thorrur. Using the purposive sampling strategy the urban wards were selected in Greater Warangal Municipal Corporation (GWMC). One village from each Mandal and two wards were selected in Warangal urban area. Thus the data is collected in Ippagudem, Madharam, Nandanam and Ammapur villages from four Mandals and two wards in Greater Warangal Municipal Corporation. The total number of sample size is 160 student respondents from Dalits i.e., Mala and Madiga Community. They were selected using a stratified random sampling technique, where a list of school-going children was generated from the village education development committee report and then the list was also categorised based on gender. After developing the list of students based on gender, every second student from boys and every third student from girls were selected. The respondents include 100 (62.5 per cent) students from a rural area and 60 (37.5 per cent) from the urban area. From each village, 25 student respondents were selected and thus from four villages data is collected from 100 Dalits

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students. From urban wards, 60 student respondents were selected from two wards. Out of total respondents, 90 (56.1 per cent) are boys and 70 (43.9 per cent) are girls. The data was collected with a close-ended questionnaire and group discussions were organised with the school-going children in order to obtain the qualitative data.

Discussion

Socio-Economic Background of the Respondents

In this study, out of the total respondents, 110 (68.9 per cent) belongs to Madiga and 50 (31.1 per cent) belongs to Mala Community. Out of total respondents, the 32 (20 per cent) respondents are from 8th class, 56 (35 per cent) respondents are from 9th class and 72 (45 per cent) respondents are from 10th class. The age of the students ranges range between 14 and 16 years. The majority of them belong to Below Poverty Line (BPL) families.

Types of School Management

In this study, it is observed that there are two types of schools, the government and private. Schools under the management of the government (either state or central) have certain significant advantages such as adequate financial support, vigilance on the quality and qualified teaching community. The schools under the private management are primarily run by the religious, caste and regional groups through their educational trusts. Such schools can be divided into three broad categories i.e., (i) recognised and aided, (ii) recognised but unaided or independent, and (3) unrecognised (Shah, 1998).

Table 1
Management of the Schools and Students

School Management	Mala	Percentage	Madiga	Percentage	Total	Frequency
Government	7	14	48	43.6	55	34.4
Private	43	86	62	56.3	105	65.6
Total	50	100	110	100	160	100.0

Source: Primary data

It is observed that the majority of 86 per cent of Mala students are studying in private schools followed by 56.3 per cent from Madiga students. The students studying in government schools from the Mala community is only 14 per cent. This indicates that the majority of the students from Mala and Madiga are preferring private schools. Sangala Sowmya is a student respondent who is about 15 years, studying 10th class in a government

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school, belongs to Madiga Community. She stated that her total family size is four and her father is an agriculture labourer, the mother is a daily wage labourer and brother is studying 6th class in a private school in her village. She said that as she has only one brother, their parents have admitted him to a private school and she was enrolled in the government school. She asserts that though she joined a government school, she is not got depressed and she is very regular in the school. She is one of the best students among the meritorious students and she is also the class monitor. She said that education in a government school is somewhat better when compared to rural private schools. She said that there are a lot of benefits like mid-day meals, free education, free books, and merit-cum-means scholarship and school uniforms for the students studying in government schools. The narratives emphasise that girls tend to access public schools within villages, as they are not allowed to travel long distances to attend schools because of social custom and safety concerns (Duraismy, 2001).

She further opines that in spite of the lack of basic facilities in the school the teachers are regular to the school, they teach well and are concerned about the student's problems. She said that the women teachers who work in the school enlighten the importance of education and the opportunities that are available after the completion of higher education. She said that the teachers organise meetings with the parents and they focus on mothers to interact with teachers and explains the importance of education. Sangala said that she got motivated with her teachers and she will not discontinue her studies until the completion of higher education and very confident about getting a government job. She affirmed that there is a need to start English medium in government schools from the first class itself so that the poor children from different communities will avail of the opportunities and compete with the students who are studying in private schools. Sangala has to travel around six to seven kilometers daily for attending the government school. Children have to depend on private transportation which is very costly and the poor parents are not in a position to afford such expenditure.

Dara Aravind a student respondent of 9th class, aged 14 years, who hails from Mala Community studying in a private school said that he has five members in his family. His father is a teacher working in a government school, the mother is a housewife, elder brother is studying graduation in a private college and his younger sister is studying 6th class in a private school. He said that there are no proper basic facilities in the school and the teachers not having the proper experience in teaching. He said that teaching

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methods are not that much interesting to concentrate on the curriculum. He claimed that the school in which he is studying is an average teaching quality which is not having a good name in the locality. He asserts that the school environment is not attractive for academic purpose and lack library, computer laboratory and science kit which are essential for the students. He expressed anguish that teachers casually teach the lessons and do not organise any special classes in the school. Dara says that though he is studying in English medium school, the management, teachers and students usually speak Telugu. It is noticed that students have to pay a fee in time; otherwise, the students are not allowed to write the exams until they pay the school fees. He claims that the management is charging very high fee when it is compared to the other schools that are located in the Mandal headquarters.

Regularity in the School

Regular attendance by the children helps them to acquire more knowledge through classroom participation and achieve success in the examinations.. Indian Constitution guarantees the right to education from the age of six years, however, for many children in India, reaching the age to attend primary school education may be too late, and attention should be paid to ensuring that children have access to facilities, which improve their quality of life in the early years which enables meaningful access to school. During a survey among the employees of the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-II) in Andhra Pradesh, majority of respondents cited 'not interested in studies' for the cause of their rejection of the schooling practices.

Table 2
Regularity in Attending School

Response	Mala	Percentage	Madiga	Percentage	Total	Frequency
Yes	46	92	78	70.9	124	77.5
No	4	8	32	29.1	36	22.5
Total	50	100	110	100	160	100

Source: Primary data

The table indicates that 92 per cent of students from the Mala community and 79 per cent of students from the Madiga community are attending school regularly. It is also inferred that 29.1 per cent of students from the Madiga community are not attending regularly. Among Mala and Madiga community 77.5 per cent of the students are regular to school. Padilla Harika, a student respondent who is about (14) years, studying 9th class in a government school belongs to Madiga Community. She is irregular in attending school because it is the responsibility for her to look after her

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siblings when their parents go out to attend any functions. She also narrated that there is a shortage of labour in agriculture season and demand forces her to engage in agriculture work of their family. Jangam Harini a student respondent who is 13 years studying 8th class in a private school from Mala Community said that she is regular to school because their teachers encourage the students by giving gifts to the regular students. Kanakam Rajesh, who is about 15 years from Mala Community, studying 10th standard in a private school said that his father is a government employee, mother is a housewife and sister is studying B. Tech. in a private engineering college. He said that the teaching methods are good and teachers are friendly in nature in private schools which clears the doubts within the class itself. He says that he is an average student in the class, and he needs improvement in various subjects. He says that Mathematics is the only subject which he does not understand properly and scores only pass marks in the exams. He says that he attends the private tuitions at home, but there is no improvement in Mathematics. He says that his parent's ambition is to make him a software engineer and send him to the United States of America, but his ambition is to become a doctor. He says that early in the morning he has to get up at 5 AM to take the tuition and then rush to school by 8 AM and come home by 6 PM in the evening. He says that there is a lot of pressure from his parents, where they do not allow him to go outside and meet his friends, watch television and always insist on him to read. He says that his parents are paying around 45 thousand Rs. 45,000 per year, and apart from that extra Rs. 5,000 fee is paid to the school in the name of the library, computer education and yoga and karate. He also highlighted that his parents always remind him of the amount of money that they are spending on his education.

Kanakam says that students should have their own freedom in education, and then only he can understand what he wants to become in the future. He also emphasised that there should be guidance from elders, but they should not impose it on their children. He says that most of his friends are suffering from the same phenomena, but they are unable to express their concern to the parents. He also says that each and every student has goals and desires for their future, but education is not the only way for this attainment. He says that there is a need for encouragement from the parents as well as teachers. He says that his family is economically sound and does not have any problems in the family, but the problem is only with his parents where they always remind him that he is too poor in studies and always compares with their relatives who are studying in various corporate schools.

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Working Days in School

Vasanthi Raman distinguishes “work or occupation of parents as a living relationship with children’s socialisation, and they are part of the product which they produce. On the other hand, labour is associated with wage-earning and they are not linked with the process of industrial products. But sometimes the children support the needs of poor parents who struggle by engaging in part-time jobs and also occupy themselves in their studies more zealously to overcome poverty for their family survival and elevation in status and human dignity. He also points out that there are different variations on childhood, workforce, education and several discussions and debates were viewed on child labour and child rights” (Raman, 2000).

Table 3
Working Days in Agriculture by Students during their Studies

Working Pattern	Mala	Per cent	Madiga	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Seasonally	4	8	23	20.9	27	16.9
Monthly	1	2	17	15.5	18	11.3
Weekly	1	2	12	10.9	13	18.1
Daily	0	0	0	0	0	0
Never	44	88	58	52.7	102	63.8
Total Respondents	50	100	110	100	160	100

Source: Primary data

From the above table it is observed that 88 per cent of the students from the Mala community and 52.7 per cent of students from Madiga Community have never involved in any agriculture works during their studies. Whereas 12 per cent of the Mala and 47.3 per cent of the students from the Madiga community are engaged in agriculture works. The students who are involved in agricultural works are 18.1 per cent, 11.3 per cent and 16.9 per cent in week, month and agricultural season respectively. Child labour is an offense and if any person is found encouraging the child for work they are liable to punishment according to the Child Labour Act 1986. But it is found that children from low-income and poor families allow their children to engage in the wage earnings for their family survival. Some of the families take their children along with them where ever they move during the seasonal occupations. Due to those kinds of activities, the children are excluded from educational facilities. In some cases, occasionally the children are engaged in agricultural activities for supporting of their families to overcome the financial burden during the agriculture.

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Ellandula Anjani a student respondent who is 16 year old and belong to Madiga Community studying 10th class in a government school. Ellandula said that due to the financial crisis of her family it has become compulsory for her to work as a agricultural labourer during the vacations and sometimes during the working days. She also expressed that they are paid with the low wages which are around Rs. 150-200 per a day. Ellandula used the earned money to buy some stationery and books which are useful for her study.

Jannu Balaram is 15 year old student from Madiga community studying 9th class in a government school. He said that his parents encourage him to involve in the agriculture works for the survival of his family. In fact, without his financial support, his family cannot survive. Gaddam Akhila Rani is 14 year old student from Mala Community studying 9th class in a private school. She said that her father is a businessman and there is no financial problem and she does not involve in any other works. Dumala Pavalli a Mala student of 14 years studying 9th class in a government school said that sometimes it is compulsory for her to involve in the agricultural works along with her parents in their own lands. Govinda and Madhumita Bandyopadhyay posit that due to poverty and lack of employment opportunities, a section of the landless people periodically migrates to nearby urban areas or other agriculturally productive places in search of livelihood (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay, 2012). However, S. P. Padhi points out that there is a close association between child labour and poverty (Padhi, 2004: 3088). G. Bhan notes that the estimates of child labour exclude the domestic work done by girls because it is not counted as an economic contribution and hence not included in the estimates (Bhan, 2001). All these studies support the facts that poor families have to depend upon children's involvement for their family's survival.

Seating Arrangements in the Class Rooms

The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences defines discrimination as "being more than just distinguishing between social groups, it involves the inappropriate treatment of individuals due to solely to their membership". Allport describes, moments or impact of social discrimination like verbal dislike, prevention, exclusion, and physical activity excludes a member of a disadvantaged racial group from the allocation of resources and access to the institution. In India, the caste system still exists, and there are different forms of discriminations that are seen in various schools. In the present scenario, the educational institutions seem to be the primary platforms to introduce

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discrimination from the school level itself. There are various kinds of discriminatory practices which are taking place in some educational institutions both in the government and private sectors.

Singarapu Raju is a Madiga student, who is about 15 years of age, studying in 10th class in a government school. He revealed that the students who are regular to school and who are well known to the teachers sit in the first row. He also revealed that it is not permanent for everyone to sit in one place, if the number of students are absent, on a particular day the exchange of positions will take place. Nerella Trinisha a Mala community student, who is about 13 years, studying 8th class in a private school. He said that the top rankers in the class are considered to sit in the first row, and sometimes the teachers prefer combining of talented students and average students to sit together in order to facilitate all students.

Student's Interest in Classes

Boyd and Crowson emphasises that schools have to “reach out to the community in an attempt to strengthen the ‘social capital’ available to children” (Boyd and Crowson, 1993). The improvement of the school regarding its academic success cannot be enough on its own, and it should have cooperation from the community and families (Waddock, 1995). In addition to being necessary for academic achievement (Haghighat, 2005), schools also contribute to the next generation’s success in life. Therefore, recent research emphasises increased and positive interaction among teachers to improve the school environment and general performance (Leena and Pil, 2006). However, conventional teaching where teachers are inflexible in approach might be a negative aspect in some public schools (Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Kim and Ju, 1980; Hong, 2006; Yun, 2003).

Pothula Rakesh a Madiga student of 14 years, studying 9th class in a government school. He opined that the teachers do not teach properly, and they do not like to attend classes’ regularly. He also stated that he is not interested in listening to the classes because subjects like Hindi and English are very difficult to comprehend and the teachers do not explain properly. Rudra Raju Siri a Mala community student of 15 years studying 10th class in a private school. He stated that if she is absent for one or two days regularly then she becomes habituated to keep on absence in the class. She does not like to attend the classes regularly. It is noted that she is scared about the studies and it is also one of the reasons for her regular absence.

Bondugula Renuka is a Madiga student who is 15 years of age studying 9th class in a government school. She said that she has to travel

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around five kilometres daily to attend the school. She says that she is an average student in the class, and she is unable to cope up with subjects like Mathematics, Science, and English. She says that the teacher fails to explain complex topics according to the standards of the students, and they never ask the students whether they have understood the lessons or not. If any student asks for clarifications, they do not explain in the class. Instead, they say that it can be read from the textbooks. She says that teachers give a lot of homework to the students regularly. She also said that the basic amenities like toilets are lacking in the school and they are facing a lot of problems in the school hours. Bondugula says that though school is providing mid-day meals it does not contain any protein ingredients and sufficient meal to the students. She said that none of the officials comes to the school to look after the problems faced by students in the school.

Student's Query in the Classrooms

B.V. Shah and K.B. Shah opined that the classroom is an important part of the educational institutions where teaching and learning occurs. Sociology of education perceives classroom as a small social system. Here teachers and students among themselves interrelate and influence each other in many ways. A major part of the teaching schedule is conducted here and the primary functions of socialisation, rejection, and allocation are also operationalised in it. The social background of the student group and its social composition, as well as the student sub-culture, plays their roles here. Thus, the study of the classroom as a social system becomes an important area for the sociology of education (Shah and Shah, 1998).

Kurri Sravya is a Madiga student who is of 14 years studying 9th class in a government school. She said that usually she raises questions in the class, but sometimes the concerned subject teachers do not explain the answers. Yara Pavalli a Mala student who is about 13 years studying 8th class in a private school said that she never understands the lessons that are taught in the class and that is the reason she never asks questions. Keshavaboina Tejashwini a Mala who is of 16 years studying 10th class in a private school said that though she understands the lessons, she is afraid of asking questions because of fear. Edla Ranjith Kumar is Mala a student of 15 years studying 10th class in a government school said that after the completion of class teachers do not allow to clarify the doubts in the class. He stated that immediately after the completion of the class hours, the teachers leave the class.

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Teachers Advice to Students in the Classroom

According to Coleman's study on social theory, the quality of information exchanged relies on the dynamics of relationships in which one is engaged (Coleman, 1994). Dynamics of the relationships between a teacher and a student is become constructive with a close and meaningful connection. The student can share information about his or her problems to the teachers. However, when teachers function in an over standardised school system; their interventions can be negated by the 'suppressive effects' of the institutional environment (Byum, Schofer and Kim, 2012).

Table 4
Advice and Guidance from Teachers

Response Take Advice:	Mala	%	Madiga	%	Total	%
Yes, quite often	41	82%	58	52.7%	99	61.9%
Sometimes	5	10%	23	20.9%	28	17.5%
Never	1	2%	18	16.4%	19	11.9%
Do not like	3	6%	11	10%	14	8.8%
Total	50	100%	110	100%	160	100%

Source: Primary data

From the table 4, it is observed that 82 per cent of the students from the Mala community take advice from the teachers only 10 per cent of the students from the Madiga community do not like to take advice from teachers. In the overall perspective both from Mala and Madiga community, majority (62 per cent) of them take advice from the teachers. Gaddameedi Narender is Madiga student of 16 years studying 10th class in a government school. He says that there is a lot of support from his teachers and with the help of financial assistance which is provided by his teachers is very useful to him. He says that he had won the district level prize in the science fair competitions which were held recently and taken an award from the district collector Mrs. VakatiKaruna, IAS. Gaddameedi narrated that, he won the prize with the support of his science teachers. He further stated that such encouragement from his teachers had given him an academic strength for his future education.

Edla Sravani is Mala a student of 14 years studying 9th class in a private school. She said that she takes advice from the teachers regarding preparation for the examinations. She also states that she is very much interested in going for higher studies and for that she regularly takes advice from her teachers. Mattea Sunny, a Mala student of 15 years studying 9th class in private school said that he discusses with the teachers regarding his future career development. Gannarapu Sruthi, a Madiga student of 15 years

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studying 10th class in a government school. She said that she feels very shy to interact with the teachers because she is an average student. Geetha Nambissan, pointed out that however, a few teachers who were 'sensitive' towards dalit students were found to provide moral and emotional support rather than aid about 'intellectual tasks' (Nambissan, 2010). In a few cases where academic support is offered, it was largely to enable better learning among students i.e., giving notes and old question paper and guidance etc.

Pattern of Marks Obtained by the Students

According to Shantha Sinha and Anugula N. Reddy, "the assessment of children in regular intervals monthly, quarterly, half-yearly and annual examinations is quite threatening for many children whose families are inexperienced to the rigours of assessment. The final examination has gained such high sanctity that children are not promoted to the next grade if for some reasons they miss the examination" (Sinha and Reddy, 2011:185). The examination patterns in private and government schools vary in different aspects. In private schools after completion of one chapter, they conduct assignments for the students to assess the learning levels on a particular lesson. So these kinds of internal assessments imply on the students to score good marks in the unit tests or quarterly examinations etc. In government schools, such kind of internal assessments are not conducted after the completion of a chapter. So, it is difficult for the students to score good marks in government schools in the end term examination. According to Murali Krishna, the important factor is that disadvantaged community students like dalits and children from marginalised communities are not free of domestic errands and certain inescapable family demands, which would consume their time and energy. He also argues that the Dalits do not find a proper atmosphere at home to study like upper castes children (Krishna Kumar, 2012).

Table 5
Marks Obtained by the Students

Marks obtained (Grades)	Mala	%	Madiga	%	Total	%
between A - A+	21	42%	33	33%	54	33.8%
Between B - B+	16	32%	24	21.8%	40	25%
Between C - D	9	18%	17	15.5%	26	16.2%
Pass	4	8%	28	25.5%	32	22%
Fail	0	0	8	7.2%	8	5%
Total	50	100%	110	100%	160	100%

Source: Primary data

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Table 5 states that 74 per cent students from Mala community have scored marks between B and A+ grade and among Madiga students it is about 54.8 per cent. Proportion students who scored average marks among the Madiga community are 41 per cent. In a nutshell majority (41.2 per cent) of the students both from Mala and Madiga community are scored between C and B+ grade. Gudem Akshaya, a Madiga student of 14 years, studying 9th class in a government school said that the atmosphere in her house does not allow her to concentrate on studies regularly because of scarcity of rooms. Dumala Sravani is a Mala student of 14 years studying 9th class in a private school. She said that she is in school and follows the text that is taught in the class regularly. She narrated that she also practices regularly at home and because of that she is scored good marks in examinations. She says that her duty is to study at school as well as at home. Pogaaku Srithila is a Mala student of 15 years studying 10th class in a private school and she topped in her class. She stated that she follows only the notes that are given by teachers and she takes help of her parents because they are also teachers. She further narrated that though some of her classmates attend private tuitions at their homes they are unable to compete with her in the class examinations.

Problems Faced by Students during their Study

G.G. Wankhade analysed that “most of the dalit students are the first generation learners and find it difficult to cope with rising educational standards and negative educational climate. They are also challenged by their parents’ lack of experience with formal education because of their own limited educational levels. In addition, most of them are forced to work or do hard labour to earn for themselves as well as for their families” (Wankhede, 1999). It is found during the study that students face several problems like not able to concentrate on studies due to their socio-economic circumstances. Lack of proper motivation at the school is another major obstacles for the dalit students to continue their study.

Table 6
Problems Faced by the Students during the Study

Do you have Problems	Mala	%	Madiga	%	Total	%
Yes	10	20%	31	28.10%	41	25.6%
No	34	68%	61	55.50%	95	59.4%
Can not specify	6	12%	18	16.40%	24	15.0%
Total	50	100%	110	100%	160	100.0%

Source: Primary data

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Table 6 indicate that 68 per cent of the students from the Mala community are not facing any kind of problems during their study hours. Whereas it is found that 28.1 per cent of the students from the Madiga community are facing problems. Combining together both the dalit community, majority (59.4 per cent) of the students are not facing any kind of problems. Somarapu Ramadevi is a Madiga student of 14 years studying 9th class in a private school. She stated that her family's economic status is not good, but her parents have admitted her in a private school where they have to pay Rs. 1,000 per month as a school fee. Realising the status of her family she sometimes feels that she should study in a government school. She opined that if the school fee is not paid in due time, the management will not allow her to attend the classes. She ascertained that sometimes the school management will not allow her to write the examination for not paying the fee. She narrated that once she could not pay the school fee and the management served notice to her family that your child is not allowed in the school unless the school fee is paid. She reiterated that her parents are struggling a lot for educating her and she is working hard, however there is less time left with her to prepare for examinations due to her involvement in the household chores. Somarapu Ramadevi narrated that both economic and social conditions are not allowing her to concentrate on education and that is why she is unable to do well in the class. She opined that in her class the majority of the students are from well to do background and have family support for their studies. Therefore, they are good in study and punctual in completing the homework. She regretted that such kind of cooperation is not found in her own home and because of that she was unable to submit her projects in time.

Dumala Sravani, a Madiga student of 14 years studying 9th class in a government school stated that during school hours, she has to take care of her siblings. Due to this reason, she is irregular in the school and she is unable to follow the classes. Challa Umadevi, a Mala student of 14 years studying 9th class in a government school said that it is compulsory for her to involve in the household works and because of that she is unable to spend more time on studies. Jatothu Vikram, a Madiga student who is of 13 years studying 8th class in a government school said that during seasonal migration his parents have to move from one place to another and because of that he is unable to concentrate on studies. Gaddam Ashok a Madiga student of 16 years studying in a government school opined that his parents are uneducated and they are unable to give proper guidance and moral support for his education.

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Details of Corporal Punishment

According to Murali Krishna “violence is a pernicious tool used for silencing the oppressed voices, in order to suppress their zeal and fervour towards education. However, one should not assume that teachers resort to violence consciously. Rather, the teacher seems to falsely believe that punishing a student is part and parcel of ‘disciplining’ the child. On the contrary, rigorous punishment will cause damage to child psychology. Earlier in government schools, teachers used to punish the students in order to concentrate on education and that was appreciated by the parents but the students were the major victims” (Krishna Kumar, 2012). After the implementation of the Right to Education Act in the year 2010, the guidelines were framed that corporal punishment is banned in schools.

Raapaka Renuka, a Madiga student studying 9th class in a government school said that the teachers who are very serious about the teaching and who are worried about the students’ development usually scolds the students to be regular in the class and concentrate on studies. She also expressed that only the physical education teacher punishes the students whenever the students come late to the school and he advises the students to maintain hygiene. Arikilla Sudipta, a Mala student of 14 years studying in a private school said that their teachers do not punish harshly but they give punishment like standing on the bench, kneeling down on the floor or standing outside the classroom, etc. She also expressed that the teachers do not punish the students without any reason, but if the students fail to do homework or they are not serious in their studies, the concern teacher punishes the students. Vallepu Dinakar, a Madiga student of 14 years studying 9th class in a government school. He revealed that one of his teachers has punished him with a stick and one of his fingers got fractured. His parents filed a complaint against the teacher in the police station. From that day, the teachers are not punishing anyone in his school. However, R. Kaul (2001) in her study also highlights that Scheduled Caste children were scared to talk about the unequal treatment meted out to them, such as verbal abuse, physical punishment (Kaul, 2001).

Expectations and Aspiration in Life

Gundemeda Nagaraju posits that “changing preference pattern is a response to the structural changes brought about by globalisation and liberalisation policies initiated in India, since the 1990s. This process shifted the balance of employment opportunities towards service-oriented jobs, which are primarily meant to sustain the information societies of the West in

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general and the USA in particular” (Nagaraju, 2014). The inspirations from the relatives, friends are attracting the students for achieving their goals in life, and they are working hard towards achieving their goals. As per the expectations of the students, the parents irrespective of class and castes are struggling to supporting their children in education and giving moral support to achieve their goals for a better life in the society.

Table 7
Future Aspirations of Students

Future Aspiration	Mala	Madiga	Total
Chartered Accountant	1	2	3
Doctor	12	17	29
Engineer	7	11	18
Lawyer	2	6	8
Police	1	28	29
Software Engineer	23	10	33
Teacher	4	36	40
Total	50	110	160

Source: Primary data

Table 7 indicates that the majority (46 per cent) of the students from the Mala community aims to become a software engineer, followed by aspiration for doctors (24 per cent). In the case of Madiga students, it is noticed that majority (32.7 per cent) of the students aim is to become teachers, followed by aspiration for police (25.5 per cent). Inculcating the aspirations both Mala and Madiga students, only 2 per cent of them are aiming to become chartered accountants followed by lawyers with 5 per cent. Chintam Archana, a Madiga of 15 years studying 10th class in a government high school aspire to become a doctor and serve for the poor people in the society. She expressed that though she hails from a poor dalit family and studying in a government school she is committed to work hard and achieve her goal in life. Chintam narrated that once she went to look after their relative who was admitted in a government hospital. She found that there was no proper treatment from the side of doctors and nurses and the patient was expired in the hospital. She reiterated that it was the failure of the government and that incident has made her determined to become a doctor and serve for the poor in the society. She said that her teachers are guiding her to achieve her ambition.

Pogaku Ranjitha, a Mala student respondent of 15 years, studying 10th class in a private school. She said that she is aspired to become a software engineer and settle in the United States of America. She said that her father is an engineer working in NPDCL (Northern Power Distribution

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Company Ltd). She said that some of her relatives have settled in the USA and her parents also planning to send her to the United States. She said that she will complete her engineering graduation and continue her higher studies abroad. She reiterated that she is the only daughter of her parents and they are also planning to settle in USA in the future.

Anugula Madhavi, a Mala student of 15 years studying 10th class in a private school. Anugla said that she wants to become a lawyer. She said that there is no force from her parents or relatives and the career decision is depend upon her aspiration only. She said that her father is an advocate and she also wants to become an advocate after the completion of her graduation. She reiterated that in the present scenario the lawyer profession is equally respectable position as doctors, engineers and teachers. She said that the women's representation is very less in the judiciary and that is one of the reasons for her to opt for the judicial profession. She said that she will deal with the judicial issues related to women, especially who belong to poor families.

Conclusion

The forgoing analysis accounts that the majority of the children from Scheduled Castes prefer to study in private schools when compared to government schools. The analysis reflects that the majority of the students are facing problems both at home and school premises. However, it has become obligatory to engage in the agricultural works of their family because of their poor socio-economic conditions and involment in household agriculture is found high among Madiga community students. The quality of teaching in both government and private schools are not meeting with the aspirations of the present generation students and because of that dalit students are not showing interest in attending the classes regularly. The students are not satisfied with the teaching behaviour of the teachers especially during the interaction in the class. The present day dalit students are having high aspiration for their future. To achieve their goals, they are struggling hard due to their poor economic condition. They need support from the teachers, parents, and community which is lacking in the present scenario.

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Apprehension and Development among Indigenous People: An Analytical Study

Jayanta Kumar Behera*

Indigenous people are living in widely varying ecological conditions with different cultural and socio-economic conditions. They are living within and on the fringe of forest areas to derive their livelihoods from forests and other sources. Forests influence their collective imaginations, belief systems, and culture, thereby shaping their very identity. The dependence of indigenous people on forest was governed by religious beliefs and practices which ensure that forests will not be harmed but in present time it is governed by the forest department. The present paper deals with how the forest department determines the livelihood pattern of the indigenous people. The present paper delves in to certain interacting factors which are generally responsible for determining the livelihood and problems related to their development. The paper highlights the vanishing economic right among the tribal people. It also focuses on what they think about their rights and what they actually do with regard to seeking to their right for their livelihood and culture.

Historically, tribals living within and on the fringe of forest areas have derived their livelihoods from forests. Forests have influenced their collective imaginations, belief systems, and culture, thereby shaping their very identity. Even today, there is evidence of the coexistence of tribals and forests (Poffenberger and Mc Gean, 1996). Although romanticised to some extent, the dependence of Indian indigenous people on the forest was

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characterised by customary rules of use and extraction, governed by religious beliefs and practices that ensured that forests is not degraded. Beginning with the arrival of colonial forestry, however, there has been unabated deforestation.

The Imperial Forest Department was established in India in 1864. State monopoly over forests was first asserted through the Indian Forest Act of 1865. This law simply established the government's claims over forests. Thirteen years later, however, it was reissued with far-reaching amendments as the Forest Act of 1878. This version curtailed centuries-old, customary use of rights of local communities over forests and consolidated the government's control over all forests. The Forest Act of 1878 established that forest use by villagers was not a right but a privilege of concession given by the government. The Indian Forest Act of 1927 consolidated the existing laws relating to forests, the transit of forest produce, and the duty leviable on timber. It introduced three categories of forest distinguished by the degree of privileges enjoyed by communities over forests. Forests free from all claims were categorised as 'reserve forests' (Arnold, 2001).

Most indigenous people in India lead a hard, poverty stricken life. Multiple access to natural sources along with strong community ties make their life possible, even under difficult circumstances. Displacement destroys these two important bases of tribal's life - natural resources and the community. Adivasis largely depend on agriculture as their main source of livelihood. But, minor forest products, fishing, cattle supplements are their income and a means of livelihood in significant manner. The tribal narrates 'The forest is our money lender and banker. From its teak and bamboo, we built our houses. From its riches we are able to make our baskets and cots, ploughs and hoes. From its trees, leaves, herbs and roots, we get our medicines. Our cattle and goats, which are our wealth, graze here freely as they have always done' (Sainath, 1996). The study reveals that how the indigenous people lost their rights day by day. Tribals are unconscious about their own rights. From the period of British rule to modern era, the indigenous people detached from the forest, land, water, hunting, fishing and grazing in a continuous manner.

There are three objectives of the paper (i) to find out the realisation of rights of the indigenous people, (ii) to find out the role of Government and Non-Government organisation for the development of indigenous people, and (iii) to suggest measures for the betterment of the indigenous people.

The locale of the study is Dindori district of Madhya Pradesh. The tribals of Dindori district mostly inhabit the hilly regions, mainly in close

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proximity to forests and they comprises of 64 per cent of population in the district. In this district the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) have been living for centuries, away from the mainstream in isolated, inaccessible, less fertile and less agriculturally productive regions of forests. In this area, role of government as well civil society is very important for development of these tribal communities.

Methodology

For this paper, field survey has been undertaken in 30 remote tribal villages and forest areas among Baiga, Gond, Koal, Pradhan, Dhulia, Bhoomia and Agaria tribes in Karanjia block of Dindori district. The district of Dindori has a special distinction of accommodating about one-sixth of the total tribal population of the State. Only tribals constitute 64 per cent of the total population of the district. Dindori district is situated at the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh touching Chhattisgarh State. The district is divided in to seven blocks viz., Dindori, Shahpura, Mehandwani, Amarpur, Bajag, Karanjiya and Samnapur. The Baigas are PVTG which is pre-dominantly found in this district.

The study is based on primary data collected from Dindori district through multi-stage random sampling procedure. The researcher has conducted this study in Karanjia block of the district. From Dindori district, seven Gram Panchayats viz., Bhusanda, Gopalpur, Harratola, Jhankimal, Jogigwara, Khannatmal, Kharideeha were selected. A survey has been undertaken in 30 remote tribal villages and forests areas among Baiga, Gond, Koal, Pradhan, Dhulia, Bhoomia and Agaria tribes in Karanjia block of Dindori district. During the study 150 head of the households were interviewed. In this interview, 92 male and 58 female were interacted with for the first hand information. The interviews were individually carried out during the first contacts with the local population, "native specialists" were identified, in other words, people who consider themselves, and are considered by the community as having exceptional knowledge about their socio-economic problems.

Right to Economic Life and Food in Tribal Areas

The traditional livelihood system of tribal people is based on shifting cultivation and collection of non timber forest produce. The customary rights of tribal people on livelihood resources and their territorial sovereignty increasingly came into the conflicts with the forces of development.

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The study was conducted in the villages surrounded by forest resources. The water of Narmada and Son river brings fertility to land, where tribal farmers can produce adequate agricultural crops. Tribals have agricultural land but they could not produce crops adequate for their consumption. The tribal directly depends on agriculture and forest to earn their livelihood. They collect small forest products such as Harra and Baheda in the month of March, April and May, Amala in the month of October, November and December, Tendu Patta in the month of March, April, May, June, November and December. They collect Dhup in the month of January, February and December, and honey in the month of January, February, March and April. The tribals in this area collect Chironji in the month of May and June and Mahul Patta in the month of March, April, August, September and October. All these forest products are collected by tribal and sold in the weekly village market at very low rate. They sell it to the small intermediary businessmen. Another secondary source of income come from domestication of cow, buffalo, goat, pig and poultry.

In the study area, most of the households have the homestead land, where they grow vegetables in the *kharif* season. Tribal use to consume green leaves and vegetables and sometimes roasted fish, chili, onion are added as their staple food. In the time of scarcity, they eat different types of boiled roots and tubers. Tribals have knowledge of the specific roots and tubers in the forest which are edible and they collect them for their self-consumption. Rice and vegetable curry are taken mainly on the ceremonial occasions and sometimes by the wealthy families among the tribals. Earlier, the tribals of this area were mainly food-gatherers and hunters in their forest environment. They still perform these two kinds of economic activities along with agricultural activities. Recently, the food-bearing trees have been introduced in their locality. The walls of the houses are built with the help of bamboo strips applying mud on it. The roofs are thatched with locally grown grass but tiles and tins are gradually replacing the thatched grass at present.

Most of the tribal people in the study areas live below poverty line. A large percentage of adult are not educated and not aware of their rights and thus unable to access to various opportunities meant for them. Often people living in poverty cannot fully enjoy the right to food because they cannot afford to buy adequate food nor do they have means to grow it for themselves. The fact that they do not have the means to obtain food is also a result of persistent patterns of discrimination in access to alternative livelihood and political and social participation.

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There are very rare facilities available for irrigation in the study area and hence, tribal produce only one rain fed crop (*khari*), which takes care of their consumption need for four to six months. The tribal farmers are unaware of agricultural technologies, leave alone sustainable agricultural practices. There are many government schemes for agriculture, especially for small farmers, but the tribal farmers do not take benefit from such schemes as they are not aware of these schemes and the procedures to access them. For some tribal families, lack of access to land and other productive resources leading them to the denial of the right to food.

Right to Work and other Labour related Rights

Article 41 of our Constitution states that 'the State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of underserved want'. The importance of reduction in poverty and provision of basic needs has been emphasised in all the five year plans since independence, particularly since the Fifth Five-Year Plan. However, there was no legal backing for the right to food in India. Only in recent years, Supreme Court has been giving orders on right to food and right to work. In practice, the Supreme Court started entertaining petitions not only related to violations of civil and political rights, but also of the economic and social rights of tribals.

One new instrument introduced by the Government of India for the rural poor, is the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA). This Act envisaged that poverty in rural areas shall be eradicated through provision of employment as universal and enforceable legal right. The government introduced MGNREGA as "an Act to provide for the enhancement of livelihood security of the households in rural areas by providing at least one hundred days of guaranteed wage employment in every financial year to every household".

It is important to mention that MGNREGA is not an another scheme to reduce poverty. MGNREGA provides a legal guarantee of employment and places a judicially enforceable obligation on the state to provide employment to the needy in rural areas. Programmes and schemes can be altered at bureaucratic level, but a law can only be changed through the Parliament. In the legal history of India, this is the first time that the right to have employment and claim a minimum wages is ensured through this Act.

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In light of this legislation, the ground reality in Dindori district posits another type of situation. Despite implementation of MGNREGA, 70 per cent of tribal farmers are forced to migrate in search of jobs, after the harvest season. They are prone to various forms of exploitation when during their migration period. Migration also negatively affects the education, health and overall development of their children. Landless workers, such as agricultural labourers, are denied their basic right to food. They cannot afford to arrange adequate food due to their low wages. Violations of the right to food in tribal and urban areas are often linked. Hunger and malnutrition in tribal areas push people to urban areas in search of better living conditions. However, their right to food is often not realised in urban areas after migrating to these urban places. Social protection schemes in urban areas do not cover the migrant labourers because it needs appropriate documents like ration and Aadhar card.

The condition of the tribal workers in most of the factories is deplorable. Although some of them are permanent workers, most people work on short contracts. As a result, they do not get the social protection benefits to which the workers in the industries are entitled to. Moreover, the workers are aware about how the contractual system works. That is why they are exploited in several ways and in many cases they even do not receive the wages they are entitled to. The tribals are working in very poor and unhealthy environment. Due to the strenuous requirements of the work, very few female workers are employed in the industries and usually earn only half of the average salary of a male worker. Women workers are always paid less in comparison to their male counter parts on the pretext that they do little and easy work. This is the state of affairs faced by the women tribal labourers in the study area.

Right to take part in Public Affairs and Participate in Rural Development

The tribal communities are traditionally self reliant in control and conduct of their domestic, religious, socio-economic-political and judicial affairs through the combined wisdom of their leaders and village councils. Field studies revealed that Gram Sabha has been recognised as the supreme authority for the implementation of Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (Act 40 of 1996), but its status is mainly that of a titular body because of the absence of delegated financial and administrative powers. A tribal village comprises the main village and its hamlets, normally inhabited by homogenous tribes in each such hamlet. In a village, there may be more than one tribe and the different hamlets may also consist of different tribes.

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So the administration of the village through the Gram Sabha and the implementation of plans in consonance with customs and traditions through the Gram Panchayats is practically a difficult task. For implementation of the plans and programmes, the Gram Panchayats in Scheduled Areas do not have adequate means and manpower to handle and monitor rural development projects like minor irrigation as it spreads to interests of two or three villages. An analysis of information indicated that the major problems faced by the tribal people are related to insufficiency of drinking water, lack of internal link roads, inadequate health and educational facilities, soil erosion and water logging in the tribal villages (Menon and Sinha, 2003).

It is discerned from the survey that the level of awareness of the indigenous people towards functioning of Panchayat is very low. The data reveals that awareness about sources of finance, standing committees, annual plan, and schemes is reasonably high. But they are totally ignorant of the how to implement a plan or schemes. It is also found that their participation rate in decision making, planning process and programme monitoring are high but they do not know the rights and importance of Gram Sabha. During this survey, it is observed that the effect of training at the grassroots level has been limited to creating awareness and inducing participation among Panchayat Raj functionaries, it has not been successful in conscientising them to become fully functional for self-rule at grassroots level. Although, the process of transfer of power to the people at the grassroots level has begun, it has not fully decentralised the financial powers. The reservation policy has altered the rural power structure in favour of the tribals. The new generation has started participating in the activities of Panchayat Raj activities. However, the new entrants to Panchayat Raj system have yet to acquire the knowledge and skills required to become functional according to their needs. It is observed during the study that quite a few tribal youths have only been acting as the mouthpieces of stronger sections of society. Even in the tribal gram panchayat, patriarchal nature of the power structure of the villages negating the women leadership and it is realised that real participation of women in the Gram Sabha is still far from reality.

The functioning of Gram sabha meeting in the study area depicts a grim picture. During this study, it is found that very few panchayats convened the prescribed number of Gram Sabha meetings. It is discerned that some meetings were organised under official pressure and without prior or proper notice. In many cases, Gram Panchayat members were asked to come along with as many members as possible to meet the quorum. It is

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observed that Gram Sabha meetings were held without pre-arranged plan without an agenda. From this study, it is found that tribal people were ignorant about their rights and responsibilities as member of Gram Sabha. Tribal representatives are found in large number at all the levels of PRIs. They are from different social and demographic background. Some tribals are illiterate, aged and poor and the others are rich, educated and influential. However, in spite of cultural and social similarity, reasons of their entry in the Panchayat politics, style of functioning, achievements and the process of their empowerment are different due to different exogeneous factors. Some tribal representatives have done commendable works in their Panchayat but majority of them are not able assert their leadership in successful manner.

It is observed from the field that the *de jure* decentralisation of power to Gram Sabha is practically visible in the functioning of Gram Panchayats. In fact, alienation from the political processes seems to prevail among tribals even today and that is why even reservation has not helped to make the marginalised more vocal. This then creates the right conditions for the domination of traditional power of the upper castes and classes (Lele, 2001).

Right to Education among Tribal

The Government of India guarantees all children the right to education through universalisation of education. However, rural schools, especially those in tribal villages/hamlets lack adequate basic infrastructure and teaching aids. Absenteeism of teachers and language of instruction is an important issue for tribal education system. Most tribal parents are less educated and hence, do not realise the importance of educating their children. It is found during the fieldwork that there is no community participation in the management of the school.

Article 28 of Convention of Child Rights states that states shall recognise the right of the child to education and on the basis of equal opportunity and make primary education compulsory and free to all. It should encourage the development of different forms of secondary education make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of dropout rates (Govt. of India, 2000-01). However, proper actions for these educational rights are not visible in the tribal areas as per requirement of the tribal people.

Opponents of Right to Education Bill believe that it does not ensure free and compulsory education to children of poor marginalised

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communities especially tribal children. It is doubtful whether this discrimination stops when the parliament passes the Right to Education Bill, 2008. The bill proposes to cover only children age group of 6-14, clearly excluding and violating the rights of the age group of 0-6 and 14-18 year olds. What will happen to and who will take care of the children in the age group of 0-6 years, they are 14 crore in number. The most prominent being the provision to reserve 25 per cent of seats in private schools for 'free' education of the weaker sections from the neighbourhood. But for the rest 75 per cent of admitted children, both the principle of neighbourhood and the fundamental right to free education would be violated. Secondly, why the Government is passing the responsibility on the guardians or parents? It is the duty of the State that poor guardians or parents have no financial capacity and they cannot provide or afford to have the cost of education of their children. In this context, children in tribal communities are excluded from the provision of this scheme.

The educational trends among schedule tribes of Madhya Pradesh shows very gloomy picture of education system. The data from Dindori district shows that the drop-out rate is very high after primary level. It is found that the tribal communities are migrated from one place to other within the state as well as other neighbouring states for their livelihood. As the children are also migrates with their parents they became drop out from their schools. The major problem faced by tribal students is poor access to services of teachers who really want to serve the tribal and lack of infrastructure for proper functioning of schools.

Right to Social Security in Tribal Areas

In tribal areas, there is a dire need of social security scheme. Astonishingly, in the study area very large number of people who do not avail any social security scheme, yet they are eligible for the same. There are tribal people who have been excluded from the benefits of Public Distribution System (PDS) due to inefficient targeting by the service provider. There are some tribal people who cannot afford to buy food from the PDS shop. The state should take steps to identify the people requiring support from the PDS and extend its safety nets for the extremely poor. A minimum safety net should be ensured for those who cannot afford to buy food or grains in these tribal areas. Failure to protect the people and fulfill their right to food is a violation of the people's right to adequate food. Deaths due to hunger or starvation still remain unacknowledged by the state in this tribal area.

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In this tribal area, some people are leading precarious life due to destitution. These include widows, old without family support and physically and mentally disabled. These people find it difficult to find employment for their survival. For these people, the right to food campaign argues for having direct food entitlement as a right. The scheme should be universal in nature (covering all destitute, as are defined). Although, there are various pension schemes for these destitute, their implementation misses many vulnerable tribal people in the study area. They argue for the adoption of the many of the features of the Antyodaya Anna Yojana for this scheme. Apart from the above, alternatively, there is a need to promote grain bank schemes and food credit schemes for these vulnerable people.

In the present study, it has been observed that the Government of India and Madhya Pradesh have started various training programme to train the tribal people. Training programme also influences the income and employment generation activities. The training programme has made a positive impact on the generation of employment and income for tribal households. In recent times, government and voluntary organisations have been endeavouring to tap the latent entrepreneurial talents of tribals. For these, a number of training capsules on subjects like agricultural practices, fisheries, poultry, dairy farming, weaving, disc making, rope making, handicraft by using of local raw material are being organised for tribal communities. The intention behind such initiatives is to empower tribal communities so that they can gain a greater degree of financial independence.

Self-Help Groups in the Tribal Area

There are number of SHGs functioning in the tribal areas of Dindori district. The women are attracted to the benefits such as savings, availability of loans for purchase of sheep, buffalo and other cattles. Here it has been observed that women are accessing their right to economic empowerment more than the men. The group economic activities were largely focused over women's groups rather than men's groups. Various SHGs were formed as thrift and credit groups later on some of them provided some income generating activities through subsidy but in absence of adequate capacity building and income generating support these groups are becoming defunct gradually.

Role of NGO in the Tribal Development

It has been recognised that the all round development of Scheduled Tribes cannot be achieved by Government efforts only. The role of voluntary or non-governmental organisations, with their local roots and sense of service has become increasingly important. NGOs supplement the efforts of the state in ensuring that the benefits should reach to the needy people. In certain cases, it is the voluntary organisations who are in a better position to implement the schemes of the Government in a more efficient and objective manner than the Government functionary itself. This is primarily attributable to the highly committed and dedicated human resources that are available to some voluntary organisations in Dindori district.

In this district, tribals are aware of the importance of NGOs and large number of people are of the opinion that they play a vital role in solving different problems faced by the tribals where government machineries are absent. Many voluntary organisations have done a commendable job in the upliftment of tribals and are still continuing their efforts. Government should use these organisations as their subsidiaries to facilitate development of tribal in these remote regions.

Conclusion

Tribal communities living in and around the forests and have been disenfranchised of their customary rights to forests. Today, tribal peoples do not have *de jure* communal tenurial rights and there are conflicts between communities and the state. This historical loss of access to land has been central to the crystallisation of an Adivasi identity among tribes in different parts of the country. This is also reflected in a number of social movements in which “adivasi consciousness” is inextricably tied to the struggles over ancestral land, water sources, and forests.

In the last more than seven decades, India has achieved significant milestones in the areas of economic growth, cultural assimilation and global political interests. However, within the purview of development, the tribal affairs have been showed under the shelf to serve the vested interest of some. The poor tribals have been made to feel like aliens in their own indigenous lands. Over the decades, the process of development has frequently led to a progressive erosion of their traditional rights over their land resources including the forests. This can be aptly ascribed to the lacunae in the laws, faulty implementation, and rapacious exploitation by the unscrupulous traders, money-lenders, etc.

Apprehension and Development among Indigenous People: An Analytical Study

The state fails to address the situation faced by indigenous people, who have no shelter, food, and clothing; and are often exposed to threats of violence. Although implementation of many schemes and programmes are commendable. However, it does not fulfill the right of indigenous people who continuously face discrimination. The state has the obligation to respect, protect and fulfill the rights to its indigeneous people. The welfare programmes implemented by the state under social sector development to lessen poverty and improve the 'quality of life' of poor in tribal areas hardly reach the targeted sections of population. Therefore, there should be a proactive action needed to fulfill aspiration of tribal people in Dindori district.

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Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

(A Biannual Journal of M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain)

ISSN: 0973-855X (Vol. 25, No. 1, June 2020, pp. 71-84)

Work Life Balance: A Step towards Wholesome Life - A Study of Coaching Institutes in Kota

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Work life balance is a phenomenon to appropriately prioritise and balance work life at work place and in personal life. Work life balance explains practices in achieving equilibrium between the work pressure at work place and family's life. The growing incidence of work life stress and ever-increasing fear about work life issues in the coaching institutes present both a challenge and opportunity for human resource policy makers. This empirical paper analyses managerial policies and provisions regarding work-life balance (WLB) of the employees among a leading coaching centres in Kota. The results of this study show that WLB measures and attractive salary/package/compensation have significant positive relationship with experiencing wholesome life. It is also analysed that flexible working hours and work from home facilities had a very weak relationship with wholesome life. For wholesomeness organisations contribute very little for wholesomeness of the life.

Introduction

Human being looks for happiness, healthiness and independence. This is because human beings are meant to be that way. This is our state of

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most natural ease. Most children by default are in this state. This is called wholesome living. When we are not living a wholesome life, we experience restlessness or unevenness or some other call to restore the balance and ease in our life. This is the outcome of living unconsciously. Thus wholesome living is favourable for joy, peace and wealth for all. It is the way to create a socially just, spiritually fulfilling and environmentally sustainable presence for all on this earth.

Work-life balance is an important area of Human Resource Management (HRM) that is receiving attention from government, researchers, management and employee representatives. It is observed at some point or the other that the key to happiness is to lead a wholesome life. In India, it is believed that a wholesome life is a life flowing naturally and unhindered, totally one with nature, fully productive, healthy and full of joy, peace, abundance, possibility and learning. It is a life of unhindered expression of who you are meant to be, serving joyfully from your gifts and celebrating each moment with gratitude. Wholesome living is the outcome of identifying our feelings and our underlying assumptions and consciously choosing all that which supports joy, harmony, health and balance for us, others and the environment.

Work-life balance (WLB) is the term used to describe those practices at workplace that acknowledge and aim to support the needs of employees in achieving a balance between the demands of their family (life) and their work. The work foundation in industrial society, believes that 'Work-life balance is about people having a measure of control over when, where and how they work. It is achieved when an individual's right to a fulfilled life inside and outside paid work is accepted and respected as the norm, to the mutual benefit of the individual, business and society (Lockwood, 2003). The concept of work-family (life) balance has emerged from the acknowledgement that an individual's work-life and personal/family life may exert conflicting demands on each other. Factors contributing to the interest in work-life balance issues are global competition, renewed interest in personal lives/family values and an aging workforce (Lockwood, 2003). Sverko and others attribute the growing relevance of work-life balance in industrialised societies to changing technology, changing values and changing demographic trends (Sverko et al. , 2002). A balance between work and life is supposed to exist when there is a proper functioning at work and at home with a minimum of role conflict. Strategies of WLB in organisations include policies covering flexible work arrangements, child and dependent care and family and parental leave. Several studies have shown the benefits

associated with the provision of work life balance in organisations. Though work-life balance was initially construed as the concern for working mothers, it has been recognised as a vital issue for all classes of employees (Bird, 2006). Despite increased interest in work-life issues, the organisational philosophy towards work-life concerns is varied. Many organisations still see them as individual not organisational concerns. Some organisations feel that the sentiment 'work is work and family is family-and basically, the two do not mix (Bailyn et al., 1997). Other organisations view work and personal life as competing priorities in a zero-sum game, in which a gain in one area means a loss in the other (Friedman et al., 2000). Hence, it would be interesting to study organisational perspective on work-life balance.

Measuring Quality of Wholesome Life

Measuring wholesomeness is a complicated thing because it is more about mind-set, attitude, assumptions, ethics, association and there are usually no direct physical manifestations. Most people are naturally more or less on the right track and only few things are required for their wholesome living. How does one figure out the areas they are lacking? The following paragraph throws light upon things that lead to a wholesome life. This checklist can indicate areas where one can restore balance through conscious choice. The simplest test of whether one person is living a wholesome life or not is JEEP Test: which indicate test of J: Joy, E: Energy, E: Enthusiasm and P: Peace in a person's life.

If one is experiencing joy, peace and abundance in the moment, he is living a wholesome life. If one is not experiencing these emotions consistently then he is not experiencing a wholesome life. Wholesome living is a choice one can make moment to moment. One can either choose a life of resignation, anger, reaction, inaction and helplessness all born out of unconscious living or one can choose a life of wholesomeness born out of consciously choosing possibilities and power.

Before one embarks on any task or journey, it is crucial to know the outcome or end that we desire. Without this, we will either get derailed or fail. The first step towards leading a wholesome life would therefore be to set a goal. One can use the following steps to set a wholesome goal for himself/herself: well settled career, quality of time with family, personal self regard, good physical health, environmental awareness, diet and nutritional awareness, community involvement and spiritual alignment. As a beginner, the first step would be to understand or at least accept the concept of wholesomeness. Then, one can use a tool, (e.g. JEEP test) to arrive at a

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number that indicates the current state of wholesomeness of one's life. One can arrive at a number say on a scale of one to ten. Based on one's aspiration of living a wholesome life, one can select a target. In this way, one can say that my JEEP indicator should be six after six months.

Further in the JEEP test, one has to select one or two areas where one has scored low. Then a person can set a numerical target for those areas which would result in JEEP indicator of score nine. One can arrive at a few logical actions to attain this score. This would become one person's goal for next six months. Once one achieves the current JEEP target s/he can raise the bar! In this way the process of identifying the next improvement area can be done. Once the goal has been set and areas for improvement are identified, it's time to work towards improving in those areas for a wholesome life.

Literature Review

Existing literature offers very little discussion on the influence of various parameters on employee's wholesome life in India. European countries indicate that negative effects of working hours are lower in countries with lower welfare levels. Furthermore, work autonomy is only relevant in countries with high welfare status. M. Valcour used data from United State's call centre agents to test the effects of working hours, job complexity, and control over work time on work-life balance satisfaction. The study implies a negative effect of the amount of working hours on satisfaction with work-family balance (Valcour, 2007). In Great Britain, White et al. examine both working hours and their effect on work-life balance, finding a conflict between high performance practices and work-life balance policies (White, et al., 2003), whereas Gash and others analyse the effect of changes from full-time to part-time work on satisfaction for women in the United Kingdom and Germany and find a positive effect of decreasing working hours on life satisfaction (Gash et al., 2010). Finally, an Australian panel survey used by Wooden and others reveal that it is not the number of working hours that matters but the working time mis-match (Wooden et al., 2009).

Employees who work at home daily or several times a week want to reduce their hours significantly. Flexible working hour arrangements increases satisfaction, compared with strictly fixed working hours. Therefore, we posit that the time component affects satisfaction with free time and family life.

Culture change services include programmes like training for managers and supervisors to help employees deal with work-life conflicts.

Pro-work-life balance culture initiatives include family-friendly policies, inclusive atmosphere, and supervisor support, work-life education inputs like workshops or seminars on work-life issues, counseling, wellness programmes, and fitness initiatives. Thus, a work-life balance friendly work culture is a productive work culture where the impending for tensions between work and other parts of employees' lives is minimised. This kind of work culture means employment provisions and organisational systems and supportive management behind them. The rationale for providing work-life balance provisions is varied. Osterman recognised three main reasons why organisations provide family-friendly practices: practical responses, links to internal labour markets, and high commitment work systems (Osterman, 1995). The benefits of work-life balance initiatives, for employers, are better talent appeal, improved productivity, better talent appointment, reduced work stress, reduced absenteeism, reduced costs, better motivation, employer branding, talent withholding and efficient work. Accomplishment of work-life balance provisions involve expenditure that the management of the concerned organisation should be willing to allow. The costs of implementing work-life balance policies are: (i) direct costs of policies (i.e., paying for tuition fee, leave encashment etc.), (ii) costs of staff and space (i.e., cost of crèche, indoor games etc.), (iii) cost of equipment (i.e., information and communication technology to facilitate work from home, internet packs, electronic gazettes), (iv) cost of work-life balance policy formulation and implementation, (v) interruption costs (i.e., an employee availing leave or availing holiday leisure facility), and (vi) temporary reduction in productivity from interruption. Further, there are challenges to the implementation of the work-life balance provisions. These hurdles to implementing work-life policies include cost, management of initiatives, lack of knowledge, and raising expectations.

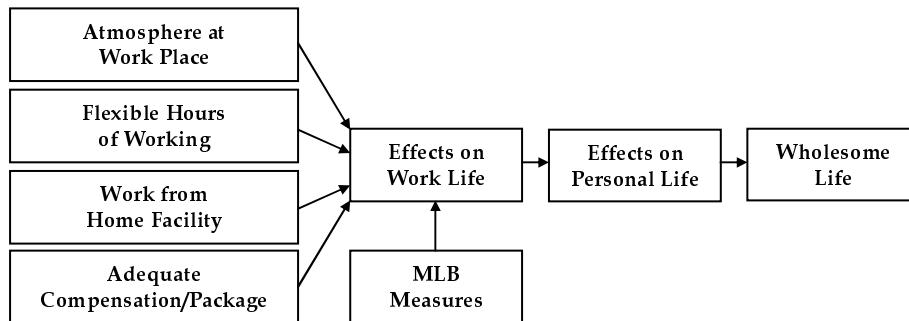
Research Questions

After reviewing literature pertaining to work and family balance, it is found that working environment, flexible hours of working, WLB (Work life balance) measures, working from home facility and adequate compensation play vital roles in upsetting wholesome life and wellbeing of a person. It is decided to use five main variables for measuring wholesomeness of life through WLB and their inter correlation in this study, (Figure 1). This study focuses on assessing how these variables relate to each other in order to establish the relationship between WLB and the wholesome life of individuals employed in the coaching classes in Kota (Rajasthan). The

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study analyses, how various parameters of work-life balance result in developing the wholesome life of employees in the Coaching Institutes in Kota?

Figure 1



To study various correlates of work life balance in the coaching institutes of Kota, following null hypothesis are: (i) H1-0: WLB measures are positively correlated with wholesomeness, (ii) H2-0: Flexible working hours are positively correlated with wholesomeness. (iii) H3-0: Attractive package/compensation is positively correlated with wholesomeness, (iv) H4-0: Working/surrounding atmosphere is positively correlated with wholesomeness and (v) H5-0: Work from home facility is positively correlated with wholesomeness.

Research Methodology

The data for this study was collected from employees of the 10 leading coaching institutes in Kota in Rajasthan. From each coaching centre, 30 employees have been interviewed for the study. The sample consists of both teaching faculty and subordinate (non-teaching) staff of coaching institutes of Kota. The sample of 300 employees included 49 female (16.33 per cent) and 251 male (83.67 per cent). The respondent's age ranged from 18 to 58 years, with a mean age of 32.5 years. Out of the 300 respondents, 84 stated that they are unmarried (28 per cent), 206 respondents are married (69 per cent), and remaining 10 respondents are divorced or separated (3.3 per cent). Seventy four respondents did not have children (24.6 per cent), and 132 respondents had children (44 per cent). Amongst individuals with children, 88 respondents had one child, 32 had two children, eight respondents had three children and four respondents had four children. All

respondents were employed as full-time worker. Respondents indicated that the number of hours spent on official work in per week ranged from 40 to 55 hours, with a mean of 46.5 hours per week. A structured, self administered questionnaire was used as the tool for data collection.

Table 1
Respondents and their Organisation

S.No.	Institute	Female	Male	Total Sample
1	Resonance Eduventure	4	26	30
2	Allen Career Institute	3	27	30
3	Bansal Classes	8	22	30
4	Career Point	7	23	30
5	Aakash Institute	6	24	30
6	Motion Infinite	5	25	30
7	Vibrant Academy	8	22	30
8	Kumar Classes	4	26	30
9	Sigma Classes	2	28	30
10	Nissansh Classes	2	28	30
	Total	49	251	300

The main objective of the study was to identify the key characteristics strongly related to the individual's wholesomeness in order to assess how WLB affects the wellbeing of participants. A seven-point likert scale was used for analysing determinants of wholesomeness. Respondents were asked to specify the degree to which they agree with items of questionnaire related to wholesomeness in their life. Answers ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

In this study, the data was collected related to five attributes: (i) working conditions, (ii) flexible working hours, (iii) WLB (work life balance) measures, (iv) work from home facility, and (v) adequate compensation. Further, the correlation of these attributes on wholesome life was calculated through Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (r). To assess the internal reliability of each scale for the sample used in this study, a reliability analysis for each variable was undertaken. Generally acceptable Cronbach's value is above 0.75 for internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for each scale in this study was found above 0.75. The results are presented in table 2.

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Table 2
Reliability of Indicators related to Wholesomeness of Life

Scale	Relationship of WLB Measures and Wholesome Life	Relationship of Flexible Working Hours and Wholesome Life	Relationship of Adequate compensation and Wholesome Life	Relationship of Work from home facility and Wholesome Life	Relationship of Working Conditions and Wholesome Life
Cronbach's alpha	0.776	0.79	0.871	0.785	0.776

Discussion and Findings

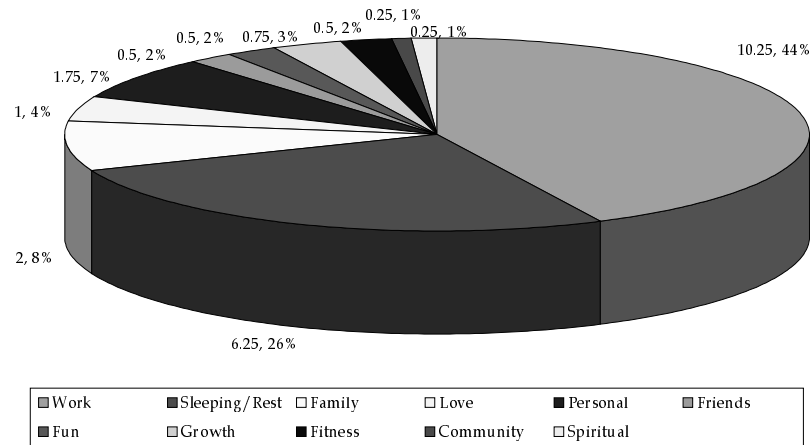
In this study, it is envisaged to analyse various determinants of wholesomeness of life among employees of coaching institutes of Kota. The study also analysed the working pattern of the employees of coaching institute for understand their workload. The details of working hours in coaching institute have been given in table 3.

Table 3
Workings Hours of Coaching Institutes Employee

No. of Employees	Working Hours	Percent
42	8	14
153	8 to 10	51
64	10 to 12	21
41	> 12	14

The table 3 shows that 14 per cent employees were doing work for eight hours. All these employees were non teaching/subordinate staff of the coaching institutes. Out of the total employees, 51 per cent were working for 8-10 hours, this category included 73 per cent faculty and 27 per cent non-teaching/subordinate staff. In this study, it is found that 21 per cent staff reported working of 10-12 hours in a day. Under this category, 87 per cent were coaching faculty and 13 per cent were non-coaching staff. It is also inferred that 14 per cent of staff working for more than 12 hrs. in a working day. In this particular category 94 per cent were again coaching faculty and 6 per cent were non-coaching staff.

Chart 1
Utilisation of Time by Institute's Employee



The study analysed that how the respondents utilised their time during a day. The respondents opined that 43 per cent time goes for work (including transportation) and 26 per cent for sleeping and rest, 9 per cent time is utilised for family. 7 per cent time is given for personal activities (friend circle, fun related activities, growth and career related activities) and for fitness only 2 per cent time is utilised. For community and for spiritual activities just only 1 per cent of the day time is devoted. It shows that coaching people are devoting very little time for physical fitness and spiritual activities.

Table 4
Relationship of Work Life Balance and Other Parameters of Life

Statistics	Relationship of WLB Measures and Wholesome Life	Relationship of Flexible Working Hours and Wholesome Life	Relationship of Adequate compensation and Wholesome Life	Relationship of Work from home facility and Wholesome Life	Relationship of Working Conditions and Wholesome Life
Mean	3.831	1.644	4.225	3.786	1.595
Standard Deviation	1	0.457	1.236	0.979	0.218
Kurtosis	-0.917	-0.669	-0.811	-0.918	-0.415
Skewness	0.074	-0.482	0.409	0.219	-0.206

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In the table 4, the mean of the five variables was calculated using seven point Likert Scale. Respondents reported high level of effect of work life balance (WLB) measures on experiencing wholesome life with a mean = 3.83. The mean for flexible hour of working was found to be 1.64 and that of work from home facility found 1.59, which shows that there is very low effect of flexible hour working and work from home facility on wholesome life. The mean of effect of package/salary/compensations on wholesome life was calculated as 4.22 which was highest among all the other attributes. The mean of working conditions measures observed 3.78 which also show that there is moderate effect of working conditions on wholesome life. It shows that it is the most effective attribute which contributes for wholesome life in salary or remuneration.

During the study, it was found that none of the coaching institute was having WLB measures and policy for its implementation. Though four institutions are planning for implementation of it. Five questions were asked from respondents regarding present status of WLB measures and present status of wholesome life. The respondents favoured to implement WLB measures at earliest possible. The correlation of WLB measures with wholesome life experience was also calculated during this study.

Table 5
Correlation of WLB Measure with Wholesome life

Particular	WLB Measures	Wholesome life
WLB Measures	1	
Wholesome life	0.25	1

The table 5 shows that there is positive relationship. It means that if WLB measures are implemented at work place, these will be helpful at some extend to experience wholesome life. The finding posits that to experience complete wholesome life, one has to change himself from his inner soul then only he will start journey towards achieving wholesome life.

Table 6
Correlation of Flexible Working Hours Measure with Wholesome life

Particular	Flexible Working Hour	Wholesome life
Flexible Working Hour	1	
Wholesome life	0.180	1

It is found during the study that subordinate/non-teaching staff work continuously for eight hours with a lunch break while the teaching faculty works in two spells. Generally, each faculty member took two to

three lecturers in each spell. Every lecturer is delivered for one and half hour duration. Thus each faculty teaches for seven to nine hours a day. During the lecture, one has to continuously speak and interact without taking rest. Therefore their work is divided in two spells so that they can recover after first spell by taking a break of 4 to 6 hours. But due to this arrangement, a coaching faculty remains engaged since 6 AM in the morning to 9 PM in the evening and they have to undertake travel twice to their work place from their home. Further any of their students can call them for any doubt at any time (except night hours). All these things make life of a coaching faculty very hectic and busy. Most of the faculties do not have time to teach even their own wards. Flexible working hour is there in coaching institutes, but it is very time consuming as per the opinion of faculties. Three questions were based on this attribute. The correlation coefficient was found here 0.18, which shows that there is positive relationship between flexible working hours and wholesome life.

The employees of coaching institutes were asked five questions related to relationship between salary and wholesome life. The correlation factor for this equation was found 0.668, which shows that there is strong positive relationship between these two parameters.

Table 7
Correlation of Salary with Wholesome life

Particular	Salary	Wholesome life
Salary	1	
Wholesome life	0.688	1

The study analysed the relationship between working atmosphere and wholesomeness. The questionnaire contained four questions in this regard. The correlation factor was found 0.33 for this attribute. It shows that there is positive relationship between working atmosphere and wholesome life. However, the problem is that the coaching institutes are not working in this direction. They should come forward and do some policy decisions to make their employee's life wholesome.

Table 8
Correlation of Working Atmosphere with Wholesome life

Particular	Working Atmosphere	Wholesome life
Working atmosphere	1	
Wholesome life	0.332242421	1

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In general people say that the office hours are not suitable there should be space for working from home with some alterations. This parameter was also captured through five questions during the study. The correlation factor of work from home facility with that of whole some life is given below in table 9.

Table 9
Correlation of Facility of Work from home with Wholesome Life

Particular	Work from Home	Wholesome life
Work from home	1	
Wholesome life	0.0236878	1

The relationship shows that there is very weak positive relationship. Hence it can be said that facilities for work from home can contribute positive for wholesomeness of employee's life in coaching institutes.

Suggestions for Experiencing Wholesome Life

The study unfolds that it is not the organisation where one is working, is going to provide a wholesome life for you. Organisation can only facilitate a tiny part of it. The rest depends upon the employee himself. Employee's will power and perception can all together create a complete picture of wholesomeness in their life. One should be able to balance work life with personal life. It is not only the duty of employer to create QOWL (Quality of Work Life) environment but the major responsibility rests on employee himself or herself. After 8-10 hours of working the employee has to manage himself or herself that how to utilise the time. There are a lot of strategies and technique for achieving wholesomeness but these strategies are not suitable to everyone. One has to customise these strategies because the personal life of every person differs from other in one way or the other. In the following section some pathways described to achieve the wholesomeness in life.

I. Physical

Body is said to be one's temple. If one is not bodily healthy, how can he ever be spiritually or emotionally happy? The fitness of body directly affects mood and we have all realised this. Some of the activities that help develop physical wellness are: Surya Namaskar and mindful eating and drinking. Some other ways are (i) practice of Yoga: small health yoga stretches can relax chronically tensed muscle groups and increase both physical and mental flexibility. When one's body is more relaxed, his mind feels less stressed as well, (ii) reduced use of stimulants: caffeine, found in

colas, "energy" drinks, coffee, tea and many medications creates toxic elements in our body therefore avoidance of these drinks are advisable.

II. *Spiritual*

People often confuse spirituality with prayers and religion. Spirituality is about being one with our inner being. It is about understanding inner self and being attuned with the universe. It goes a huge way in reducing stress and ensuring wholesomeness. Some ways to enhance spirituality are: (i) Regular Exercise: in addition to the many physical benefits, exercise is a great way to discharge stressful feelings that accumulate during the day. Just walking for 20 to 30 minutes per day makes feel better and look better. (ii) Self Reflection: take time off regularly to introspect and examine your life. This is helpful if it is done at the end of every day as a regular practice. (iii) Give yourself a Break: remember stress is most likely to cause disease when it is chronic and unrelenting. One of the keys to managing chronic stress well is to be able to turn it off sometimes. (iv) Meditation: meditation opens us to the nurturing support of creative intelligence that runs all our life. It connects our body mind to our own self is beneficial for us.

III. *Emotional*

Human beings are emotional creatures and almost every decision we make is influenced by how we feel. While this is not a bad thing, losing control of them or cultivating bad ones can lead to problems in leading a healthy and balanced life. Some of the pathways of emotion wholesomeness are: (i) Practice Forgiveness, Altruism and Compassion: Chronic hostility and hatred are among the most toxic forms of stress. When you are really angry with someone, you empower the person you hate to make you stressed out or even sick. That is not smart. When you forgive someone, it does not excuse their actions; it frees you from your own stress and suffering. (ii) Social Service: Serving others without expecting anything in return will always give us a tremendous joy and peace. The joy of selflessly helping others is unmatched. There are a lot of opportunities available these days wherein we can serve others. We also could get engaged into socially conscious activities which are good for society in general.

Conclusion

Achieving and maintaining a wholesome life is not easy. It takes effort and commitment and the road is filled with hindrances and obstacles. But when one can achieve it the benefits that one reaps from leading this

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lifestyle are enormous. Even just being on the path towards wholeness will have a positive influence on your life. The benefits will be felt in every aspect of your life, be it work, personal or family. Quality Work Life (QWL) balance is viewed as broad concept, which includes adequate and fair remuneration, safe and healthy working conditions and social integration in the work organisation that enables an individual to develop and use all his or her capacities. Most of the definitions aim at achieving the effective work environment that meets with the organisational and personal needs and values that promote health, well being, job security, job satisfaction, competency development and balance between work and non-work life. In this scenario, high quality of work life is essential for organisations to continue to attract and retain employees. In this context of this study, coaching centres of Kota city should have also policies and strategies to maintain wholesomeness among their employees for maintain their work life balance and to retain wholesomeness in their life.

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Reproductive Rights and Women's Health: Challenges in India

Preeti Dwivedi*

Reproductive rights are the basic rights of women essential sound reproductive health. Reproductive rights assure to all women to achieve the right to abortion, right to make her decision regarding the number of children she must have, right to decide the gap between two successive births for maintaining sound health and right to safer sex. It also includes consideration of their choices of family planning and right to access appropriate health facilities to have safe pregnancy and child birth in safe and hygienic conditions. The present study investigates the reproductive rights accessed by women in the context of India. The study posits that even after capacity to reproduce the new ones, in practice women have no control over their sexual and reproductive life and in most of the cases also do not get proper pre-natal and post-natal care in the conservative society like India. Male dominance and superiority over females mitigate and ignore the sound reproductive health of women and also constraint them to achieve their reproductive rights.

Women constitute half of the world's population. Their natural capability to reproduce the new ones made women different from men. Due to such nature given capability to reproduce the new one make the biased attitude of men towards the women about child bearing and rearing. Despite such capability they unfortunately have no control over their reproductive body. Thus, the issue of reproductive rights has emerged throughout the

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world, as it assures the basic rights of women that is essential to achieve the highest standard of sound reproductive health make them capable for their full participation in the social and economic life (Sharma, 2015). In the patriarchal society males dominated over females and their superiority over females discriminate, coercive and violate the rights to attain the highest standard of reproductive rights of women (Srinivas et al., 2011). Reproductive rights are concerned to physical, mental and social well being. It gives the rights to women on: (i) right to abortion, (ii) right to make her decision regarding to have number of children, (iii) gap between two successive births that is required for sound reproductive life, (iv) right to safer sex, (v) consideration of their choices of family planning, and (vi) for the sake of safe pregnancy and safe delivery in safe and hygienic condition it also guarantees the right to avail the basic health care services (Sharma, 2015).

Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) very clearly mentioned reproductive rights in 1979. Reproductive rights are also human rights issue as no one shall be deprived of his/her life and liberty till then his/her liberty is against the law and order established in the country (Article 21 of Indian Constitution of India). Basic rights of women are impossible without achieving the reproductive rights. Thus keeping all above concerns in mind present study is an endeavour to access the reproductive rights and their violation in India where women have been neglected and devalued even today.

Reproductive Rights in India

The issue of reproductive rights is a matter of consideration due to some of these questions: (i) despite the nature's blessing of reproducing the new one do women have control over their own reproductivity? (ii) do women have the freedom to decide how many children she would have for them? or how many gap should be there between two successive deliveries? (iii) do women have the right to safe abortion? (iv) do women have access safe methods of fertility control? Most of these basic questions that necessary to access the reproductive rights either unanswered or answered with negative. The negative answers, compelled women to raise the voices of women and activists for their health security and have been demanding the freedom for women over their body and sexuality. Women's personal preference over her body and sexuality is overlooked by the social norms and thus her body encroached against her will and desire. Besides family, government also control over women's sexuality. Here state decide how

many number of children she must have and also force her for sterilisation. An unfortunate incident in January 2012 in Bihar state raise the issue that how women and their reproductive concerns are seriously matter of consideration in India. A sterilisation camp was run by an NGO in January 2012 mobilised by District Health Society (DHS) of Bihar. In this sterilisation camp, 53 women underwent the sterilisation procedure. Here the issue is not to discuss the sterilisation procedure run by an NGO while the situation under which the same procedure was undergone. In this sterilisation camp all the women were operated in a government school and not in a hospital. The operations were undertaken by one surgeon under torchlight on the top of school desk. The same operations were undergone in such an unethical manner and unsanitary condition resulting post-operations pain and reproductive health disorders that experienced by most of the women. After this shameful incident question arises where is women's reproductive rights stand in India? This embarrassing incident carried out by an NGO accredited by DHS was challenged by a social activist Devika Biswas before Supreme Court. The decision of Supreme Court was in the favour of victimised women who considered this shameful incident as direct violation of right to health and reproductive rights. In its decision, honourable Supreme Court ordered government of each state and Union Territory to restrict the forced sterilisation and non-consensual tubal ligation (female sterilisation). Court also ordered to strengthen the Primary Health Centres (PHC) in terms of facilities, equipments and its accessibility without any discrimination.

Female foeticide and infanticide is another vivid issue in India. Pre-natal sex determination is in practice that enhances the sex selective abortion of female foetus in India for years together. Though pre-conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PCPNDT) Act in 1994 was enacted to stop the female foeticide and to arrest the declining sex ratio of female gender, still sex determination is in practice in hidden ways in India. A study by Shaikh et al in 2011 showed that 25.9 per cent of the female respondents reported that they were forced by their family members to under pre-natal sex determination of the foetus (Shaikh et al, 2011). Pre-natal sex determination and forced abortion is direct violation of Article 21 of the Indian Constitution as it guarantees the right to life to all persons even in case of unborn foetus within the territory of India. Thus females' body and her sexuality are encroached sometimes by government or sometimes by her family. Even life of unborn foetus of female sex is also under control of their family member.

Several bizarre incidents related to women's reproduction processes raise question of reproductive rights of women and its violation. In India,

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most of the rural hospitals do not have adequate facility. It is experienced by most of the Indian women during their reproductive experiences. Most of the family members are also unaware about the necessities of pre-natal and ante-natal care. Majority of the men are unaware about their wives' pregnancy including ante-natal care received by them (Kar et al, 1997).

Reproductive Health Care in India and Other Developing Countries

Safe abortion, hygienic place for delivery and both pre and post-natal maternal care are some priorities for the reproductive rights of a woman worldwide. On the other hand data associated to place of delivery, procedure adopted for abortion, pre-natal and post-natal care globally and especially in developing countries show the violation of basic rights of women's reproductive health. Unsafe abortion is a leading cause of maternal deaths (13 per cent) worldwide as due to unsafe abortion about five million women suffer from long term health complications and 68,000 women die annually worldwide (Haddad and Nour, 2009). United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reported in 2018 that for reducing maternal morbidity and maternal mortality and safe child delivery, baby must be delivered in the supervision of skilled attendant. On the other hand UNICEF data in 2016 reported that globally about one in five births (22 per cent) take place without the assistance of a skilled birth attendant. Globally, there is wide difference found between maternal mortality among rural and urban women. This difference is there because 67 per cent of births among rural women are attended by skilled health personnel. On the other hand 90 per cent of births are attended by skilled personnel in urban areas. UNICEF global database in 2016 also shows that globally institutional deliveries have increased from an average of 51 per cent in 2000 to more than 76 per cent in 2015 but institutional deliveries are still poor in South Asian and African region. Institutional deliveries are found in Western and Central Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern and Southern Africa and South Asia 50 per cent, 53 per cent, 57 per cent and 70 per cent respectively according to global database of UNICEF in 2018.

In India, The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971 (MTP Act) ensures a woman for safe legal abortion and allows terminating of an unwanted pregnancy in some circumstances (Siddhivinayak, 2004). But in practice safe abortion care is still not widely available in India. A report of Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) enumerated that in most of the states of India less than 20 per cent of Primary Health Centres (PHC) provide abortion services (ICMR, 1991). Quality of abortion services in both the

public and private sectors is often poor as it is not well equipped and also does not provide proper counselling to the women (Siddhivinayak, 2004). In the National Population Policy of India during 2000, unwanted pregnancies were promoted for population control but also recognised the importance of provision of safe abortion services to terminate an unwanted pregnancy (Govt. of India, 2000). According to World Health Organisation, every eight minutes a woman in a developing country die due to complications arises from unsafe abortion (WHO, 2003). In Western countries, only 3 per cent of abortions are unsafe, whereas in developing nations 55 per cent abortions are unsafe (WHO, 2003). In developin countries, various unsafe methods for abortion are being used that include drinking toxic fluids such as turpentine, bleach or drinkable concoctions mixed with livestock manure (Haddad & Nour, 2009). Other terrifying methods such as placing a foreign body, a twig, coat hanger or chicken bone into the uterus or placing inappropriate medication into the vagina or rectum are adopted for abortion even today (Haddad and Nour, 2009).

Owing to devalued social status of women and lack of proper reproductive health care 61 per cent of births in India take place at home and majority of these are not attended by skilled birth assistant (Blencowe et al, 2016). An estimated 2.6 million births still occurred in 2015 globally and out of these India accounted for the largest numbers (Dandona et al, 2017). Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) is defined as the number of maternal deaths per 1,00,000 live births. MMR, according to the sample registration system (SRS) data released by the Office of Registrar General of India was 167 in 2011–2013 and 130 during 2014–2016. Though the above data shows that rate of MMR is gradually decreasing, still it is a crucial issue at global level. MMR is found more among those mothers who are living in remote areas and who are less educated. They have hardly any facility to reach the hospital to deliver their child with the assistance of skilled birth attendant. According to UNICEF an estimated number of 44,000 women die globally due to pregnancy related complications, of these 20 per cent deaths are reported from India. During pregnancy, pre-natal and post-natal care is essential for safe child birth and for safe maternal health. On the other hand it is hardly provided to Indian women. Due to gender based discrimination and their devalued position, nutritional care for health during pregnancy is not considered as a serious concern by our society (Sharma, 2015). In rural India women have to depend upon PHC which are poorly equipped to deal with the maternal and child care. During pre and post pregnancy substantial care of women also needed but those are lacking in PHC (Sharma, 2015).

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Fertility Control and Concern for Women's Health in India

Safe contraception free from all side effects is also a serious matter of concern for women in India. In India about 48.2 per cent of the couples, between 15 and 49 years of age follow the different contraception methods of family planning. Among various methods of family planning, female sterilisation is preferably adopted by females either forcefully or by own decision. Data associated to female sterilisation accounts for 34.2 per cent in 1992-93 while male sterilisation accounts for 3.4 per cent (Sharma et al, 2001). Male sterilisation was only 1.9 per cent in 1998-99, that show that males impose the burden of fertility control towards their life partner (Sharma et al, 2001).

Hormonal contraceptive is adopted as one of the most standard methods of population control in India. Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) discovered and introduced different hormonal contraceptives for family planning and family welfare programmes for females. However hormonal contraceptives have negative side effects on female sexuality, still little attention has been made on the same issue that indicate the gender based insensitivity (Burrows et al, 2012). Some negative psychological impacts also have been identified for using these contraceptives. The side effects are as depression, reduced sexual desire compared to those who adopted birth control through natural-cycle methods. Some evidences of negative impacts on sexual satisfaction among women also reported. Negative impacts on potentiality of future offspring are also found in those women who use hormonal contraceptive for birth control (Lisa, 2013). In the early 1990's unethical use of such hormonal injectable contraceptives was tested. These trials are performed on women mostly belonged to lower socio-economic strata. Unethical use of hormonal injectable contraceptives had popularised without disseminating its side effects, and propagated as a solution of unwanted pregnancy only. The hormonal contraceptives have multifarious side effects causing serious damage on women's body and adversely affect on the functioning of nervous system. Despite of its multifarious side effects such as cervical cancer, endometrial cancer, breast nodules such hormonal contraceptives are available in PHC and government hospitals and promoted by government as ideal contraceptive for women. That is why women's activists and organisation all around the world are opposing and against the hormonal contraceptives. They are raising their voices for increasing the male responsibility for use of contraception by using condom, which is safe and no side effects on men's or women's body. Studies were undertaken to know the men's knowledge and attitude about

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various contraceptives to prevent unwanted births. It is found that Tubal ligation (female sterilisation, 62.2 per cent), followed by vasectomy (53.2 per cent) and oral pills (49 per cent) are found as popular method of contraception informed by male respondents (Kar et al, 1997). On the other hand men's desire to get vasectomy is found low (Jayalakshmi et al, 2002). These show that sterilisation is still considered as female burden even today in India. Everybody is aware that vasectomy is simpler and less complicated than female sterilisation. But males show their unwillingness towards use of condom and vasectomy posed once again a male superiority and controller of females' body in the hand of our society (Jayalakshmi et al, 2002)

Conclusion

Above analysis show that women's health is a neglected part even today in India. Women's subordinate position in a male dominated society is a hindrance to avail the basic reproductive rights of women. Due to their ability to give birth to a child she is considered as child bearer and thus silent victim of violation of reproductive rights. Custody of women from her birth to death by her father, husband and their son one by one in her life; engender her identity to take her all decision even reproductive matter according to her family. Thus, without breaking the barriers of traditional beliefs and cultural values, reproductive right of women is a dream to achieve.

Different programmes enacted by government of India targeted towards welfare of child and maternal health. Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) is a government programme in India which provides food, pre-school education, primary healthcare, immunisation, health check-up and referral services to children under six years of age and their mothers. It has failed to focus on the issue of reproductive health of women. Despite different programmes, women are still facing problem in seeking proper health care services. Many pregnant women's deliveries are taken by unskilled and untrained personnel at home without proper equipments (Srinivas et al., 2011). Thus there is a need to strengthening of ICDS services and to reshaping the reproductive rights of women in India.

To eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and to protect the rights of women, social activists set up an international treaty on 'The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1975. CEDAW drew the attention of government and policy makers to consider fertility regulations and reproductive health services as a way of women's empowerment rather than as a means to

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control the population. Fourth world conference in Beijing in 1995 also recognised as women's right with free decision on the matter related to their sexuality with sound reproductive health. However, achievement of this is just like a dream in India. Thus, there must be a global movement against the discriminatory practices and human rights violation of women through which attempt must be made to draw the attention of government bodies towards equal onus of male and female in the reproduction process.

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Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

(A Biannual Journal of M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain)

ISSN: 0973-855X (Vol. 25, No. 1, June 2020, pp. 93-106)

Status and Challenges of Education among the Bharia Tribe of Madhya Pradesh: Evidences from the Field

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Education is important for personal, social and economic development of the nation. Education empowers the mind to conceive good ideas and thought. Education system exists since the existence of society and it has changed its forms with the passage of time. Historically, tribal education was based on both perceived and felt experience and was highly informal in nature. Tribal education was synchronised and functional with ecology, culture and physical environment of tribal. In the modern times, tribal traditional education system was termed as backward and irrelevant. In order to integrate tribal society in to mainstream society several modern educational schemes have been implemented to educate the tribal. This paper is an attempt to analyse impeding factors of educational development among the Bharia (PVTG) of Patalkot Valley of Chhindwara district of Madhya Pradesh.

Introduction

Nelson Mandela once said that education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world. Education is important for personal, social and economic development of the nation. It is important part of our life and it is necessary for success in life. Education empowers the mind to conceive good ideas and thought. Education system exists since the

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existence of society and its forms changed from society to society with the passage of time. The society has moved from traditional to modern or industrial society so the educational institutions have also shifted from informal to formal forms. In this paper, the education refers to formal modern education that is based on schools, institutions and universities in the context of tribal education. Specifically the paper deals with challenges of education among the Bharia primitive tribe of Madhya Pradesh.

Historically, tribal education was based on both perceived and felt experience and was informal in nature. Tribal education was legitimised from ecology, culture and physical environment of their habitat. Their education was a set of knowledge and mechanism to equip the children with effective functioning in day to day life. The system was informal and contained social norms and values. Family was the first institution for education through socialisation. Besides family, dormitory system was most popular among tribal which is known by distinct names, for instance, Ghotul in Gond, Dekachang in Garo, Chang in Khasi, Morung in Abor, Dhumkuria in Oraon, Gitiora in Munda, Akhara in Ho and so on. These institutions work as agent of anticipatory socialisation to promote cooperation and harmony in tribal communities. The education provided in these institutions is based on local languages and students were taught verbally. There is evidence that in every civilisation, knowledge had been transferred verbally. Ramjee Singh opined that that the sage philosophy of Africa, the primitive Greek or the early Vedic-upanisadic seers did not compile any encyclopedia, the great prophet of Islam was unlettered, the Indian saint Kabir acknowledges that he did not ever touched pen or used ink or paper (Singh, 2012). In the same manner tribal education is based on their rich cultural heritage which governs their life. The tribal education system was survived without ink, pen and paper. The knowledge was imparted verbally with functional practice. With the emergence of modern concept of literacy, tribal education system was termed as poor, backward and irrelevant as per the need of modern world. Hence, tribal education system was intervened and modified in both Colonial and Post-colonial India. Christian Missionary was instrumental in education programmes in colonial period and Indian Government devised new educational perspectives for educational development of tribal.

In the modern world the concept of literacy emerged to define the educational progress of any country, community or individual which is based on parameter of capacity of reading and writing. In Indian context, Census of India defines literacy as 'ability to both read and write in any

language scheduled in Indian Constitution'. It has also been included in developmental indices evolved by United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) to release its report on human development. Literacy has also been used by Government of India as a criterion to identify Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). Bharia is a PVTG of Madhya Pradesh¹, residing in Patalkot valley which spreads over 31 sq. km. area, located in Tamia Block of Chhindwara district.

It is worth to add here that the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India organised a workshop on the eve of Fifth Five Year Plan to outline the criterion to identify Primitive Tribal Groups (now PVTGs) on the recommendation of Dhebar Commission (1961) and subsequently Shilu Aao Committee (1969). 'Extremely low level of literacy' was one of salient criterion outlined for identification of PVTGs. Special assistance programme was initiated for development of PVTGs. Central schemes for the education of Scheduled Tribes (ST) are : (i) Pre-Matric Scholarship given to ST students studying in IX and X whose parents' annual income is below Rs. 2 Lakh; (ii) Post Matric Scholarship Schemes is open to all ST students to enable them to pursue higher studies at Post Matriculation level including technical and professional studies; (iii) Vocational Training Centres aim to upgrade the skills of the tribal youths in various traditional/modern vocations depending upon their educational qualification, present economic trends and the market potential; (iv) Establishment of Hostels for ST boys and Girls for creating a favourable study atmosphere to encourage students belonging to target groups; (v) Establishment of Ashram Schools aims to provide residential schools for Scheduled Tribes in an environment conducive to learning to increase the literacy rate among the tribal students; and (vi) Schemes for Providing top class education, National Fellowships for STs, National Overseas Scholarship Schemes for STs are various other schemes for development of tribal education.

After six decades of implementation of community development programme and four decades of categorisation of PVTGs, various programmes have been implemented for up-gradation of tribal education. In spite of the implementation of various programmes and huge investment for tribal development, PVTGs are still at the bottom of developmental ladder. Non-tribal communities are still well ahead of tribal communities in context of social, economical and political development. As per 2011 Census, the literacy rate among the STs is 58.96 per cent against the 69.3 per cent literacy rate of the country. The Standing Committee on Social Justice and Empowerment under the chairmanship of Mr. Ramesh Bais has submitted its

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report on 'Educational Schemes for Tribals' and the committee noted that despite many educational schemes for tribals in the country, the literacy rate of tribal (59 per cent) is far below the national literacy rate (74 per cent) (Rao, 2018). Such low educational status of tribal raises critical policy issues related to state of tribal education and constraints for their educational development.

Objective and Research Methodology

The objectives of the study are; (i) to analyse level of literacy among Bharia PVTG; (ii) to comprehend the enrolments and dropout pattern among Bharia students; (iii) to analyse causes of non-enrolment and dropouts among Bharia students; (iv) to know the status of attendance, absenteeism and quality of education among Bharia PVTG; and (v) to underline factors and condition responsible for promotion/stagnation of the status of education among Bharias.

The study is based on an empirical survey for which semi-structured interview schedule was administered to 200 Bharia households of Pataalkot valley. There is a disagreement among the scholars on number of villages in Pataalkot valley but the government has identified 12 villages for administrative purpose. The separate Census of Bharia of Pataalkot is unavailable but as per Survey Report of Bharia Development Agency 2009-10, two villages viz. Ghoghrigujja Dogri and Jhiran have no Bharia household. The villages of Pataalkot valley can be classified in to three categories (1) Villages with 100 per cent Bharia Households (Kaream Rated, Khamarpur Sehrapchgol and Sukhabhand Harmau) (2) Villages with either or above 50 per cent of Bharia households (Gudichhatri, Palani Gaidubba, Ghana Saldhana Kodia and Ghatlinga) and (3) Villages with below 50 per cent of Bharia households (Jadmadal Harakachhar, Dhurni Malni Domni and Chintipur).

For this survey, 200 households were selected from all the three category of villages. In this study, 100 households were covered from category 1, 75 households selected from category 2 and 25 households interviewed from category 3. Apart from the Bharia households, teachers of the schools were interviewed to corroborate point of view of Bharia households.

Socio-Economic Profile of Respondent Households

The status of individual can be ascertained through his/her ascribed status and achieved status, the former includes sex and age composition and the latter includes marital status, education, occupational structure and

income. Out of the 913 persons in 200 sampled household, majority of the Bharia population are belonged to 30-60 years of age (28 per cent) and population between 6-14 years of age constitute 22 per cent of the total population. The majority of the populations are young and it reflects the potential of working population among Bharia for their economic empowerment. The educational status of Bharia posits that 257 Bharias (7 years or above age) are illiterate which constitute 31.8 per cent of population. Among the literate, majority of the population are educated up-to primary level. After primary level higher education the ratio of literate person decreases among Bharias. In 200 Bharia households, 462 persons works in primary sector and only 39 persons which are involved in tertiary sector activities. Analyses of the Bharia households income show that 102 households have annual income ranging between Rs. 20,001 and 50,000; 47 Bharia families earn Rs. 50,001 to 1,00,000; 32 families earn below Rs. 10,000 in a year; 12 households' annual income range from Rs.1,00,001 to 2,00,000; and only one Bharia family has annual income of above Rs. 2 lakh.

Enrolment in Primary and Upper Primary School

Right to Education (RTE) Act 2009 encapsulates a provision of free and compulsory education for children of age 6-14 years to achieve the vision envisaged in 21A of Directive Principle of State of Indian Constitution which says that "the state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age 6 to 14 years in such a manner as the state may by law determine". Mid-Day Meal (MDM) scheme is going on since 1995 to increase enrolment, attendance and to improve nutritional level of children. Ashram schools are in operation to provide residential facility to tribal children including PVTGs. Several other supports have been provided by government for educational development of tribal. These schemes have improved the enrolment of children. Similarly, it is observed that enrolment among Bharias was increased satisfactorily.

In the study villages of Patalkot, 204 children including 101 male and 103 female from 104 households were enrolled in primary and upper primary school. Only nine children were found not enrolled in any of the schools of which four are male children and five female Bharia children. Survey analysed that non-enrollment was caused by children's apathy towards education especially after primary school. Out of the nine non-enrolled children two children were mentally ill and the remaining seven were not interested in formal schooling. During the study, 95.8 per cent of children in the age group 6-14 years were found enrolled in the schools. Male

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and female children enrollment rate was found 96.2 and 95.4 per cent respectively in the Bharia villages. Although, the enrolment ratio among Bharia is satisfactory but this does not reflect that they are interested in educating their children rather they take it as a compulsion made by government to enroll their children in the schools. Still Bharia are not aware how education is useful and it can enhance livelihood opportunities of their children. In fact the concept of educational development is not in their world view, so they are sending their children to avail the education, free meals through MDM, school uniform as part of government schemes. Most of the Bharia parents opined that they send their children to school because government asks them to do so. They reiterated that free distribution of MDM, school uniform and stationary attract them towards sending their children to schools.

Enrolment of Children of 15-29 Years Age

Student enrolment among Bharias was found satisfactory but vocational education is not getting much scope among the Bharia youth. Out of 106 persons in the age group of 15-29 years, 86 were found enrolled in higher education after attending high school. The notable thing was that 12 students are found enrolled in college. One Bharia student is doing Bachelor in Computer Application (BCA) in Badal Bhoi College Parasia (about 50 km from the Gaildubba), one student is found enrolled in Government Polytechnic College Khirsadoh (about 52 km from Ghatlinga) and the remaining are enrolled in Bachelor of Arts (BA). The nearest government college is situated at Tamia whose distance ranges from 25 to 40 kilometers from villages of Patalkot.

Enrolment in government and private schools and colleges is depend upon the economic condition of Bharia households. Only three families enrolled their children in private schools and these schools are located outside the Patalkot valley. There were five such families whose children were found enrolled in both government and private schools. Bharias depend on government school for their children's education because of its easy accessibility both geographically and economically. Their poor economic conditions of Bharias do not allow them to pay hefty fees of private schools.

Students Absenteeism

Besides enrolment, regular attendance of students, good learning skill and quality education count for educational development of students.

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These features are affected by socio-cultural, ecological and economical status. It should be noted that Bharia children contribute in family economy by participating in agricultural activities and collection of NTFPs collection and sometime they miss their school. Hence, their participation in livelihood generation of family is a factor of their absenteeism. Especially at time of sowing and harvesting season, Bharia children are engaged with their parents in field or stay at home to look after their younger kin. Topography of the region is another factor responsible for student's absenteeism among Bharia. Settlement pattern of the Patalkot valley is scattered. Houses in villages are situated far from each other, even the distance between one dhana (hamlet) to other ranges from 1 to 4 kilometers. Hence, It cannot be assumed that availability of school in one village provide easy accessibility to all students of the village. Bharia children have to travel hilly terrain due to unavailability of road and have to cross rivulets in rainy season to reach the school. This topographical constraint engenders disinterestedness among Bharia students towards school. Both primary and upper primary schools are not available in each village; children have to take admission in schools situated out of the village after completing primary education in the Patalkot valley. In such a situation many of them drop their study after primary school and those who are enrolled in higher education could not maintain regularity in the school. The availability of schools in the Patalkot valley is given in the following table.

Table 1
Availability of School in Patalkot Valley

S.No.	Village	Primary School	Middle School	High School
1	Chimtipur	2	1	-
2	Ghogri Gujjadogri	1	-	-
3	Kareamrated	2	-	-
4	Palani Gaildubba	1	1	-
5	Ghana Saldhana Kodia	2	-	-
6	Ghatlinga	1	1	1
7	Gudichhatri	1	-	-
8	Dhurni Malni Domni	-	-	-
9	Jadmadal Hararakachhar	2	1	-
10	Jhiran	-	-	-
11	Khamarpur Sehra Pachgol	1	-	-
12	Sukhabhand Harmau	1	-	-
	Total	14	4	1

Source: <http://www.educationportal.mp.gov.in>

It can be observed from the table that all most all the villages have primary school but only four villages have middle or upper primary school

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and only one village has high school facility. No village has higher secondary school facility so children have to go out of the valley (distance ranges from 10 to 30 km) for higher education which is very tiresome due to undulated topography of the Patakot valley. Hence, unavailability of education facility around the Bharia villages is also a factor of absenteeism and dropout among the Bharia students.

Parent's Perception for Children Education

Parent's perception about education and their eagerness to educate their children plays an important role in promotion of education among the community. During field observation, it was found that neither Bharia have clear cut foresight related to their children education nor are they aware with benefit of education in the long run. Out of the 126 Bharia households whose children are enrolled in educational institutions, 48 households (38.1 per cent) wished to educate their children as per their children's wish, 32 families opined that they would educate their children up to college level, 24 families wished to educate their children up to higher secondary, and only one person wished to educate his children up to high school. Fifteen Bharia families were unable to say anything about their child education. Among Bharia households, one person opted to educate his children as per the availability of school in village and five families did not say anything about their education of their children.

Table 2
Parent's Aspiration for Children Education

S.No.	Response	Frequency	%
1	No response	5	3.9
2	High School	1	0.8
3	Higher secondary	24	19.1
4	College	32	25.4
5	As children wish	48	38.1
6	Unable to say	15	11.9
7	Availability of school in village	1	0.8
	Grand Total	126	100

Source: Field data.

The table 2 shows that 53.9 per cent of parents did not have any plan for their children's education, it depends on their children at which level they wish to study. In this description, not having any plan cannot be taken as unwillingness of Bharia to educate their children rather their own understanding of utility of education is important here. The Bharia do not know about higher educational institutions. They are totally unaware about

technical education and utility of computer. In such a situation, it could not be expected future plan from Bharias for their children's education. In this context, the onus is on the agencies involved in educational development in the region to make them aware of the modern education system and its future prospects.

It has already been mentioned that majority of Bharia population are illiterate and educated up to primary level. Majority of individuals of Bharia households are engaged in primary sector for managing their livelihood. Majority of Bharias have a poor economic condition. In such a poor socio-economic condition earning of livelihood is preferred to education². Bharia children are also the helping hands for agriculture and NTFP collection which do not require any formal education. They learnt it from the childhood in the process of socialisation in a Bharia family. Most of the Bharia youth think that they can earn and contribute their family income without any educational qualification so they do not give priority on education³. Therefore, poor economic condition of family is a barrier for their attraction towards higher education.

Modern education is not an essential element of Bharia worldview. The Bharias are not much concerned about social and economic benefit of education but majority of Bharias (63 households) whose children are enrolled opined that they are educating their children for better job opportunities. They have their own understanding of job with whom they are confronted in their daily life viz., teacher, peon, forest officer and clerk. Among the Bharia out of 63 households who opted for government job for their children, 33 households preferred teacher in government school. A negligible number of families opted for police, clerk, doctor, engineer and forest officer as their children's future job. It is observed that Bharia's perception about education and employment is limited to Patalkot and its periphery. For the Bharias the government officers or teachers working in their village are their reference group. Lack of awareness and lack of economic resources compel them to depend on whatever facilities available in valley and they do not put any extra effort for their children's education.

Efforts of Parents/Guardian to Educate Children

During the study, efforts by parents to educate their children analysed and 46 families opined that they send their children to school and 36 replied that they fulfill financial requirement of their children. 15 families stated that they did not do anything for promotion of their children's education. It is also found that 16 families have saved little money for their children's education. Personal tuition arrangements, teaching or discussion

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at home and routine performance appraisal of school going children was found absent in the region. In the Patalkot valley most of the parents are less educated and poor; hence majority of them could not provide extra incentives to their children for education. Syllabus of modern education system is also alien to Bharias. Stories of their own communities and elements of their cultural heritage are absent in the syllabus, thus parents do not have any curiosity about what their children study at their schools. Neither the parents have knowledge of the syllabus to teach nor do the children have interest in the course curriculum. Therefore, Bharia children are deprived of being taught their own language and elements of cultural heritage in their school.

Difficulties in Schooling of Children

Patalkot valley has poor road connectivity and villages are scattered across the valley. Inter-village transport connectivity is poor; Bharias have to walk down in zig-zag sloppy path of forest for visiting neighbouring villages. Similarly, road connectivity with the nearest town like Tamia, Chhindi, Delakhari and Parasia is also not up to the mark. The distance of these nearby towns from Bharia villages ranges from 20 to 60 kilometers. Bharia children have to go outside of their village after completion of primary and upper primary⁴. Children have to walk a long distance to reach the school due to poor transport facility. In this context, 21 families reported that they were facing transport problem while educating their children. They narrated that children are very often get tired sometimes hence do not go to school the next day. Bharias are engaged in livelihood activities for their survival so parents do not have enough time to drop their children to school. Children go to school in group crossing the forest and then board taxi or bus to attend their schools. Bharia children require money to pay fare of bus or taxi which is very crucial for continuing higher education. Poor transport connectivity therefore this is a prime constrain for educational development in the region. Although, government is distributing bicycles to the students who are enrolled from 6th to 9th class to promote and enrolment and reduce dropouts⁵. The scheme seems practically unviable for the Bharia villages, which do not have even a kachcha road. Therefore, it is necessary to understand actual need of the Bharia in the Patalkot valley for their educational development.

During the study, it is found that 126 families who were educating their children reported that they were facing financial problem while educating their children. Their financial problem enhances with higher level

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of education as children have to go out of village for attending educational institution. It has been mentioned in the beginning of the paper that the government providing financial assistance to ST children for education but very few parents have information about such schemes. Some of them have information but they do not have required documents to avail the benefits. Bharia do not face financial problem in educating their children up to primary level because the school is situated within their village. Government also provides dress and stationery free of cost. Bharia households face problem to send their child to higher studies due to the topographical disadvantage of Patalkot villages and poor financial condition.

Ashram Schools

The scheme of providing residential school to Scheduled Tribe boys and girls is in operation since 1990-91. It was revised in 2000-01, under which Ashram Schools have been established in Tribal Sub-Plan Areas to promote education among STs. There was a plan to establish 862 Ashram Schools across the country. Madhya Pradesh has allocated 242 Ashram Schools in this scheme. Out of these proposed 242 schools, 172 schools are completed in Madhya Pradesh and 70 Ashram Schools are still to be completed⁶. Central government provide financial assistance to the state government to establish Ashram schools and state administration is assigned to maintain the drinking water facility, sleeping arrangement, mattress, food, toilets, security and other basic facilities. State governments have been proved inefficient on its part to maintain the services in the Ashram schools. The Standing Committee of National Monitoring Committee on Education Development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Ministry of Human Resource Development, constituted under the chairmanship of Prof. Sukhadeo Thorat recommended for reorganisation and up-gradation of Ashram Schools. In 2006-07, Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) conducted a study in Ashram Schools in four states viz., Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. The report recommended to increase the number of Ashram Schools and to ensure the quality and required infrastructure in the Ashram Schools. The Economic Times mentioned in its report on April 18, 2016 that 882 tribal students died in between 2010 and 2015 in state run Ashram Schools in various parts of the country due to carelessness. These reports depict that the state has failed to provide quality services to the students of Ashram schools.

During the fieldwork for the study, it is found that 12 Ashram schools are functioning in villages of Patalkot valley; the Ashram schools have poor infrastructure and inadequate hygiene condition. The sources of

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drinking water for students are hand-pump and well in these Ashram schools. In some of the Ashram schools, children using flowing water of nala (small perennial stream) for drinking purpose. Water purifier is not found in any of the Ashram Schools and students residing in Ashram Schools are regularly suffering from water borne diseases. Security measures for children are also not being followed properly. Boundary walls, entry gates of the residential school were found dilapidated and watchmen were found irregular in their duty. In these Ashram Schools children use water of rivulets to take bath and they also defecate in open due to scarcity of water in schools. Children were not using soap to wash their hands after defecation. Cook appointed in Ashram Schools were found very unprofessional and do not adhere to hygienic practices while preparing food for the students. During the field visit, it is observed that the same buckets and mugs were found used for both kitchen and bathroom. In these Ashram schools, bed sheets and mattresses were found dirty since there is no staff to look after the infrastructure. In most of the schools in Patalkot valley, students themselves are cleaning their living rooms and their beddings.

It is also found during the field study that kitchen sheds in some of the Ashram schools are not built with proper hygiene parameter like proper drainage, storage facility of grain and vegetables and proper smoke outlet. Due to unavailability of gas connection or lack of gas cylinder, the food is cooked in *choolah* with firewood which usually fill the shed with smoke in absence of smoke outlet. In many schools, cook is irregular and children have to cook food for themselves. In these Ashram schools, no washing bar or powder is available for washing cooking vessels. Cook and students just wash it with water or sometimes use ash/mud to wash the utensils. Hence, utensils were found very dirty and unhygienic for making food. At the time of power cut, children use kerosene for lightening their room. Most of the time, students have to live without electricity because the area is hilly and the nearest power station is about 10 to 20 km from the villages. Students narrated that electricity department take too much time to resolve the fault occurred in electricity supply system. Generator facility was not found in any of the Ashram Schools in the Patalkot region. To resolve the electricity issue, Government can set up solar power facilities in these remote Ashram Schools. In the Ashram schools of Patalkot, the first aid facility and routine health check up of the children were not undertaken due to its remoteness. Therefore, only establishment of Ashram schools is not enough for educational development of Bharia PVTG, adequate infrastructure and man power should be provided to envisage the proper functioning of these Ashram schools.

Conclusion

Bharia PVTG resides in the remote forest in the Patalkot Valley. The area is constraint by poor road connectivity and lack of means of communication. For infrastructural development of the schools, contractors face difficulties in carrying the construction materials to the Patalkot valley. However, school buildings have been constructed with difficulties in this inaccessible area. The schools are now lacking in basic amenities like availability of potable water, clean toilet and furniture. On the one hand topographical condition limit infrastructure developments, on the other hand poor socio-economic condition of the Bharias restrain them from educational development of the PVTG. A long time has passed since the implementation of educational development schemes but government on its part has failed to improve the educational status of Bharias living in the Patalkot valley. However, Bharias who are coming out of the Patalkot valley and interacting with educated and government servants from non-tribal communities are interested to educate their children. These government servants are the agents of social and educational change for the Bharias. The schools in the Patalkot valley follow the modern syllabus which is beyond comprehension for both parents and children of Bharia community. This cultural alienation with the content of the school syllabus is the major bottleneck which invite lack of interest among Bharia students. The parents are also not aware in what way the education is taught in the schools which can help their children to survive in the remote area of Patalkot valley?

In the Patalkot valley, Government is implementing educational development programmes without considering the special ecological and topographical feature of this remote valley. Government has opened primary schools in every village but for the establishment of middle and high schools the volume of population is the criteria. The villages of Patalkot valley are located in scattered manner. In this valley even hamlets of one village are not connected by road. Government termed these collections of hamlet as a single village but these hamlets are located far from each other. The Jadmadal Harrakachhar is treated as a village but it has three hamlets viz., Jad, Madal and Harrakachhar. These three hamlets of Jadmadal Harrakachhar are situated about 10 kilometers apart from each other. Similarly, Kareamrated is counted as one village but Kaream and Rated are two hamlets situated at a distance of 6 km from each other. Therefore, Government should realise the ground reality in Patalkot valley and establish more number of middle and high schools to facilitate higher studies among Bharia PVTG. Distribution of bicycle may increase enrolment in the

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Patakot valley, since bicycle attract the Bharia students but it cannot reduce the absenteeism due to poor accessibility to school due to unavailability of all weather roads in the valley.

End Notes

1. There are three PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh viz. Baiga in Mandla, Dindori, Balaghat, Umaria and Shahdol; Bharia of Patakot in Chhindwara; and Saharia in Gwalior, Datia, Morena, Bhind, Shivpuri, Guna, Ashoknagar and Sheopur.
2. Breen and Goldthorpe (1997) found in a study that household wealth, educational status and labour market status play a major role in deciding the education level of children. They also say that parents who have reached a certain educational level might want their children to achieve at least that level.
UNESCO, in its report on education (2010) also mentioned that children from better educated parents more often go to school and tend to drop out less.
3. Basu, Das and Dutta (2003) found in a study that small farmers are more likely to expect their children to help out tending the land and rearing livestock, especially during peak working times, they perceive the opportunity costs of sending their children to school may be high.
4. All the villages have school up to primary level but only four villages have school up to upper primary/middle level and one village has school up to high school.
5. Grant of 2300/- Rs. for 18 inch bicycle is provided for class 6th standard student and grant of 2400/- Rs. is provided to class 9th students for 20 inch bicycle. The grant is directly deposited to the beneficiary's account. (retrieved from http://www.educationportal.mp.gov.in/Cycle/public/Cycle_Main.aspx on 14/10/2016)
6. See 44th Report of Standing Committee on Social Justice and Empowerment (2013-14), Working of Ashram Schools in Tribal Areas, New Delhi, GoI, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Page 19.

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Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

(A Biannual Journal of M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain)

ISSN: 0973-855X (Vol. 25, No. 1, June 2020, pp. 107-110)

Book Review

Open and Distance Learning in Secondary School Education in India

Jyotsna Jha, Neha Ghatak, Puja Manni, Shobhita Rajagopal and
Shreekanth Mahendiran

Routledge, South Asian Edition, (2020), Pages: 220, Rs. 995

ISBN 978-0-367-46372-4

Motilal Mahamallik*

This book under review, 'Open and Distance Learning in Secondary School Education in India', by a group of well experienced scholars, Jyotsna Jha, Neha Ghatak, Puja Manni, Shobhita Rajagopal and Shreekanth Mahendiran examines the state of the Open and Distance Learning (ODL) based secondary education in India using both secondary and primary data. In other words, the analysis mainly focuses on examining the functioning and reach of the ODL systems from the lens of equity and inclusion, efficiency and effectiveness. Even though the book analysed all India data, more focus is given on Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, and Rajasthan. This volume contains five chapters and an annexure. The review of the book is described under its focal themes to ensure a flow and linkage between various concepts. Even though an empirical study, the authors have tried to put forth an argument of the present relevance of 'Open and Distance Learning in Secondary School Education in India' for a larger debate.

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With the change in technology, socio-economic development and occupational pattern, ODL has become a widely accepted mode of education in India. Even though the plinth of ODL is relatively old, the model got acceptance in India with the increasing acceptance of education as a source of livelihood and access to knowledge. The book offers a historical development of Indian ODL in society. The ODL based system has an edge over other systems on three grounds (i) learner's autonomy, (ii) zeroing the concept of distance, and (iii) use of technology in mediating between the learners and service provider as reflected in the review of the literature. The most interesting premises on which the whole ODL model conceived is "...flexibilities in terms of open admissions and freedom of selection of what, when and where to learn". In India, the ODL based system was introduced in secondary and senior secondary education after experimenting it for teachers training. The acceptability of ODL based system got reflected in the increasing number of institutions adopting the ODL system. National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) has offered an ODL based education system for secondary and senior/higher secondary schools in India. The mission behind this project is to reach to the unreached. Further, this book focuses on the ODL system on secondary and senior secondary education which is one of the neglected dimensions in India. The authors summarise the perspective on which the whole system was brought under operation as (i) supply-side constraints of school infrastructure, (ii) achieving the aspirational goal of universalisation of secondary education. The first section of the book and critically elaborated on the key role played by the ODL system in achieving the aspirational goal of the country and the need of the hour for the ODL system.

Creating a structure of mainstream education system without taking into consideration the geo-political and socio-economic edifice of the country itself speaks about our seriousness towards raising the level of education in the country. 'Why a two-system model', is required to accommodate a diverse enthusiastic ambitious cohort. Is not it possible to assimilate both in one? This book brought out a few critical questions on the choice between regular schools and the NIOS model using primary data. Not a lot of thoughts have gone in India to assimilate or converse programmes and widen the canvas of government programmes. This book indirectly through light to think in that direction.

It has been realised by the 1990s that education is one of the important dimensions that have the potentials to positively contribute to human well beings. Education not only adds value to economic growth but

also adds value to society, democracy and civilisation. In a country like India, with a vast landmass, huge population, numerous social and economic constraints, and range of personal constraints, 'Open and Distance Learning based education has been a ray of hope for locationally disadvantaged, poor and multi-tasking students in India who for some or other reasons have always been away from regular schooling opportunities'. The alternative model of education has been getting acceptance in developing countries. Using data from the National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) and the State Open School (SOS) the book under review examines the equity, efficiency, and effectiveness of the institutions that are providing an alternative learning environment for the deprived students.

Even after 70 years of independence, at the secondary level around 50 per cent of the relevant age group population reported not attending school and the figure went up to 60 per cent at the senior secondary level. With a weak base, the story of secondary and senior secondary level of education is not so enthusiastic and so also the alternative model of secondary and higher secondary education in India. Even though this model has an inbuilt inclusion characteristic, NIOS appeared to have met these objectives with only little success. Like the previous mainstream education system, it gives preference to upper caste, male students and urban people in NIOS enrolment. Children from these social groups in India are being excluded from the mainstream education system. Overall, the ODL system offer opportunities to many marginalised to achieve personal and professional goals in society. It is interesting to note that even though a higher proportion of students from marginalised communities use the benefit of NIOS to complete their secondary education, students from other well-off communities also taking the benefit of NIOS to complete senior secondary education.

The number of learners currently enrolled in ODL mode is estimated to be more than one million which is around 2 per cent of the total number enrolled at the secondary and senior secondary school. Even though NIOS offers flexibility in enrolment and completion of the course, the majority of those who are likely to complete the course do so in the first two years. The likelihood of most of the enrolled aspirants has completed their courses in the first two years. Further, one of the important findings is that NIOS is presently catering to the learners from privileged communities, of course not excluding the marginalised. However, the primary data analysis gives a new direction by advocating for a rethinking of the policy and practice to meet the objective. The enrollment into secondary and senior secondary level

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under NIOS gives a different picture altogether. Students who completed their secondary stage from NIOS are not necessarily enrolled again with NIOS for higher education. Further, the primary survey reveals a few interesting points relating to the autonomy of the girl/female learners in access to the mobile. Every system has its pros and cons. One great message coming out of this book is 'Education if helpful for the upward mobility of a set of the population is meaningful irrespective of its mode and system'.

The book under review is a good reference book to understand the role of open and distance learning on secondary level school education. The book is useful for students, scholars and educationists who are interested in alternative and distance mode of learning in this changing learning environment.

Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

(A Biannual Journal of M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain)

ISSN: 0973-855X (Vol. 25, No. 1, June 2020, pp. 111-115)

Book Review

Rural Local Governance and Development

Mahipal

Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd. (2020) Pages. 381: Rs. 575

ISBN 9789353287207

Madhav Prasad Gupta*

Rural local governance is recognised as basic component of democratic governance, since they provide an enabling environment in which decision making and service delivery can be brought closer to the people. It involves the shifting of fiscal, political and administrative responsibilities from higher to lower levels of government. Governance has been viewed as one of the requisite components for effective functioning of economy and well-being of society (p. 3). In India, after independence efforts were undertaken to create the panchayats as units of self-governance. However, Central Government's streamlined initiative came out with 73rd amendment for the establishment of local democratic institutions in India. Since then people's participation has emerged as an alternative strategy for rural development. Rural local governance entails ensuring increasing participatory democracy so that people who face social and economic discrimination, irrespective of their political affiliations can play a central role in planning, implementing and monitoring of rural development programmes. This book, entitled 'Rural Local Governance and Development'

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consists of three parts with 14 chapters. A chapter wise review has been undertaken for the convenience of the readers.

Chapter one divided of three parts and covers the discourses of governance with dimensions and indicators of governance, concept of rural local governance and inter-linkage between local governance, PRIs and rural development. Some important characteristics of governance like participation, predictability, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency discussed at length in this chapter.

Chapter two discusses evolution of Panchayati Raj in India. This chapter is initiated with a brief discussion of decentralisation in many countries such as Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Brazil, South Africa and Scotland. In this chapter various resolutions on decentralisation were analysed i.e., Mayo Resolution, Ripon Resolution, Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and Government of India Act which led to present form of decentralisation after Independence. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act was a milestone in the history of Panchayati Raj in India. The author reiterated that various efforts have been made to strengthen these institutions for rural governance and development through democratic decentralisation

Working of Panchayati Raj institutions are discussed in chapter three of this book. This chapter covers salient features of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 as well as devolution of power and authority bestowed to different tiers of Panchayat Raj Institutions. The author highlighted that although under the the Act, 29 subjects were transferred to the PRIs, but only a few states like Karnataka, Kerala and Sikkim transferred these subjects to the PRIs. The Devolution Report 2015-16 reveals that none of the states/UTs had achieved 100 per cent devolution of the enactment of the 73rd Amendment Act.

Chapter four discussed the provision of Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act. Keeping in view the concerns of the tribal, the Central Government constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Dilip Singh Bhuria in June 1994 to analyse need for decentralised government in tribal areas. On the basis of the recommendations Bhuria Committee Parliament had passed PESA, 1996. This act has extended decentralised democracy in Scheduled V Areas. PESA has given control of natural resources (*Jal, Jangal* and *Jameen*) in hands of tribal people. The author reveals that the studies of Scheduled V Areas stated that tribal were also not aware about its implication for their development. However, over a period of time, there are

some positive developments that have taken place towards implementation of PESA (p. 107).

Chapter five discussed the Nyay Panchayats and their relevance and performance in rural governance. The judicial system of Nyaya Panchayats has existed from Smriti to pre-independence periods. Even after Independence, this system has been in existence through the Panchayati Raj System. Despite being discussed in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Bill, the Nyaya Panchayat was kept away from it. Some states such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir, West Bengal and PESA areas have Nyay Panchayats and have been solving disputes among different people in an acceptable and accessible manner. The author underlined that dominance caste, patriarchy are hindering in successful execution of Nyay Panchayats.

Chapter six analysed the participation of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women in local governance processes. According to Article 243 D of the Constitution, seats shall be reserved for SCs, STs and Women in every tier of Gram Panchayats for political inclusion of marginalised. However author describes that non participation or lack of participation of marginalised sections of society in the decentralised governance process is still persist in the rural areas. The authors shared some experiences gathered about women participation in panchayats and found that women played a leading role in rural development processes whereas they are acting as dummy for their husbands and sons in some places, defying the spirit of true participation of women in the grassroots governance.

Civil society is one of the important stakeholders in the local governance processes. Chapter seven focuses on how civil society enables to the participation of SCs, STs and women for their socio-economic development processes through PRIs. The author reveals that civil societies have very important role in the rural governance through strengthening PRIs in India. Civil society organisations develop the capacity of elected representative and officials in PRIs, but also build their capacities to address the issues of gender equity, social justice and management of financial resources.

Chapter eight explains various strategies of rural development in India over a period of time. The author emphasised that poverty, small landholdings, unemployment, low nutritious intake greatly affected rural development in India. The author underlined that there has also been a paradigm change in the rural development strategy in India, in which

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strategies like creation of self-employment and wage-employment opportunities, special areas development programmes, basic minimum services, institutional and land reforms and social security programmes were adopted. The goal of these strategies is to improve the quality of life of people and poverty alleviation in India.

Chapter nine discussed the involvement of PRIs in the implementation of major rural development programmes in India. In present time, various programmes i.e. MGNREGA, DAY-NRLM, DDU-GKY, PMAY-G, PMGSY, NSAP, SPMRM and SAGY are being implemented for development in the rural areas. The author highlighted that the PRIs have been a crucial role in the implementation of all these programmes. It is also realised where the PRIs owning their responsibility in just manners the fruits of developments are significant. However, author examined that PRIs are not always effective and some of them have not been asserting their roles (p. 238) which led to standstill in the development process.

Chapter ten of the book deals with convergence and inter-sectoral linkages of programmes for generating resources, planning activities, monitoring and implementation. In this chapter author explains that in six states (i.e., Rajasthan, Gujarat, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Uttar Pradesh, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh) convergence of different programmes have increased the outreach of the activity which was envisaged for different stakeholders. The author analysed that the convergence of rural development programme can bring a sustainable development of rural areas.

In Chapter 11, the author analysed the processes of decentralised planning in India. Decentralised planning is a part of strategy for development process at grassroots level. Decentralised planning is an approach which assists community to identify the problems of its members and to plan solutions with the active engagement of the members of the community (p. 96). In this chapter, author explained and discussed the role of District Planning Committee (DPC) for holistic development of a district. Author reveals that only in some states DPCs are functional and DPC does not prepare integrated district plan in any states. He highlighted that only Kerala's campaign mode of decentralised planning was innovative in the context of decentralised planning.

In the Chapter 12, author analysed the concept of training and capacity building of PRIs. Capacity building enhances accountability among elected representative and officials through training. In 2014, National Capacity Building Framework had revised and adopted capacity building

Gupta

and training through innovative methods for training and special courses for SCs, STs, women and PESA areas. Rajiv Gandhi Panchayat Sashaktikaran Abhiyan (RGPSA), Rashtriya Gram Swaraj Abhiyan (RGSA) and Gramodaya aim to empower the PRIs through capacity building and training and developed leadership in panchayats. In this regard author reveals some experiences of Kerala where leadership of panchayats mobilise their own resources for the investment in capacity building.

Chapter 13 of the book focused on the delivery of health and educational services in rural India. The author emphasised that health and education sectors are crucial for rural development in India. National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) and Sarva Siksha Abhiyan are being implemented in rural areas for human development among the rural people. In this chapter, he analysed the role of PRIs in the implementation of health and educational services provide to rural areas. Some best practice also depicts how health services can reach to the doorstep of people through the participation of government and civil society (p. 355).

The last chapter 14 of the book highlighted on the significant policy tools required for rural governance. It reflects how the adequate strategies required making panchayats successful. The author observed that when the civil society and community works along with the panchayat, the governance process become more effective and inclusive. For the alleviation of poverty and improvement of quality of life of the rural people, the devolution of funds, functions and functionaries is the most important prerequisite for the PRIs. The PRIs instead of giving energy to people for development have become places of conflict of various stakeholders i.e. panchayat representatives, officials and community members. This can be resolved with making the community responsible about their rights and duties for their own development (p. 381).

The review posits that this book has brought out the trajectory, processes and implementation of rural local governance and rural development in India. This book can be an essential guide for students, policy makers, practitioners engaged in teaching and research of local grassroots governance and rural development.

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Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences**
As Required under Rule 8 of Registration of Newspapers (Central) Rules 1956

FORM IV
(See Rule 8)

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1. Place of Publication | : | M.P. Institute of Social Science
Research, Ujjain |
| 2. Periodicity of its Publication | : | Twice a year |
| 3. Printer's Name | : | Dr. Yatindra Singh Sisodia |
| (Whether citizen of India?) | : | Yes |
| (If foreigner, | : | N.A. |
| state the country of origin) | : | |
| Address | : | 6, Bharatpuri Administrative Zone
Ujjain - 456010 |
| 4. Publisher's Name | : | Dr. Yatindra Singh Sisodia |
| (Whether citizen of India?) | : | Yes |
| (If foreigner, | : | N.A. |
| state the country of origin) | : | |
| Address | : | 6, Bharatpuri Administrative Zone
Ujjain - 456010 |
| 5. Editor's Name | : | Dr. Yatindra Singh Sisodia |
| (Whether citizen of India?) | : | Yes |
| (If foreigner, | : | N.A. |
| state the country of origin) | : | |
| Address | : | 6, Bharatpuri Administrative Zone
Ujjain - 456010 |
| 6. Names and addresses of
individuals who own the
newspapers and partners
or shareholders holding
more than one percent of
the total capital. | : | M.P. Institute of Social Science
Research
6, Bharatpuri Administrative Zone
Ujjain - 456010 |

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The Journal is listed in UGC-CARE (Group - I)

Registered with
Registrar of Newspapers for India under no. R.N. 66148/96

Printed and Published by
Professor Yatindra Singh Sisodia
on behalf of
M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain